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THE
Ā‘ĪN-I AKBĀRĪ

BY
ABŪ ‘L-FAZL SALLĀMĪ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN BY
H. BLOCHMANN, M.A.
Calcutta University

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D. C. PHILLOTT, LIBRT.-COLONEL,
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THE Ā-ĪN-I AKBARI

BY

ABŪ 'L-FAZL ṢALLĀMĪ

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

H. BLOCHMANN, M.A.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED FOR THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1927
The A'in-i Akbari is the third volume of the Akbar-nama, by Shaykh Abū 'l-Fāḍl, 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 Bābar, the Sūr kings, and Humāyūn whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the A'in-i-Akbari, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the A'in (i.e. mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government as it was about A.D. 1580. 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 intolerant 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 Abū 'l-Fazl 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'īn stands so unique among Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their
contents, the A'in was laid under contribution. Le Père Tiefenthaler, in 1778, published in his Description Géographique de l'Indostan long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtadar Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and, as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "Ayeen Akberi", of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS. in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the A'in from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the A'in that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself. Abū'l-Fazl'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 Akbarnāmaḥ and the A'in. 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 inquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence
of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards
encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large
heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom.
Abū 'l-Fazl has far too often been accused by European
writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts
damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though
perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the Akbmānāmah will show
that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we com-
pare his works with other historical productions of the
East, we shall find that, while he praises, he does so infinitely
less and with much more grace and dignity than any other
Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused
him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern
works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the
opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty
of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank
mass of flattery at the side of which modern encomiums
look like withered leaves—we may pardon Abū 'l-Fazl
when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation
has extended over a longer time than I at first expected.
The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian
Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical
difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of
the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various
Muhammadan historians and works on the history of
literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoid-
able slow.

I am deeply indebted to the Council of the Philological
Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at
my disposal a full critical apparatus of the Aṣīn, and entrust-
ing 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, not-
withstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of
my readers and critics can be more sensible than I
myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Calcutta: Macrahan.
21st September, 1812.
PREFACE
SECOND EDITION OF BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION
OF THE
Ā'ĪN-I AKBĀRĪ

Some explanation is needed of the present edition. Blochmann's original translation has for some time been out of print. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has asked me to undertake the preparation of a reprint, and I lightly accepted the task, not realizing the amount of labour involved. Blochmann's translation and notes form a work of infinite detail and thorough scholarship; and though it has seldom been necessary to correct, it has often been necessary to investigate. This present edition is, however, in the main a mere reprint. This of itself is no small testimony to Blochmann's thoroughness. The transliteration, however, has been brought into line with a more modern system, and a few additional notes [in square brackets] have been added; those with a suffixed B. are Blochmann's own MS. notes from a printed copy in my possession; I have not incorporated all of them, as many I was unable to decipher. Notes to which a P. is suffixed are my own.

D. C. P.

FELIXSTOWE, ESSEX
1907.
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF TIMÜR (at the end)
NOTE

Lieut.-Col. Phillott, who most generously had undertaken to prepare a revised reprint of Blochmann's translation of the first volume of the A'in-i-Akhbar, had progressed to the end of the text when illness precluded him from finishing his labours. What remained to be done was the revision of the index, the correction of the additional notes as already revised by him on the copy, and the entering of the modifications necessary in the proofs of pages xvii to xxxii, and xlix to lix of the preliminary matter, as also of pages 1 to 10 of the work itself.

For a long time lingering illness prevented the taking of immediate steps to terminate the volume, but in September, 1930, the regretted death of the learned Editor necessitated consideration of the problem of bringing the reprint to a close. The fact that the volume was being printed in England and that no details as to the method of the revision were at the disposal of the office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal caused considerable delay, but ultimately arrangements were made to complete the work in the office of the Society.

Mr. D. K. Das was charged with the revision of the index, involving the changing of all page numbers, and the drawing up of a list of errata found in the body of the reprint during the course of his work. Mr. Das has performed his work with great care and has rendered valuable service in doing so. The new errata are to be found on page 690 of this volume. The plan adopted for the reprint has been explained by the Editor on page xi.

The circumstances explained above are responsible for the date of the Editor's Preface, as well as for the fact that the date of issue on the title page is given as 1927, whilst the actual publication was not possible till 1939.

The Council of the Society wishes to record its great indebtedness to the late Lieut.-Col. Phillott for his self-sacrificing labour on the present volume, and to pay its grateful homage to the memory of its late Member and Fellow, a devoted friend, a valued helper, and a distinguished scholar.

B. S. GUHA,
General Secretary.
LIST OF PLATES
IN THE
FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
Á‘ÍN-I-AKBARÍ

PLATES I TO III. THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT, p. 18.
1. Preparation of acids.—3. Washing of ashes.—4, 8, 10, 12, melting and refining.—
5. Weighing.—6, 8. Making of plates.

PLATE IV. THE IMPERIAL CAMP (p. 50).

a, b, & c, d, f, g, roads and barracks. "The principal barracks 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 Dīwān-i khān."—Bernier.
1. The Imperial Harem (shahištân-i igrāb): At the right hand side is the De-âkūdina
Mumil; side p. 56.
2. Open space with a canopy (shāmāpūn).

"The aquadie 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 Nūpur-i ʻajā, 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 'Aquadie' may be translated 'Light of
Heavens' the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star.'—Bernier.
5. The Nâqīrū-khān, pp. 49, 50.
   All, or distance from the Harem to the camp Light = 1,500 yards;
   AC = 300 yards; p. 49.
6. The house where the saddles were kept (šin-Īkšār).
7. The Imperial stables (īkšāρ).
8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.
9. Tents of the clerks of the elephant stables.
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11. Tent for palkis and carts.
13. Tent where the hunting leopards were kept (čīlī-Īkšār).
14. The Tents of Maryām Makānī (Akhū's mother), Gulbadān Begum (Humāyūn's
   sister, p. 49), and Prince Dānīyāl; p. 49.
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18. Tent for keeping basins (āfāštīk-Īkšār).
19. Tent for the perfumes (Īkshār-Īkšār).
20. Tent for storing mattresses (sūkūl-Īkšār).
21. Tent for the tailors, etc.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, etc. (chārā-pā, चारापा).
25. Tent for making sharbat and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing gān leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (māna, माना).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (rāhā, राहा).
29. The Imperial kitchen (mañjuli, मान्जूली).
30. The Imperial bakery (vāhā, वाहा).
31. Store-room for spices (kavej, कवेज).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (pur, पुर).
34. Women's apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

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

"The king's private tents are surrounded by small kandār (quadār, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Musulipam 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 Lāhor, 25th February, 1665), agrees with minute detail with the above.

PLATE V. CANDLESTICKS, p. 50.

PLATE VI. THE EMPEROR AKHAR WORSHIPS FIRE, p. 50.
In front of Akbar twelve candles are placed, and the singer of sweet melodies sings to the praise of God, as mentioned on p. 51, l. 6 ff.

The faces of the emperor and the singer are left blank, in accordance with the Mohammedan dislike to paint likenesses of beings on, below, or above the earth. The emperor sits in the position called dāzānā.

PLATE VII. THRONES, p. 52.
1, 2. Different kinds of thrones (suvra) with pillows (masīnā) to lean against, the royal umbrella (chāir), and the footstool (sandāf).

PLATE VIII. THE NAQQĀRA KHĀNA, p. 52.

PLATE IX. THE ENSIGNS OR ROYALTY, p. 52.
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2. The Kazīkha.
3. Sayyābān or Aṯābāfīr.
4. The Tumantos (from the Turkish toq, or toqā, a flag, and toman or tēmā, a division of ten thousand).
5. The Ghāt, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or Ālām.
7. The Chhattoq. As Abū 'Uṣayl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced Chāttoq, from the Turkish Čhatr, or čhāṭ, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (gudā) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

PLATES X and XI. The Imperial Tent, p. 54.

Plate X.—The three tents on the top, commencing with the left, are (1) the Laṅkāsura; (2) a yudkārī khargāh, or tent of one door; (3) the Dūtārī, or tent of two doors; p. 57, 8. Rolled up over the door is the shuźh; p. 236, A* in 86.

Below these three tents, is the Sārd-pānda and Gāuḍī-bārī, pp. 47, 57. At the foot of the plate is the Naṃ-gāra (pl. dew-catcher), with carpet and pillow (masnaī); p. 48.

Plate XI.—On the top, the tārgāk, p. 55. Below it, on the left, is the Dāq-khānī Mārsī, or two-storied house; vide Pl. IV, No. 1. At the windows of the upper story, the emperor showed himself; vide Index, darsan, and jharokā. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the Čhābī Mārasī (as the word ought to be spelt, from čhābī, wooden, and rāvasī, a square tent), p. 56. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called saņindōz, with one tent pole (yuk-sarāq), from the Turkish sarāq, or sarāq, a tent pole.

Below is a Zaṃindōz with two poles (dūṛ-sarāqā). At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the Mūkal, p. 56, and to the right, the Āgaṭākā, p. 56.


The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on pp. 117 to 119.

1. The sword, šamshār (1).
2. The straight sword, šiddī (2).
3a. The gudā rāṣā (3).
4. The broad dagger, sānēba (4).
5. The bent dagger, Čharjār (5).
6. The jam ġāk, or curved dagger (6).
7. The bent knife, ġāh (8).
8. The Ḫānčān, or hilless dagger (9).
9. The ānāra, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The sāraṁī mōth (sawing mōth?), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, kōsmā (12).
12, 13. The small bow and arrow, āṣāk šūsā and sīr (13).
14a. Arrow.
14b. The jekal-khānā, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, šuʃqān (16).
16. The lance, sərā (20).
17. The Humdūṭān lance, sūrīnā (21).
18. The šk, or broad-headed lance (22).
19. 20. The saṇīḥī (23) and saṭrā (24).
21. The šuʃqāh, or club. This 1 believe to be the correct name (instead of šaŋghper), from šuʃqāh, lungs, and bar, tearing.
22. The axe, šūra.
23. The club, pur (23). On p. 117, No. 29, the word šuʃqāh has been translated by "club", and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS, call "šuʃqā" a long knife, with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, šuʃqā, i.e. crow-hill (30).
25. The chāsī (wheel) and šuʃqā (31).
26. The double axe, šuʃqā-čhān (32).

[] Zāqā a name largely applied to a chaugāh, crow, jackal and magpie.—P.]
PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (continued), p. 118.

29. The gopē ārd, or knife concealed in a stick (33).
30. The whip, gomchē ārd (39).
31. The clasp knife, ḍhaṅgā (37).
32. A bow, mestrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, kambha, or Kambā-i yazika (28).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, tafak-i dākas (40).
35. The paskaṭāhār (41).
36. A lance called gurik-i-khubā, i.e. a knot-unraveller (43).
37. The ḍhar-i ṣahī, i.e. fish-spinner (44).
38. The sling, goñhan (45).
39. The geyā, or ṣārak, for guiding elephants (46).
40. The shield, ṣipor (47).
41. Another kind of shield, ḍhāl (48).
42. The plain cane shield, ṭakrē, or ṣhārī (50).
43. The helmet, dābālīgā (52).
44. The pākṣānum, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, sīrī ḍafāk (54).
46. The mailed coat, sīrī (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast plate, baŋtar (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, ḍhaban (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, ḍhār-i-ṭaʿ ana (60).

PLATE XIV. WEAPONS AND ARMOURS (continued), p. 118.

50. The coat with plates and helmet, ṣūṭī (61).
51. An armour of the kind called ṣāṭāq (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, ṣāmgīcha (63).
53. An iron mask, chihānkārī-k-i ḍhānā (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, chihākād (67).
55. The long glove, datīwān (68).
56. The small one in the maz-yi ḍanāt, or iron stocking (71); and the large one
   the rā(m) (69).
57. The ḍabje, or ḍabj, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58, 59. The sīrā-k-i ḍabje, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The gāṣkāt, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The Kambā sōkā (70).
62. The rocket, bān (77).

PLATE XV. AKHAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS, p. 118; vide p. 122,
A* in 38, or the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESS FOR HORSES, p. 144; A* in 52, p. 143.

PLATE XVII. GAMES, p. 314.

The upper figure shows the board for Chaujar, p. 315; and the lower figure is the
board for the Chandaul 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 Chandaul Mandal sat on the
ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.

[1 Tafak-i dākas, blow-pipe.—P.]
BIography
of
Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl, IʿAllāmī

Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram, 958, during the reign of Iṣṭām Shāh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Mūsā, Abū 'l-Faḍl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Rāl (رَال). In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Mūsā's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindūstān. 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 Hijāz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nāgor, north-west of Ajmūr, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mir Sayyid Yahyā of Bukhārā.

The title of Shaykh, 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, Shaykh Mūḥarrak, Abū 'l-Faḍl's father, was born. Mūḥarrak was not Shaykh Khizr's eldest child; several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mūḥarrak, i.e. the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Iṣṭām 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.

Shaykh Mūḥarrak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh ʿAtan (عَطَان), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodi to Nāgor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Sālār, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nāgor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistān. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nāgor in great

1 14th January, 1551.
of the age". In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surrman-raā (near Baghdad) on the 23rd Ramażān, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardāba (prop. "a cool place," "a summer villa"), and disappeared whilst in his residence. In the book entitled Шумādī, 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" (Qurʾān, 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 he to God, the Lord of the world." Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imam ʿAskari (the eleventh Imam) whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalīfa and Imam 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 shown you this child; his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic." The sect who believe Mahdi to be alive at present say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdi movement assumed in India a definite form through the teaching of Mir Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir Sayyid Khān of Jaunpūr. This man was a descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpūr was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdi," "thou art Mahdi." Some people indeed say that Mir Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdi; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly

1 Badāʾiʿ, in his 'Najat' 'r-raḥiṣār, gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhšān from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhšān, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Nūrbaḥš, a pupil of Abū Lāhārq Khālīfān, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to Qaraq, 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. Badāʾiʿ has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Nūrbaḥš sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaykh Muhammad Lāhif, the commentator of the "Gulshan-i Rāz".
through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarāt, where he found an adherent in Sultān Mahmūd I. From Gujarāt he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, “God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdi. If I safely return, I shall recant all.” But when he reached the town of Farah in Balochistān, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (a.h. 911; a.d. 1505). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Shāh Ismā‘īl and Shāh Tahmāsp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdi; and even the historian Badā‘ūnī, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdis appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (a.d. 1549), a Mahdi of great pretensions arose in Biānah, S.W. of Āgra, in the person of Shaykh ʿAlā‘ī. This man was a Bangalī Mūslīmān. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 936, with his younger brother Naṣrī ‘Ilāh, likewise a learned man, at Biānah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaykh ʿAlā‘ī had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. “But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just,” and on the day of the Ḥid, he kicked an influential Shaykh from his ġawāda, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaykh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyaīn ʿAbdū‘llāh, a Nīyāzī Afghān and disciple of Miṣrī Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr, arrived from Makkah and settled at a retired spot near Biānah. 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. Shaykh ʿAlā‘ī also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miyaīn ʿAbdū‘llāh; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned faqīr, 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 Nīyāzī, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qur‘ān, “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 Mahdi, 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, defy ing the magistrates, if opposed to them, or
assisting them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and
matters in Bi{anah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated them-

selves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaykh
{Ala'i's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given
him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miy{A{Abdul{l(ah
in earnestness and successful conversions, and the later at last tried
to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred
armed men towards Makkah, {Ala'i marched with his hand over Bas awar
to Khawaspur, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of
some obstacles they all returned to Bi{anah.

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

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubarak 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 Mahdum'I-Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his
reason, the result was, that Mahdum became his inveterate enemy,
deprived him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted
him for more than twenty years, till Mubarak's sons turned the tables
on him and procured his banishment.  

1 "Mahdum'I-Mulk" was the title of {Abdul{l(ah of Sult{anpur, regarding whom the
reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the
The learned at Court, however, were not to be baulked by 'Ala'ū's success, and Makhdūm's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaykh. 'Ala'ū and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhin. Whilst at Handiah on the Narbāda, the frontier of Islām Shāh's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahār Khān A'sam Humāyūn and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaykh 'Ala'ū.

About the same time (956) Islām Shāh left Agra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjab caused by certain Niyāzī Afghāns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah Makhdūmū'l-Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyan 'Abdullāh Niyāzī, who after Shaykh 'Ala'ū's departure for the Dakhin roamed about the hills of the Biānah 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 Niyāzī rebels in the Panjāb. Islām Shāh ordered the governor of Biānah, who had become a Mahdawi, to bring Miyan 'Abdullāh to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyan 'Abdullāh boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islām Shāh gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyan 'Abdullāh lay apparently lifeless on the ground. But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawi principles and got as late as 993 (A.D. 1585) from Akbar a freehold, because he,

Kharīnatuglākī (Lāhūr, pp. 443, 464) shows the opinion of good Sunnis regarding Makhdūm.

Mawlawānā 'Abdullāh Ansārī of Sultānpūr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishti in his religious opinions. From the time of shah Shāh till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of ' Makhdūmū'l-Mulk ' (prop. served by the empire). He was learned in the law and austerities in practice. He zealously persecuted heretics. When Akbar commenced his religious innovations and converted people to his "Divine Faith" and sunnworship, ordering them to substitute for the creed the words "There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the viceroy of God", Mawlawānā 'Abdullāh 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. Makhdūm therefore went to Makka. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the Ḥaṭīt Maḥdī, Ḥaṭīt 'Abdullāh, the Ḥaṭīt 'Abdullāh, Miskhī, Ḥaṭīt 'Abdullāh, etc. He was poisoned in A.D. 1598.

His son Ḥāji 'Abdūl 'Aqīl Karim went after the death of his father to Lāhūr, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1545, and lies buried at Lāhūr, near the Zīla 'Aqīl's Villa, at Mawza & Kot. His auxes were Shaykh Yahyā, Ilī Nūr, 'Abdūl 'Aqīl and Aqīl Husayn. Shaykh Yahyā, like his father, wrought miracles.

In this account the date is wrong; for Makhdūmū'l-Mulk died in 996, and not in 992, as Bānī, Makhdūm's supporter, says nothing of death (Rūdd, III, 311) the statement of the Kharīnatuglākī may be rejected. Bānī also says that Makhdūm's sons were worthless men. The titles of Makhdūmū'l-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; vide p. 614.
too, had been one of Makhduμu's victims. He died more than 90 years old, in 1000, at Sarhind.1

Islam Shāh, after quelling the Niyāzi disturbances, returned to Agra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjāb, and it was there that Shaykh Ālā, joined the royal camp. When Islam Shāh saw the Shaykh he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you." But Shaykh Ālā, would not do so, and Islam Shāh, 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. Shaykh Ālā, 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 Ālā, 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 that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, Ālā'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 Islam Shāh and the downfall of his house.2

Makhduμu's Mulk was never popular after that.

The features common to all Madhawi 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 Madhawis assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. Islam has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the 'Ulamā about Court, from whom the Šads of the provinces, the Mir 'Adls, Muftis, and Qāzīs were appointed. At Dihli and Agra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnis, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight.

1 Badā,oni visited him in Sarhind, and it was from Ābdu'llah that he heard of Mr Sayyid Muhammad's repentance before death. Among other things, Ābdu'llah also told him that after the Mr's death in Farāh, 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.

2 The circumstances connected with Ālā's death resemble the end of Sīt Mūlā during the reigns of Jalā'ul-din Firuz Shāh.

The place in the Panjāb, where the scene took place, is called Ban. (Bad. 1, 408).

The fact that Badā,oni spent his youth at Banawar near Bānāthi, is in the very centre of the Madhawi movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Madhawi principles.
How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Mughal emperors only Akbar, and perhaps Alaüd-Din Khilji, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaykh Alaüd-Din Khilji was a great triumph for the Court Ulasmás, 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 Humâyûn and the downfall of the Afghan power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humâyûn was strongly in favour of Shi’ism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Agra, after the fall of Bayrám Khân, who was a Shi’â, again teamed with Hindustaní Sunnís, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubarak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabi and Mahdum-i-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubarak 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 emperor. Mubarak wisely fled from Agra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to seek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaykh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarat, he implored the good offices of Akbar’s foster-brother, the generous Khan-i ‘Abbas Mirza Koka, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaykh 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 ‘Abd al-Fayz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabi. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawi leanings and Shi’â tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar’s reign, when Fayzi’s poems had been noticed at Court—Akbar then lay before Chitor—and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at Agra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubarak’s house. Fayzi
was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubarak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Fayzi at last came, he was carried off by force to Chiter. Nor did his fears for his father and his own life banish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar’s good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abû ’l-Faḍl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaykh 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 Abû ’l-Faḍl 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 broader sentiments the clique of the Ulamâs, 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 ḥikamī and naqūfa, or maṣqūl 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 Ḥisâbâni 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. Abû ’l-Faḍl 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 added; 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 Abû ’l-Faḍl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

1 20th Rabi’ I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Fayzi presented will be found in the Akbarnamâ.
2 Page 689, note.
Abūl-Fażl 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 Fayzī had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abūl-Fażl, 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 Fayzī in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar’s friendship, prepared the way for Abūl-Fażl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of a.d. 1574) was presented to Akbar as Fayzī’s brother, the reception was so favourable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. “As fortune did not at first assist me,” says Abūl-Fażl in the Akbarnāma, “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 of Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pídadris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsís 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 Ayatul-Kurā, and presented it when the emperor was at Ágra.

8 Name of the 236th verse of the second chapter of the Qurʾān.
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 Bihar and Bengal. Fayzî accompanied the expedition, but Abû'l-Fazî naturally stayed in Agra. But as Fayzî wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abû'l-Fazî attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Fatehpur Sikri, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jamî Mosque. Abû'l-Fazî, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qur'â entitled "Sîratu'l-Fath", "the Chapter of Victory"."

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnis at Court, headed by Malîdîmî 'I-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abî 'n-Nabi, had every cause to feel sorry at Fâyzy's and Abû'l-Fazî's successes; for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihar, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Bâdî, often 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 Shi'as 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 Hindu subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Fatehpur Sikri, 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 "inquire". It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took. The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafi law, to which most Sunnis cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong-
ing to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhḍūm al-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, the Šādīr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhḍūm a fool and cursing him. Abū l-Faḍl, 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 Abū l-Faḍl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islām, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution impossible; and though headstrong kings as ʿAlī bin ʿAḍām Khūṭiṣ had before tried to raise the law of expediency (maslīḥat-i waqṣ) above the law of the Qur'ān they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire, independent of the Mullā. Hence when Abū l-Faḍl 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 Islām. It was only now that the Sunnis at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embodiment 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. Islām, 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 Shaykh Muḥarrak Ṣūḥūṭī, in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islām. Badāʾin 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 Islām. 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. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī and Makhḍūm al-Mulk signed indeed the document against

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1 Pages 187, 189.
2 Vida p. 195.
their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaykh Mubarak 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 Ḥabīl-
Fażl in the Akbarānāma, "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 (ṣulḥ-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 his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace." The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaykh Mubarak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

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

The disputations had now come to an end (A.D., 1579) and Fayzī and ʿAbūl-Fażl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Fayzī, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murād; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received mansabs, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Fathpur Sikri, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Fayzī was appointed Ṣadr of Āgra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar, in which capacity he had to inquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (sawarnābāl), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and ʿAbūl-Fażl in the very beginning of 1585,¹ was promoted to the mansab

¹ Akbarānāma, iii, 462.
of Hazârî, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Diwân of the Province of Dihlî. Fayzî’s rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honoured 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 Fayzî’s genius was but just; for after Amir Khusrav of Dihlî, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fayzî.1

In the end of 1589, Abûl-Faṣîl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbarâma. 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 friendâs would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserais of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation.” 2

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Dîn-i Hâhî, or “the Divine Faith,” the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubârâk’s document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (khalîfâ) on earth. The Islamic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the “elect” was based on that of the Pârâsî and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindîs. The new era (târîkh-îlâhî), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pârâsî. The Muhammadan grandees at court showed but little resistance; they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindû courtiers than on Akbar’s religious innovations, which after all, affected but a few. But their feeling against Abûl-Faṣîl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhim hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salim (Jahângîr) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abûl-Faṣîl, 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 Abûl-Faṣîl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

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1 For his works, see p. 161.
2 مرکز دندوی انگلیسی-فارسی در کتابخانه دکتر امید مهر شکیبا، را کجا بخوانیم؟ در کتاب...
duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qur'an. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies he said, "What Abū' l-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 Abū' l-Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the Zakhīrat-i-Khaırān. He says that Abū' l-Fazl repented of his apostasy from Islam, and used at night to visit incognito the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold mohurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abū' l-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 Fazl from apostasy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abū' l-Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shāh Abū' l-Ma'sallī Qadīrī of Lāhor, a man of saintly renown, once expressed his disapproval of Abū' l-Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū' l-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 Abū' l-Fazl's works; and though his heart found in pure desism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullās, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islam to continue his studies of the Qur'an, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abū' l-Fazl, Fazlī, and scholars as Bādā'ī, Naqīb Khān, Shaykh Sulṭān, Hāji Ibrāhīm, Shaykh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and

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1 Born A.H. 960; died at Lāhor, 1624. Zakhīrat-i-Aghfān, p. 128.
scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian.¹ Fayzī took the Lilāwati, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abū 'l-Faḍl translated the Kalīla Dīvāna under the title of ṬĀṬĪR DĀNĪSH from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the Māhūbhūrat, and in the composition of the ṬĀṬĪR ALĪFI, the "History of the Millennium". The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawi movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykhlūʾ's death, the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fāṭḥpur Sīkri and by the teachings of men of Sharīf-i Âmulī's stamp,² 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 ṬĀṬĪR ALĪFI, therefore, was to represent Islām as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (afl) years, and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnis, was related from a Shī'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 hijrā, or flight, of the Prophet from Makka to Madīna.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abū 'l-Faḍl to the post of Dūhazārī, or commander of two thousand horse. Abū 'l-Faḍl now belonged to the great Amīrs (umārā-yi kābār) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayzī was sent to the Dākhīn as Akbar's ambassador to Burhān-i Mulk, and to Rāja 'Ali Khān of Khāndesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salīm. Fayzī returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaykh Mūbārak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lāhor (Sunday, 17th Zī Qaʿda, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

¹ VIDE PPS. 110, 111.
² Page 202. We hear the last of the Mahdawi movement in 1628, at the accession of Shāh Jāhān. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahāngīr's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of jābāk, or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Shāh Jāhān, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in A.H. 1000, he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.
the age of 90, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with
the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qur'an,
to which he had given the title of Manba's Nafis, is'Uyûn. He com-
pleted it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badâ'uni speaks of him as follows:—

Shaykh Mubârak 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 Afghan rule, he
frequented Shaykh 'Alî's fraternity; in the beginning of His Majesty’s
reign, when the Naqshbandis had the upper hand, he settled matters
with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadani school;
and lastly, when the Shi'ahs monopolized the court, he talked according
to their fashion. "Men speak according to the measure of their under-
standing"—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 Hindûstân,
a perfect master. He knew Shâhî by heart, explained him properly,
and also knew how to read the Qur'an in the ten different modes. He did
not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable com-
ppanion 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 Qur'an which he composed, resembles the Tafsîr-i
Kabîr (the "Great Commentary"), and consists of four thick volumes,
and is entitled Manba's Nafis, is'Uyûn. It is rather extraordinary
that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself

1 A writer on "Tajwîd", the art of reading the Qur'an correctly.
as the renovator of the new century. We know what this "renovating" means. About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the Fa'iz Ode (in t) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Barida, the Ode by Ka'sh ibn Zubayr, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zil Qa'da, 1001, he left this world at Lahor for the judgment-seat of God.

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of a 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 Agca 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." (Qur'an, 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 Shaykh Muharrak's death, Abu 'l-Fazl also lost his brother Faysal, who died at the age of 50, 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, "Shaykh Jil, I have brought Hakim 'Ali with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and wept loud; and after trying to console Abu 'l-Fazl, he went away. How deeply Abu 'l-Fazl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbar namo and the Anis in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the Anis 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

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1 Badakoni says in his Nadjat 'r-rashid that Jalaluddin Suyuti, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century.

2 Husayn, in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted, was murdered by Yazid; hence the latter is generally called Yazid 'ail Yazi, "Yazid, the accursed". Badakoni here calls Abu 'l-Fazl Yazi. Poor Badakoni had only the thousand horses which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school fellow Yazid Abu 'l-Fazl was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.

3 Badakoni, b. 400.
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." Abū ʿl-Faḍl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Fayḍi's Maktūbāʾ ʿl-Adwar, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbarānā.

It was about the same time that Abū ʿl-Faḍl 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 Ayn-i Akbarī, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-7).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abū ʿl-Faḍl went for the first time on active service. Sūlṭān Murād had not managed matters well in the Dakhin, and Akbar now dispatched Abū ʿl-Faḍl 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 Shāhrukh Mīrzā. The wars in the Dakhin, from their first commencement under Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, 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 Jahāngīr, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the Khān Khānān himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abū ʿl-Faḍl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Būrānpūr, he received an invitation from Bahādur Khān, king of Khāndesh, whose brother had married Abū ʿl-Faḍl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahādur Khān should vigorously assist him, and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahādur was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the Dakhin, but he sent Abū ʿl-Faḍl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abū ʿl-Faḍl, however, was not the man to be bribed. "I have made a vow," he said 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 Murâd had in the meantime retreated from Ahmadnagar to Ílichpur, 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 Abû i-Faql’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 Pûrânâ,² twenty kos from Dowlatabad, when death overtook him. Abû i-Faql arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return; but Abû i-Faql said that he was determined to march on; the enemy was near, the country was foreign ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abû i-Faql, 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 Baitâla, Taltum, and Satanâla. His headquarters were on the Godâwârî. He next entered into an agreement with Châmd Bibî, that, after punishing Akhâng Khân Habâhlî, who was at war with her, she should accept Janâr as sheif and give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dakhân operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahâdur Khân to pay his respects to Prince Dânyâl, and war with Khândesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Ásîr, Bahâdur Khân’s stronghold, and appointed Prince Dânyâl to take command at Ahmadnagar. Dânyâl sent immediate instructions to Abû i-Faql to cease all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhânpûr, Abû i-Faql at Akbar’s request, left Mirzá Shâhrâkh, Mir Murtaqâ, and Khâwâja Abû i-Hasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramâzan, 1068 (beginning of the 14th year of Akbar’s reign), he met Akbar at Khargû, near Bilâugarh. The emperor received him with the following verse—

¹ The southern Pûrânâ is meant. The northern Pûrânâ flows into the Taâti in Khândesh; whilst the southern Pûrânâ, with the Dâtâk, flows into the Godâwârî. Prince Murâd had gone from Ílichpur to Narnâla, and from there to Shâhpûr, which he had built about eight miles south of Bilâugarh. It is now in ruins.
Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

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, Abū 'l-Fazl inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to show him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Mālāi Fort, an important fortification below Āsīrgarh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Mālāi and Antar Mālāi, which had to be conquered before Āsīr itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chūna Mālāi. 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 Kōrha. A hill in the south-west, called Sāpan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abū 'l-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 listen for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of the night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sāpan, and sent a few of his men under Qārā Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Mālāi Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to oppose them, and Abū 'l-Fazl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Āsīr. On the same

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8 Akbar had no sooner crossed the New-dugh (Nahrdaui), when Rodzis Bador-za (Rājā Bahādur Shāh) who had possession of the fortress of Hasar (Āsīr) 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-Trania, the second Commargar, and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador-za however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as supplicant to the king and surrendered himself. Whilst the king was at this place, Abūl Fazl (Abū 'l-Fazl) came to him, and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan. From Professor Lethbridge's Fragment of Indian History, translated from De Laet's India Vera, and published in the Calcutta Review for 1873.

De Laet is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Trania. "Commargar" is the Persian "Kamargah," "the middle of a mountain." The names of Fort Chūna Mālāi and of Mount Kōrha are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwaja Mālāi and Kōrhem, Kōrha, Kōdhab, and similar variations.

Vide also Gomtār, Central Provinces, p. 8.
day, other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Korhin, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyāl, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar, now joined his father at Āsr.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rājū Mannā, and a party set up the son of ʿAlī Shāh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khān Khānān was ordered to march against him, and Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl was sent to Nāsik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khān Khānān. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Āgra, leaving Prince Dānyāl in Burhānpūr. Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Ahmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son ʿAbd al-Rahmān. After coming to terms with the son of ʿAlī Shāh, he attacked Rājū Mannā, recovered Jānhāpūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Mannā found a temporary asylum in Dawlatābād, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Āsr, Prince Salīm, who had been sent against the Rānā of Udaipūr, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Bāhābād, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar’s return from Burhānpūr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, showed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar’s best officers appeared to favour Salīm, the emperor recalled Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son ʿAbd al-Rahmān in charge of his corps, Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl set out for Āgra, accompanied by a few men only. Salīm, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl’s journey unprotected, as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā chief of Īrcha (Īdchhā), through whose territory Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl was likely to pass, to lie in wait for him and kill 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, Abū ʿl-Ḥāzīl was warned of Salīm’s

1 Among the plunder taken at Ahmadnagar was a splendid library. Fayzī’s library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.
2 Vide p. 346.
intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭi Chāndā; but Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ 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 Rabī’ I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a kos from Sarāy Bar, which lies six kos from Narwar, Bir Singh’s men came in sight. The few men that Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gaddā, Ḵāṇ, Afghan, told him quickly to retreat to Antri, which was three kos distant, as Rāy Rāyān and Sūrij Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ 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 Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ’s head, and sent it to Salim in Ḩāhābād, 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 Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ’s death:—

Salim returned to Halebassā (Ilāhābās, the old form of Ilāhābād), 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 Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa (Dānyāl Shāh), 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 Faṭḥ 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 Radžia Bertāsingh Būndela, who lived in his province of Osseēn (Ujjain), to lie in wait for Faṭḥ near Soor (Narwar) and Gualer (Gwāliyār) 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 Radžia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

1 From Professor E. Lethbridge’s “Fragment of Indian History”, Calcutta Review, 1873.

The place near which Abū ʾI-Faṭḥ was killed, is called in the MSS. سرائى بار, De Laët’s Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.
villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fażl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga (Kālābāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Fażl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fażl 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 Salīm, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his "Memoirs" that he brought about Abū 'l-Fażl's murder, because he was his enemy, and with a naiveté 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 Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā Rājpūt, 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, Shaykh Abū 'l-Fażl, a Hindūstānī Shaykh 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 Dakhīn. 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 Abū 'l-Fażl 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 Bir Singh Bundelā, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abū 'l-Fażl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abū 'l-Fażl 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 Bābābād. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū 'l-Fażl'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 Abū 'l-Fażl because "he had been the enemy of the Prophet".
When the news of Abū 'l-Faḍl’s death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Timūr’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, Abū 'l-Faḍl’s vakil presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abū 'l-Faḍl’s death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after inquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, “If Salim wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abū 'l-Faḍl,” and then recited the following verse:

\[\text{شَنْبِي مَا آرَضَونَ بِيَدَيهِ سَوِى مَا آمَدَ رَاشِتَنَ بَيْتَيْنَ بَيْنَ بُوُسِي بَيْنَ سَرُوِيَ آمِدَ}\

My Shaykh 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 Dās and Rāj Singh \(^1\) to Údchā. They defeated the Bundelā chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder and shut him up in Irich. When the siege had progressed and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Rāj Singh’s trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dās. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dās to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about Údchā to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar’s reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rāja Rāj 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 Jahāngir’s Court, and received Údchā and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

“\text{It has often been asserted,}” says the author of the \text{Maṭbā'īn} \(^2\) \text{I-Umarā,} that Abū 'l-Faḍl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindū, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Sūfis, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character, and desired to live at peace with all men. He never

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\(^1\) Pages 323 and 309.
\(^2\) I may remark here that Abū 'l-Faḍl never accepted a title.
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 'Abdu r-Rahman used to sit at table as safarchi (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abū 'l-Faẓl 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, Abū 'l-Faẓl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abū 'l-Faẓl was in the Dakhin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (chihibrīwaft) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amīrs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and khichri was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it.”

“As a writer, Abū 'l-Faẓl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshis; 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 Abū 'l-Faẓl’s style. Abdu llah, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū 'l-Faẓl’s pen than of Akbar’s arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as “the great Munshi”. His letters are studied in all Madrasas, 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 Abū 'l-Faẓl’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

[1] Safra,-R.
[2] This is also the opinion of the author of the Haft Iqsim.
after him write in the style of the Pādishāh-nāma, the Ālamārī Sikandarī or in the still more turgid manner of the Ālamgīr-nāma, the Ruqṣāt Bedil, and other standard works on Inshā.

A praiseworthy feature of Abū 'I-Faḍl'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.

Abū 'I-Faḍl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayzī led Akbar's mind away from Islām and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abū 'I-Faḍl 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 Islām 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, Abū 'I-Faḍl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khān Khānāns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islām is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intolerance, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moolems the memory of Awrangzīb with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a vakhrā- 'llah-kū (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 Badā'īnī to show that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islām to Fayzī and Abū 'I-Faḍl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by 'Urūfi from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

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).

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* For 'Urūfi vide p. 329. The metre of the couplet is Lang Rumāl.
The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fawzi and Abū 'l-Faḍl. I may also cite the Tārīkh of Abū 'l-Faḍl’s death, which the Khān-i Aqgam Mirzā Koka is said to have made:

The wonderful sword of God’s prophet cut off the head of the rebel.¹ But Abū 'l-Faḍl appeared to him in a dream and said, “The date of my death lies in the words ‘Biddo abu al-fasil’ — ‘The slave Abū 'l-Faḍl’ — which likewise gives a.H. 1011.

Abū 'l-Faḍl’s works are the following:

1. The Akbarnāma with the A'in-i Akbarī, its third volume. The A'in-i Akbarī 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 Barār (a.d. 1596-7). The contents of the Akbarnāma have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar’s reign.² There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar’s reign by Ṣīrāj al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinston says that the name of the continuator is Muḥammad Sāliḥ, which seems to be a corruption of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.

2. The Maktūbāt-i Ṣulṭānī, also called Inshā-yi Abū 'l-Faḍl. This book contains letters written by Abū 'l-Faḍl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to Ṣubḥ ad-Dīn Muḥammad, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islām. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the A'in, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l-Faḍl’s death by Ẓāfīr al-Dīn Ṣamḥū, son of Ṣamḥū, Muḥammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l-Faḍl’s sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madras, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books; but Amir Haydar Ḥusaynī of Bilgrām says in the preface to his Samā' al-Akbārī that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

¹ The word ḫagāf, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head (of the word, the letter қ) is cut off; hence 1013 - 2 = 1011, the year of the Hijra in which Abū 'l-Faḍl was murdered. The metre of the homestich is Long Rasaal.
² The 46th year lasted from the 18th Ramaṣān, 1069, to 26th Ramaṣān, 1070, i.e. to about five months before Abū 'l-Faḍl’s death.
³ Regarding this valuable work, vide p. 331, note.
time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amir Haydar's copy was unique.

(3) The ʿAyār Dānīsh, which is mentioned on p. 112.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abūʾl- Faṣl also wrote a Risālahi Mūnājāt, or "Treatise of Prayers"; a ʿJāmīa ʿUghūṭ, a lexicographical work; and a Koshkol. The last word means a "beggar's cup", or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, etc., 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 Abūʾl- Faṣl 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 Tūrūkhi Alfi.

The Durar ʿl-Manshūr, a modern Taṣkira by Muḥammad ʿAskari Ḥusaynī of Bilgūram, selects the following inscription written by Abūʾl- Faṣl for a temple in Kashmir as a specimen both of Abūʾl- Faṣl's writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abūʾl- Faṣl's composition.

*As the word is pronounced in India, instead of ʿIyār-i Dānīsh", "the test of wisdom." The author of the Haft Iqṭās seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abūʾl- Faṣl, when he saw him in A.H. 1000, was engaged in re-writing the Navaḥār-i Rīdāgīt.

2 Abūʾl- Faṣl says in the fourth book of the Aḥaṭa—"The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affection. They do not persecute people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir." Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmiri Rishis 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 elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan, 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, Shāh 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 hear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

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1 This line is Sūfīstic. 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.

2 I.e. Akbar in the vast: ālam, or perfect man.
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 Abū 'l-Fażl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical noticed. The Al in gives the following list of Shaykh Mubārak's sons.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz, better known under his poetical name of Fayzī. He was born in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547) and seems to have died childless.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602.

3. Shaykh Abū 'l-Barakat, born 17th Shawwāl, 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 Abū 'l-Fażl in Khāndesh.

4. Shaykh Abū 'l-Khayr, born 22nd Jumāda 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 Akbarnāma as having been sent by the emperor to the Dakhin to fetch Prince Dānīyal.

5. Shaykh Abū 'l-Makārim, born 23rd Shawwāl, 970. He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Shāh Abū 'l-Fath Shīrāzī.

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

6. Shaykh Abū Turāb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988. "Though his mother is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-improvement."

Besides the above, Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions two posthumous sons by qummā, or concubines, viz. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥāmid, born 3rd Rabi' II, 1002, and Shaykh Abū Rāshid, born 1st Jumāda I, 1002. "They resemble their father."

Of Mubārak's daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories:—

1. One married to Khudāwānd Kān Dakhīn; vide p. 490. Badā,oni calls her husband a Rāfīqī, i.e. a Shībā, and says he died in Kari in Gujrat.

2. One married to Ḥusām al-Din; vide p. 488.

3. One married to a son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh. Their son Safdar Khān was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of one thousand.

4 The Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnāma (III. 450) calls him Sundar Khān.
4. Lāḍīli Begam, married to Islām Khān; vide p. 552, note 1. Mr. T.W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the Miftāḥ-ut-tawārīkh, informs me that Lāḍīli Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the "Rawzāy Lāḍīli Begam" is about two miles to the east of Akbar’s mausoleum at Sikandra, near Āgra. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpūr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rawzā several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindū. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rawzā nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayzi, and Abū ’l-Faqīl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Tughrā characters may still be seen:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بِهِ تَقُيّس هَذِهِ الرَّوْتَةِ لَعَلَّهَ يَجْعَلُ لَهَا مَسْآَرُ اللَّهِ تَقُدُّسَ سَرِهِ وَقَدَ وَقَدَ بِهِ تَقُيّسُ للَّهِ الْيَقِينِ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ وَقَدْ أَضْرَى بِهِ الْعِلْمُ الْمَجْرِمَ

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 eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaykh Mubārakullah (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaykh Abū ’l-Faqīl—may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalāluddunyā waddin Akbar, Pādshāh-i Ghāzī—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abū ’l-Barakat, in 1004 (a.d. 1595-96).

Thus it will appear that the Rawzā was built in the year in which Fayzī died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in a.d. 1593. It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubārak and Fayzī had been buried at a place opposite to Āgra, on the left bank of the Jumānā, where he first settled in 1551; for Abū ’l-Faqīl says in his description of Āgra in the A in L... On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaws Makānī (the emperor Bābar). There the author was born, and

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there are resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaykh ʿAlī ʿd-Dīn Majzūb and Mir Rafīʿ d-dīn Safawi and other worthies are also buried there.” We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamnā, though Abū l-Ḥāfīz’s inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rawḍa was sold and destroyed.

Abū l-Ḥāfīz’s son is the well-known

Shaykh ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān Āfzal Khān.

He was born on the 12th Shaban, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunni name of ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān. In the 35th year of Akbar’s reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Sādādat Yār Koka’s brother. By her ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.1

When Abū l-Ḥāfīz was in command of the army in the Dakhin, ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān was, what the Persians call, the ṣīr-i-rū-yī tarkash-i-ū, “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 Talingāns. When Malik ʿAmbar, in the 46th year, had caught ʿAli Mardān Bahādur (p. 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abū l-Ḥāfīz dispatched ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān and Sher Khwāja (p. 510) to oppose the enemy. They crossed the Godāwāri near Nānder, and defeated ʿAmbar at the Manjarā.

Jahāṅgīr 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 Āfzal Khān, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihār, vice Isām Khān (the husband of Abū l-Ḥāfīz’s sister) who was sent to Bengal. ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān also received Gorākhpūr as jāgīr. As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Qutb ʿd-dīn appeared in the district of Bhojpūr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiya Rājās (p. 577, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusra, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahāṅgīr had made the favourite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaykh Banārasī and Ghīyās ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān’s officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Āfzal Khān’s property and the Imperial treasury. ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmān returned from Gorākhpūr as soon as he heard of the

1 Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyār, who is so often mentioned in Firdawsi’s Shāh-nāma.
rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. ʿAbd al-Rahmān charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Qutb now retreated to the fort, followed by ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who succeeded in capturing him. He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers. Jahāngīr, 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 (tashhīr) as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, ʿAbd al-Rahmān fell 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 Jahāngīr's reign (a.h. 1022) or eleven years after his father's murder.

Bishotan, son of ʿAbd al-Rahmān, son of Shaykh Abū l-Fazl.

He was born on the 3rd Zi Ṭaʿīda, 999. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse. In the 10th year of Shāh Jahān'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.
BOOK FIRST
THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD
ABŪ 'L-FAZL’S PREFACE

ALLAH² 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. Abū 'l-Fazl, son of Mubārak, 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 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

² Akbar.
over the field of knowledge; and, secondly, to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have, of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word Pādīshāh shows this; for pād signifies stability and possession, and shāh 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. Shāh is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like shāh-suwār, shāh-rāh; 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 everything which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, etc., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by
vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence, everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light faur-i izidi (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it kiyān khurs (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 retribution, 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 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

* Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate source of life. Regarding his form of worship, see below.
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.\(^2\)

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 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**

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\(^1\) Thus, according to the medical theories of the middle ages.

\(^2\) This passage resembles one in Firdausi's Shāhnāma, in the chapter entitled dar dānata. I Jamsheid; vide also Vuller's Persian Dictionary, ii. 756, s. kātafl. It is also found in the Ashīqī in Muhācin, chapter xv, dar 'adil, in the Ashīqī-i Jalālī, and the Ashīqī-i Nasiri, the oldest of the three Ashīqīs mentioned.
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 far-sighted, 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 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 received the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The Mir-mul, the Keeper of the seal, the Mir-bakhshi, the Bārbegi, the Qurbegi, the Mir-tozak, the Mir-bahri, the Mir-bazz, the Mir-Manzil, the Khwānsālū, the Munshi, the Qush-begi, the Akhatabegi, belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

1 Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things—jām (life), māl (property), dīn (religion), mazā' (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (gīr)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to show this devotedness, and then belonged to the dīn-i idāh, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.
2 Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's private purse.
3 Paymaster of the Court.
4 An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, etc. He is also called Mīr-i Ṭargār, Beareer of the Imperial insignias.
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 (falconers, pigeons). [Head of the Mews.—P.]
12 Superintendent of the Stud.
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 Diwan. 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 Mustawfi; and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the Vakil. The Mustawfi, the Sahib-i Tawji, the Awarja Nawis, the Mir-Saman, the Nagir-i Buyutt, the Diwan-i Buyutt, the Mushrif, of the Treasury; the Wazir-i 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 Diwan, which office is higher in rank than that of the Diwan, 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 fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

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1 Deputy Diwan.
2 The Accountant of the Army.
3 The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.
4 The officer in charge of the Court furniture, stores, etc.
5 Superintendent of the Imperial workshops.
6 The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.
7 Clerk.
8 The Recorder.
9 Collector.
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 Ṣadr,¹ the Mir-ṢAdl, the Qāṣī,² the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

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

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 intellígencer, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration.

¹ Also called Ṣadr-i Ḫabīn, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire.
² The Qāṣī hears the case; the Mir-ṢAdl passes the sentence.
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 show 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 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 inquiring 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

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1 The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the Akhīdq-i Muhāṣirī, Chapter XXXII, entitled dar sipāhī.
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 anguish 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 excerptum. 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
and even if it were possible to give a description of it, 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 inquirers 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.

*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 4ta of this book.*
Remark by the Author.—As I had sometimes to use Hindi words, I have carefully described the consonants and vowels. Inquirers will therefore have no difficulty in reading; nor will any confusion arise from mistakes in copying. Letters like әәf, әәm and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as әәmәәtәә, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the ә in әәdәә, the әә in әәmәәә, the әә in әәә, the әә in әәәәә. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the phrase having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindi language I have distinguished as Hindi. The letter әә as in әәә, I have called әәәәәә, and the әә, as in әәә, әәәәәәә. The әә in әәәәә, I have merely called әәә. Similarly, the letters әәәәә, әәәәә, әәәәә, and әәәәә, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as әәәәә, әәәәә, әәәәә, etc. The nasal әәә I have called әәәәәәә, or әәәәәәә. The final and silent әә, as in әәәәәәәәә, I have called әәәәәәәәәә, i.e. written, but not pronounced. The әә and әә, when modified to әә or әә I have called әәәәәә. As consonants followed by an әә have the vowels, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Åt in 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. 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 our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs

1 A phrase which Akbar often used.
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 369,186,735 dāmas. The expenses of 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.

Aṭṭā b. 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 is again 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

1 Or, 7,772,666; Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 dāmas. The Divine era, or Tāriḵ i-Bahšī, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February, 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1696.
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 Khaeja-sarai I'timad Khan, a name which his Majesty had
bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the
Khaeja, 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 koro of dama. Incorruptible
bitakchis 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 in full weight, but to give him a receipt for
whatever species of money he might bring. This laudable regulation
removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and

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1 *I'timad* means trustworthiness. *Khaeja-sarai* is the title of the chief sowych. His real name was Phul Malik. After serving Salim Shah (1545 to 1552), who bestowed upon him the title of Muhammad Khan, he entered Akbar's service. Akbar, after the death of Shams al-Din Muhammad Atgah Khan, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed I'timad Khan, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (sirde Abk: I-Fari's list of Akbar's grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of *I'timad Khan*. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar's satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mirza Mubarak, king of Khandsah (1535 to 1566), to Akbar's harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1578, appointed governor of Rohitgar. When in 1578 Akbar's presence was required in the Panjab, I'timad Khan desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstanding, 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 Maqsaad Sar. *Maqsaad Sar* was executed.

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*Writers.*
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 dārogha 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 dāmas, 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 peskkush⁴ receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for nayr receipts,⁵ and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person,⁶ and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, dāroghas 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 Irān and Tūrān, 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 treasurers 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 kuroy of dāmas 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 saksah,⁷

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⁴ Tributes.  
⁵ Visit the eighteenth Aśa of the second book.  
⁶ Presents, vows, etc.  
⁷ Sākara S.—P.
and many of them, when put up in a heap, *gusaj*. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse*. This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj-i bahlah*.

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

THE TREASURY FOR PRECIOUS STONES.

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

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

*Rubies*.—1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhrs in value; 2nd class from 999 to 500 muhrs; 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 4 muhr to 1 rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

*Diamons*, emeralds, and the red and blue *yāqūts*, were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards; 2nd class, from 29½ to 15 muhrs; 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 muhr; 10th class, from 8½ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4½ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1½ to 1 rupee.

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29½ to 15 muhrs; 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 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) rupees; 13th class, less than 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) rupees, to 30 dāms; 14th class, less than 30 dāms, to 20 dāms; 15th class, less than 20 dāms, to 10 dāms; 16th class, less than 10 dāms, to 5 dāms. 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, 1 rupee; 2nd class, \(\frac{1}{2}\); 3rd class, \(\frac{1}{4}\); 4th class, 2 dāms; 5th class, 3; 6th class, 1 dām; 7th class, \(\frac{1}{4}\) dām; 8th class, \(\frac{1}{2}\) dām; 9th class, \(\frac{1}{4}\) dām; 10th class, \(\frac{1}{2}\) dām; 11th class, \(\frac{1}{4}\) dām; 12th class, \(\frac{1}{2}\) dām; 13th class, \(\frac{1}{4}\) dām; 14th class, \(\frac{1}{2}\) dām; 15th class, 2 dāms; 16th class, \(\frac{1}{4}\) dām; 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 tānks,\(^2\) 20 surkhs,\(^3\) and diamonds of 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) tānks,\(^4\) 4 surkhs, each one lākh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) tānks, 3 surkhs, 52,000 rupees; yaqūts of 4 tānks, 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) surkhs, and pearls of 5 tānks, each 50,000 rupees.

\(\text{Ar}^\text{4th n.}\)

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

\(^1\) Sākā s.m. and sākā I. H., a four-anuma hit.
\(^2\) Tānk H. = 4 māshā.—P.\)
\(^3\) Surkh means red; also, a little seed with a black dot on it, called in Hind. ghaṅgā, Abrus precatorius. The Persians called it chāshā; i.e. red, cork's eye. The seeds are often used for children's bracelets. Abū l-Falā means here the weight called in Hind. ratī, vulg. ratīf, 8 surkhs, or 8 ratifs = 1 māshā; 12 māshās = 1 tolā; and 80 tolās = 1 som. A tānk is valued at 4 māshās; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth Ar\(^\text{4th n.}\), Abū l-Falā states that the weight of 1 dām was 5 tānks, or 1 tolā; 8 māshās, 4 surkhs; i.e. 1 tānk = \(\frac{25}{4}\) māshās = 4 māshās, 1 surkh.
\(^4\) Text 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) tānk.
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, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc.; 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.

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 A.D.

2 “Worship it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say, ‘Hallowed be thy name!’”—Hariri.
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.

\[\text{A}^5\text{in 5.}

\text{THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT.}

1. The \text{Dāroghā}. He must be a circumspect and intelligent man, of broad principles, who takes the cumbersome burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch. He must keep every one to his work, and show zeal and integrity.

2. The \text{Sarrafī}. 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 \text{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 \text{dahādāhī}, but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called \text{bārubānī}, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old \text{huss}, 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 8$\frac{1}{2}$; and the round, small gold \text{dinār} of *Alāʾ ud-Dīn, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10$\frac{1}{2}$.

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

\[^{1}\text{The same as Sarraf or Sarraf; hence a shroff, a money lender.}\]

\[^{2}\text{الله دینار گرد خورده ماندی—P.}\]
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.

\[\text{An abbreviation for bōmcārī. Although in this country clever ṣayrafis are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the 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 māsha of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 māshas of pure gold of 10 1/2 degrees of fineness. Of this composition one māsha is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a surkā each. If now 7 surkās of pure gold (of 10 1/2 degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10 1/2 bān. Similarly, 7 surkās pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 bān; 6 1/2 s. pure gold and three parts composition, 9 1/2 bān; 6 s. gold and four parts composition, 9 1/2 bān; 5 1/2 s. gold and five parts composition, 9 1/2 bān; 5 s. gold and six parts composition, 9 bān; 4 1/2 s. gold and seven parts composition, 8 1/2 bān; 4 s. gold and eight parts composition, 8 1/2 bān; 3 1/2 s. gold and nine parts composition, 8 1/2 bān; 3 s. gold and ten parts composition, 8 bān; 2 1/2 s. gold and eleven parts composition, 7 1/2 bān; 2 s. gold and twelve parts composition, 7 1/2 bān; 1 1/2 s. gold and thirteen parts composition, 7 1/2 bān; and

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1 This Hind. word, which is not given in the dictionaries, means the testing of gold.
2 This māsha contains 6 parts gold; 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i.e., 3 1/2 gold and 1 alloy.
3 The Hind. term bān means "temper, degree."
lastly, 1/2 s. gold and fifteen 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 1/2 surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ surkh of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper, and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6½ bān; and if 1 surkh of the first mixture be melted together with 7 surkh of the second composition, the result will be 6 bān; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half surkh. But in the Banuārī, they reckon to 6 bāns only, rejecting all baser compositions.

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

3. The Awān. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the darugha and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

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

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

6. The Treasurer. He 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 Aḥadī.¹

7. The Weighman. He weighs the coins. For weighing 100 jahāli gold-muhrs he gets 1½ dāms; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6½ dāms; and for weighing 1000 copper dāms, ¾ of a dām; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. The Molder of the Ore. 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-

¹ The Aḥadī corresponds to our warrant officers. Most clerks of the Imperial officers, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps. They were called Aḥadīs, or single men, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word Aḥadī, the 3 of which is the Arabic ٣, was spelt in official returns with the Persian ١. So deep-rooted, says Dadámi, was Akbar's hatred for everything which was Arabī. [This word has come to mean in Urdu, lazy, indolent.—P.]
mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{1}{2}$ dāms; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dāms and 13½ jetals;¹ for the same quantity of copper, 4 dāms and 21½ jetals.

9. The Platemaker. He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven māshas 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 dāms.

1. The Manner of Refining Gold.

When the above-mentioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 jālātī gold muhrs, must furnish two sets of saltpetre, and four sets 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 cow dung, which in Hindi is called upāta. 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 Khāk-i khālis, and in Hindi salomī. 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 sitās.¹ 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 māsha 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.

¹ Twenty-five jetals make one dām. Vide the 10th A'īs.
² Use—P. I.
³ Sahra. This probably means jangli; i.e., "not stalled or stall-fed."—P. I.
The following method of assaying is also used. They take two tolās of pure gold, and two tolās 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 muhrs is three dāms.

11. The Zarrāb. 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 muhrs, 21 dāms, 1½ jetals; for the weight of 1000 rupees, 53 dāms, 8½ jetals, if he cuts rupees; and 23 dāms in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper dāms his fee is 20 dāms; for the same weight of half and quarter dāms, 25 dāms; and for half-quarter dāms, which are called damūris, 69 dāms.

In Irān and Tūrān 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, Mawlānā 'Alī Ahmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as to equal the copyslips of the most skilful calligraphers. He holds the rank of a yūzbāshī; and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 dāms.

13. The Sikkachī. He places the round pieces of metal between two dies; and by the strength of the hammerer (putk-chi) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 gold muhrs, 1 2/3 dāms; for 1000 rupees, 5 dāms, 9½ jetals; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 dām, 3 jetals in addition; for 1000 copper dāms, 3 dāms; for 2000 half-dāms, and 4000 quarter-dāms, 3 dāms, 18½ jetals; and for 8000 half-quarter dāms, 10½ dāms. Out of these fees the sikkachī has to give one-sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The Sakkāk makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 51 dāms.

*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 Yūzbāshī varied from five to seven hundred rupees per mensem; vide the third Avr of the second book.*
The discovery of an alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Iran and Turan, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver dakhahi; in Hindustan, the sagrafes use for it the term bist bisva. 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 heating 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 1 cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of ushgalas 2 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 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 disc, and is perfectly refined. If this disc be melted again, half a surkh in every tolâ will burn away, i.e., 6 māshas and 2 surkhs in 100 tolâs. The ashes of the disc, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindi khurāl, and in Persian kuhna 3; the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarrūh, 5 māshas and 5 surkhs are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred tolâs 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 banawarí system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 tolâs, of akhī silver, which is current in Iraq and Khurasan, and of the bārī and māshāb, which are

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1 See note 1, p. 21.—2 Called in Hind, ushgal, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning. [The likh of the Panjab.—P.]

3 Some MSS. have kānah.
current in Tūrān, there are lost three tolās and one surkh; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish nargil, and the mahmūdi and muzaffarī of Gujrāt and Mālwa, 13 tolās and 6½ māshas are lost; they become then of Imperial standard.

15. The Qura-kūb 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 dāms.

16. The Chāshūḡir examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows:—Having made two tolās 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 dāms. In the case of silver, he takes one tola 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 dāms, 4½ jetals.

17. The Niyāriya collects the khāk-i khāliṣ and washes it, taking two sers at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The khāk, when thus washed, is called in Hindi kukrah, and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The above-mentioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver at the rate of six māshas quicksilver per ser. The quicksilver from its predilectic affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of khāk, the Niyāriya receives 20 dāms, 2 jetals.

The process of Kukrah.

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

1 One MS. has cir.
2 [Word not traced.—R.]
Punhar is obtained as follows:—

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

Rasih is a kind of acid, made of asikha and salt petre.

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

The process of Bugravati:

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of Babul-wood, half a see for every 100 tolas of bugravati. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the bugravati, adding one tola of copper, and twenty-five tolas 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

3 The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. sitj, impure carbonate of soda.
bricks, and make a fire of bahal-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called kharal, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

_A†in 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. chhâchhiyâ. For every tola of the alloy, they take a mâshâ of copper, and two mâshâs, two surkhâs of sulphur. First they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 tolas weight, the 100 mâshâs of copper are employed as follows:—they first melt fifty mâshâs with it, and then twice again twenty-five mâshâs. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty mâshâs 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 broom-like 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 tola of this mixture two mâshâs and two surkhâs of sulphur are used, i.e., at the rate of one and one-half quarter seri (1½ seri) per 100 tolas. When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ash, 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 Panjâb, this gold is called kaul; whilst about Dâli, it is termed pinjar. If the mixture contains much gold, it generally turns out to be of 6½ bân, 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 tolas of this with 100 tolas of purer gold, and refine it by the _Saloni_ process; or else they use the _Aloni_ process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild-cow dung, and one part of salt-petre. Having then cast the aforesaid pinjar into ingots, they make it into plates, none of which ought to be lighter than 1½ tolas, but a little broader than those which they make in the _saloni_ process. Then having
besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strewed 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 kharal.

\[\text{A}^*\text{in 9.}
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THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES.

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

18. The Panjwâr having melted the kharal, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tola of silver is 1½ darm. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 dâms to the dîwân. Having reduced the kharal to small bits, he adds to every man of it 1½ sers of tangūr (borax), and three sets of pounded natron, and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, ser by ser, 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 sabbâk, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns punhar.

19. The Paikār buys the saloni 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 saloni, he gives 17 dâms, and for the same quantity of kharal 14 dâms, to the exchequer.

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

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

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

[1 In the Persian ashbāk-i kāf. — P.]
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 sahansah is a round coin weighing 101 tolas, 9 miskas, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 lat-i Jalaati-muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, Az-sultan wa lazzum wa khallad wa allah wa mulkah w a sultana w a zarb w a dar w a khilafat Agra, "the great sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!" Struck at the capital Agra." On the field of the reverse is the beautiful formula, and the following verse of the Qur'an: Allah qui ayya ma yasho bi-ghayri hisbi, "God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure"; and roundabout are the names of the first four Khalifas. This was what was first cut by Maulana Mughal, the engraver; after which Mullah Ali Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side Azal wa dinar wa yanchu-kh ar-rajul wa dinar wa yanchuh wa alaq azebabi fi sabit'ilah, "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,

Az-sultan wa lazzul ali khilafat wa al-mutali khallad wa allah wa fa'al mulkah w a sultana wa w a abbad wa allah wa wahsah, "the sublime sultan, the exalted Khalifa, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and given eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two Rubais of the court-poet and philosopher Shaykh Faziz were engraved by him. On one side,

Khurshid ki hft bahr azg gazhar yft
Sang-i nayak az partav-i an jawhar yft
Kan az nazar-i tarhiyat-i az zar yft
W'an zar sharafl az sikka-yi Shah Akbar yft.

1 Also called Kalimah, or the Confession of Faith, la ilaha illallah, Muhammadun rasul-allah.
3 Quatrains.—F.
"It is the Sun ¹ 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, Allah* akbar jall* jallāla-h*, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

In sikka ki jārāya-yi umnād budad
Bā naqsh-i darām u nām-i jāvd budad
SIM-yi sazādat-ash hamān hau ki bi-dahr
Yak zarra nazr-kardā-yi Khurshīd budad.

"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 tolas and 8 māshas, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 māshas each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The Ruhās 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 sahansa, ² and on the other side the following Ruhās² by Fayzi:

In naqdi-ravān-i ganj-i shāhīnshāhī
Bā kasekab-i iqbal kiran hamrāhī
Khurshīd bi-parvar-ash az ūn ru ki bi-dahr
Yāhab sharaf az sikka-yi Akbarshāhī.

"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!"

4. The Ātma is the fourth part of the sahansa, round and square. Some have the same impression as the sahansa ³; and some have on one side the following Ruhās³ by Fayzi:

In sikka ki daoet-i bakht rā zewar bād
Pirāya-yi nih xiphr u haft akhtar bād

¹ According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages, the influence of the sun calls the metals, the pearls, and precious stones into existence; see the thirteenth A. D. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.
² In the Persian text.—P.
³ Quttaireh.—P.
⁴ Sād-muhr i in the Persian text.—P.
⁵ Malik 'al-Shu'ārā in the Persian text.—P.
Zarrin naqdiat kör az-û chün zar bād
Dar dāhre rvān bi-nām-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'ī.

5. The Bissat, of the same two forms as the ātma, 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 sahana.

6. The Chagul, of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the sahana, in value equal to two muhars.

7. The round Lošṭ-i Jalālī, in weight and value equal to two round muhars, having on one side Allāh akbar, and on the other Yā mu'īn, "O helper."

8. The Afsānī is round, weighs 1 tola, 2 māshas, and 4½ surkh, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "Allāh akbar, jall jallān-hā."

9. The Ilāhī is round, weighs 12 māshas, 13 surkh, bears the same stamp as the Afsānī, and has a value of 10 rupees.

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1 Or Jugul. Abū 'l-Fazl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.
2 The MSS. differ. Most of them place the Chagul as the sixth coin after the Bissat, and read—
   "The Chagul, of a square form, weighing 3 tola, 5½ surkh; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a round form, weighing 2 tola, 9 māshas, having a value of three round muhars, of 11 māshas each (i.e., 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the fiftieth part of the Sahanā."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the Sahanā; for the two Chagulas, as given by Abū 'l-Fazl, would each be the hundredth and third part of the two kinds of Sahanā, not the fiftieth part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Princep's Useful Tables, pp. 5, 6, gives an extract from a MS. of the A'īna in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the square form of the Chagul, weighing 3 tola, 5½ surkh, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the eightieth coin, the Afsānī.

Two other MSS.—among them Col. Hamilton's—read after the Bissat (i.e., after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

6. The Chahāregushta (or square), weighing 3 tola, 5 surkh, worth 30 rupees.
7. The Girāl (or round), weighing 2 tola, 9 māshas, in value equal to the 3 round muhars of 11 māshas each.

Both have the same impression.

8. The Chagul, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a Sahanā, in value equal to two Lošṭ-i Jalālī mūhars."

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the Chahāregushta, the Girāl, and the Chagul are three distinct coins.

* For the round Lošṭ-i Jalālī, some MSS. only read, "The Girāl," i.e., round, taking the words Lošṭ-i Jalālī to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.
10. The square La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālī is of the same weight and value; on one side "Allāh\textsuperscript{8} akbar," and on the other "jall\textsuperscript{8} jalālu-kā."

11. The 8Adl-gukā is round, weighs 11 māshas, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "Allāh\textsuperscript{8} akbar," and on the other, "Yā mu\textsuperscript{8}rin.""

12. The Round mukhr, in weight and value equal to the 8Adl-gukā, but of a different\footnote{It has the Kālina. (Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the A\textsuperscript{8}Tu.)} stamp.

13. Mihrāb\footnote{The figure called mihrāb is } is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round mukhr.

14. The Mu\textsuperscript{8}rin is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālī, and the round mukhr. It bears the stamp "Yā mu\textsuperscript{8}rin."

15. The Chāhārgosha, in stamp and weight the same as the Āftābī.

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

17. The Dhan\footnote{In Forbes’s Dictionary, dalas.} is half a La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālī.\footnote{Several MSS. read—"Half a quarter Ilāh and La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālī." Forbes gives six rupees (!).}

18. The Salāmī is the half of the 8Adl-gukā.

19. The Rabī\footnote{Several MSS. have Rabī. Perhaps we should write Rabbī.} is a quarter of the Āftābī.

20. The Man, is a quarter of the Ilāhī, and Jalālī.

21. The Half Salāmī is a quarter of the 8Adl-gukā.

22. The Panāj is the fifth part of the Ilāhī.

23. The Panādau is the fifth part of the La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālī; on one side is a lily,\footnote{[1] Jalā in Persian text. This is the common red poppy in Afgānīstān and the Panjāb; and in Persia is also applied to the wild tulip.—P.] and on the other a wild rose.

24. The Sunnī, or Ashtsūd, is one-eighth of the Ilāhī; on one side "Allāh\textsuperscript{8} akbar," and on the other "jall\textsuperscript{8} jalālu-kā."

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

26. The Zara is the thirty-second part of an Ilāhī and has the same stamp as the kalā.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin La\textsuperscript{8}l-i Jalālīs, Dhanas, and Mans, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.
B. Silver Coins.

1. The Rupiya is round, and weighs eleven and one half miskas. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khân. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "Allâh akbar, jallâ, jalâli-h", and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty dâms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The Jalâla 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 Jalâla.

4. The Charn is a quarter Jalâla.

5. The Paisa is a fifth of the Jalâla.

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

7. The Dosa is one-tenth of the Jalâla.

8. The Kalâ is the sixteenth part of the Jalâla.

9. The Sâkâ is one-twentieth of the Jalâla.

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

C. Copper Coins.

1. The Dâm weighs 5 tûks, i.e. 1 tûla, 8 miskas, and 2 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rupiya. At first this coin was called Paisa, and also Buhlâli; now it is known under this name (dâm). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

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

2. The Asâhela is half of a dâm.

3. The Pâzoldâ is a quarter dâm.

4. The Damri is one-eighth of a dâm.

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, Bengal, Ahmadâbâd (Gujrât), and Kâbul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places: Ilâhabâs, Ágra, Ujain, Sûrat, Dihlî, Patna, Kashmîr, Lâhor, Multân, Tândja. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. Ajmîr, Avadh, Atâk, Alwar, Buda*on, Banâras, Bhakkar, Bahîrah, Patan, Jaunpûr, Jâlandhar, Hardwâr, Hisâr, Fûrûza, Kâlpî, Gwâliyâr, Gorakhpûr, Kâlânûr.

* Often misspelt chotâl. The text gives the correct spelling.
Lakhnau, Mandu, Nagra, Sarhind, Siyalok, Saronj, Saharanpur, Sarangpur, Saqbal, Qasawj, Rantabehur.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round rupees, vighus, and doms.

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 Raja Todarmal, 3 four kinds of muhrs were allowed to be current; A. There was a Lati-i Jalal, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tola, 13 surkhs. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 doms. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a muhr with the imperial stamp, of which three degrees passed as current, viz.: B. This muhr, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 mashas. Its value was 360 doms. 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 muhr, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 doms. D. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 doms.

3 Raja Todarmal, a Khatri by caste, was born at Lahor. He appears to have entered Akbar’s service during the 18th year of the emperor’s reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrat. In the 10th year, we find him in Bengal in company with Maulvi Khud; and three years later again at Gujrat. In the 27th year he was appointed Dewan of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a Khatri in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yusufzais, 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, more to tell, as Badaoni expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the 11th day A.H. 908, or 10th November, 1599, the same year in which Raja Bhagwan Das died. Todarmal had reached the rank of a Chakirshahir, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dhari, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with Thatha.

Abu'l-Fazl did not like Todarmal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Awrangzub said he had heard from his father that Akbar complained of the Raja’s independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Abu'l-Fazl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Todarmal 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 Panjab, in the hurry of the departure, Todarmal’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.
Muhrs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of Ṛūṣpūras, three kinds were then current, viz.: A. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 1½ māšhas; it went under the name of Jālāla, and had a value of 40 dāms. B. The round, old Akbararahāri Ṛūṣpūra, which, when of full weight, or even at a surkā less, was valued at 39 dāms. C. The same rupees, when in weight two surkā less, at 38 dāms.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mihār of the 29th year of the Divine era, ʿAzūd al-Dīn Mahāmūd Khan al-Dīn of Shīrāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the māhrās, as far as three grains; and on the Ṛūṣpūras, as far as six grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered that only muhrs down to nine grains less should be regarded as muhrs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhr that was one surkā deficient was put down as 355 dāms and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one surkā of coined gold at the low rate of four dāms and a fraction. According to Todarmal's regulation, a deduction of five dāms was made for a deficiency of one surkā; and if the muhr had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ¼ surkā, 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 ʿAzūd ʿd-Dawlah, the value of a muhr was lessened by six dāms and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 dāms and a fraction only.¹

ʿAzūd ʿd-Dawlah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round rūpiya 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 rūpiya, 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 ʿAzūd ʿd-Dawlah went to Khāndesh, the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalāla rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhrs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulī Khān ² received the charge of the government, he adopted the Rāja's manner of estimating the muhrs; but he deducted ten dāms for a deficiency in the weight of a muhr, for which the Rāja had deducted five dāms; and twenty dāms for the former deduction of ten dāms; whilst he considered every muhr as bullion, if the deficiency was 1½ surkhs. Similarly, every rūpiya, the deficiency of which was one surkh, was considered as bullion.

¹ For ʿAzūd ʿd-Dawlah having fixed the value of 1 surkh of coined gold at 4 dāms and a small fraction, the value of a muhr of full weight (11 mahek = 11 × 8 surkhs) was only 11 × 8 × (4 + a small fraction) dāms, i.e., according to Abū ʿl-Fazl, 353 dāms and a fraction, instead of 360 dāms.

² Qulī Khān is first mentioned during the 17th year of Akbar's reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Sūrat, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrat; and after the death of Shāh Mansūr, he was, two years later, appointed as Dīrāz. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrat. In the 34th year he received Sambhal as jāgir. After the death of Todarmal, he was again appointed as Dīrāz. This is the time to which Abū ʿl-Fazl refers. In 1502 he was made governor of Kābul, where he has not been successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1505, his son-in-law Prince Dānyāl as Atālīq, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1507, of the emperor in Khāndesh, he was governor of Agra. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. At the accession of Jalālūdīn, he was sent to Gujrat, but returned next year to the Panjāb, where he had to fight against the Rawshaniyās. He died, at an advanced age, in 1535, or A.D. 1625-26. Abū ʿl-Fazl, in the last 4th of the second book, mentions him as Chabārshah, or Commander of Four Thousand, which high rank he must have held for some time, as Nizam-ul-Ḥaṣān, in his Tabqat-ʿAkhbar, mentions him as such, and as Dīrāz. When tutor to Prince Dānyāl, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulī Khān was a pious man, and a staunch Sunnī; he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of Ufārī; some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the Mīrāj-ʿl-ʿAmm. The high rank which he held was less due to his talents as a statesman than to his family connexion with the kings of Türkān. Of his two sons, Mirzā Safī ʿllāh and Mirzā Husain Qulī, the latter is best known. [Vide note 2 to No. 42 of ʿAfs 30.—B.]
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. "Aqul" 'd-Dawlā] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhr the deficiency of which did not exceed three, and a rūmya, 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 muhrs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhrs six grains deficient as muhrs 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 bābdāghãri 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.

**THE DIRHAM AND THE DĪNĀR.**

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

The Dirham, or Dirhām, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone. During the khilāfah of Ūmar, it was changed to a circular form; and in the time of Zubayr it was impressed with the words Allāh (God), barakat (blessing), Hajjāj

[1 Fārāq.—P.]
stamped upon it the chapter of the Qur'an called Ikhlaṣ; and others say, that he imprinted it with his own name. Others assert, that ʿUmar was the first who stamped an impression on dirhams; whilst, according to some, Greek, Khusrau, and Ḥimyarite dirhams were in circulation at the time of ʿAbd ʿI-Malik, the son Marwān, by whose order Ḥajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, had struck dirhams. Some say that Ḥajjāj refined the base dirhams, and coined them with the words Allāh aʿnād (God is one), and Allāh aṣ-ṣamad (God is eternal); and these dirhams were called makrūha (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured, unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Ḥajjāj, at the time of the reign of Yazid bin ʿAbd ʿI-Malik, ʿUmar bin Hubayrah coined in the kingdom of ʿIrāq better dirhams than Ḥajjāj had made; and afterwards Khalid bin ʿAbd ʿI-lāh Qasrī, when governor of ʿIrāq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf son of ʿUmar. Again, it has been said that Musāb bin Zubayr 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 miskāl; whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve, and ten qirāt, asserting at the same time that ʿUmar had taken a dirham of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen qirāt, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of ʿUmar there were current several kinds of dirhams: first, some of eight dāns, which were called baghul, after Rās bāghul, who was an assay-master, and who struck dirhams by the command of ʿUmar; but others call them baghali, from bāghal, which is the name of a village: secondly, some of four dāns, which were called tabrī; thirdly, some of three dāns, which were known as maghrūbī; and lastly, some of one dān, named yamanti, the half of which four kinds ʿUmar 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 dāns (1 dān of his = 2 qirāt; 1 qirāt = 2 tassūj; 1 tassūj = 2 babbah); and secondly, deficient ones of four dāns and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The Dinār is a gold coin, weighing one miskāl, i.e. 1½ dirhams, as they put 1 miskāl = 6 dāns; 1 dān = 4 tassūj; 1 tassūj = 2 babbah; 1 babbah = 2 jaws (barley grains); 1 jaw = 6 khardals (mustard-grain); 1 khardal = 12 fals; 1 fals = 6 fattis; 1 fattil = 6 naqīrāt; 1 naqīr = 6 qitnūr; and 1 qitnūr = 12 jaws. One miskāl, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. Miskāl is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is
also the name of the coin. From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek misqūl is out of use, and weighs two qīrāṭs less than this; and that the Greek dirham differs likewise from others, being less in weight by $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a misqūl.

Aṭṭīn 12.

THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.

One round muhr of 11 māshas buys one tola of gold of 10 bān; or one tola, 2 surkhes of 9½ bān; or 1 tola, 4 s. of 8½ bān; or 1 tola 6 s. of 9½ bān; or 1 tola, 1 māsha of 9 bān; and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one bān increases the quantity of gold which a muhr can buy by one māsha.

The merchant buys, for 100 Lāṭ-ī Jalālī muhrs 130 t. 2 m. 0½ s. of Hun gold of 8½ bāns. Of this quantity 22 t. 9 m. 7½ s. burn away in melting, and mix with the khāk-i khalās, so that 107 t. 4 m. 1½ s. of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tola of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the khāk-i khalās are recovered 2 t. 11 m. 4 s. of gold, and 11 t. 11 m. 4½ s. of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12½ tangas, so that altogether the above-mentioned quantity of Hun gold yields 105 muhrs 39 Rs., and 25 dāms.

This sum is accounted for as follows. First, 2 Rs. 18 d. 12½ j., due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; secondly, 5 Rs. 8 d. 8 j., for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 R. 4 d. 1½ j., on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz. 26 d. 16½ j. dung; 4 d. 20 j. salomi; 1 d. 10 j. water; 11 d. 5 j. quicksilver, and 4 Rs. 4 d. 6½ j., on account of the khāk-i khalās (viz. 21 d. 7½ j. charcoal, and 3 Rs. 22 d. 24 j. lead); thirdly, 6 Rs. 37½ d., which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the Dīwān if the gold belongs to the exchequer; fourthly, 100 Lāṭ-ī Jalālī muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; fifthly, 12 Rs. 37 d. 3½ j. which the merchant takes as his profit; sixthly, 5 muhrs 12 Rs. 3½ d., which go to the exchequer. According to this proportion, merchants make their profits.

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet.

1. In text "a gold coin."—B.
2. One tanga = 2 dāms; now-a-days one tanga = 2 paisa.
3. تجربه درمی (P.)
4. There is a slight mistake of $\frac{1}{3}$ jālak, as the several items added up give 105 m. 39 Rs. 24 d. 23½ j., but not 105 m. 39 Rs. 25 d.
Gold may also be obtained by the Salomī-process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus, and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold; however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.

One Rupee buys 1 t. 0 m. 2 s. of pure silver; hence for 950 Rs. the merchant gets 969 t. 9 m. 4 s. of silver. Out of this quantity, 5 t. 0 m. 4½ s. burn away in casting ingots. The remainder yields 1006 rupees, and a surplus of silver worth 27½ ḍāms. The several items are—first, 2 Rs. 22 d. 12 j., as wages for the workmen (viz. The Weighman 5 d. 7½ j., the Chāshnīgīr 3 d. 4½ j., the Melter 6 d. 12½ j., the Zarrāb 2 Rs. 1 d. 0 j., the Sikkṭhī 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 10 d. 15 j., on account of requisites (viz. 10 d. charcoal, and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 13 d. 0 j., payable to the Divine; fourthly, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought; and fifthly, 3 Rs. 21 d. 10½ 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 lārī and shākhī, 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 Sābbākī process, 14 t. 10 m. 1 s. burn away, being at the rate of 1½ 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 khākō kharal 3⅓ Rs. are recoverable. The several items are—first, 4 Rs. 27 d. 24½ j.; on account of the wages of the workmen (viz. the Weighman 5 d. 7½ j., the Sābbāk 2 Rs. 0 d. 19 j., the Quṣṭuk 4 d. 19 j., the Chāshnīgīr 3 d. 4½ j., the Melter 6 d. 12½ j., the Zarrāb 2 Rs. 1 d., the Sikkṭhī 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 5 Rs. 24 d. 15 j., for necessaries (viz. 5 Rs. 14 d. lead; 10 d. charcoal, and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 24 d., payable to the State; fourthly, 950 Rs. which the merchant receives for his silver; fifthly, 4 Rs. 29 d., his profit. Sometimes the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger.

1044 ḍāms buy one man of copper, i.e. at the rate of 26 d. 2½ j. per seer. Out of this quantity, one seer is burnt away in melting; and as each seer yields 30 ḍāms, there are coined altogether 1170 ḍāms, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 d. 19½ j. as profit, 33 d. 10 j. go to the workmen; and 15 d. 8 j. for necessaries (viz. 13 d. 8 j. for charcoal; 1 d. for water; and 1 d. for clay); 58½ d. go to the state.
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 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 āsār-i ʿulāvī; secondly, stones; thirdly, plants; fourthly, animals. From the heat of the sun, watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up. Such a mixture is called bukhār (gas). From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up. This mixture is called dukhān (vapour). Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth. Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures bukhār, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of moist, or watery bukhār, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air dry bukhār, or dukhānī bukhār (vapour-like gas). Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, etc.; 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 yūqūt; 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 movable: 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.

1 Or ʿaiphery from on high, as rain, snow, etc.
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 either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the dukhān is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the bukhār 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, khūrčhīā will be produced. This body is also called Āhančhīā, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if, under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called the seven bodies; and quicksilver has the name of the mother of the bodies, and sulphur, the father of the bodies. Quicksilver is also denominated the spirit, and arsenic and sulphur the pivots of life.

Just (pewter), which, according to the opinions of some, is Rāh-i

[1 Or zinc 1—P.]
and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 9½ m. of water, and the same quantity of gold; 5½ 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 of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. Abū Rayhān 1 has drawn up a table which I shall insert here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity of water displaced by 100</th>
<th>Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 misqals of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Misqal, Dirāg, Tassāţ</td>
<td>Misqal, Dirāg, Tassāţ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Gold,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver</td>
<td>Quicksilver,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Lead,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Silver,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūy</td>
<td>Rūy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Copper,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>Brass,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Iron,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>Tin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue)</td>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (red)</td>
<td>Yāqūt (red),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby (laṭf)</td>
<td>Ruby (laṭf),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zumurud</td>
<td>Zumurud,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>Pearl,</td>
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<td>Lapis lazuli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>Amber,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullūr</td>
<td>Bullūr,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 With the exception of Quicksilver, Silver, and Yāqūt (light blue), the numbers given in the MSS, and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 misqals (1 m. = 8 d.; 1 d. = 4 t.). But in most items there is an excess of one dirāg.
The weight (in air) of the under-
mentioned metals, the volume of
100 misqāl of gold being taken as
the unit of volume.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold,</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver,</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead,</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver,</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayy,</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper,</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass,</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron,</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin,</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The weight (in air) of the under-
mentioned precious stones, the
volume of 100 misqāl of the blue
yāqūt being taken as the unit of
volume.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue),</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūl (red),</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruby,</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zamurrud,</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>Pearls,</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lapis lazuli,</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>(?)Cornelian,</td>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amber,</td>
<td>64</td>
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A tin 15.

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—1—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; 2 but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs 3 and chemical processes. Any kind of growth

[1. P.]

2. So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.

3. Elixirs change quickly that which is worthless into pure gold.
will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as dāroqhas, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1628 Rs. per mensem. Some 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 Tahwīldārs (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. The Tahwīldār 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 Tahwīldār, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-Tahwīldārs for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All moneys are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.¹

¹ At 40 dāners per rupee.

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 the enclosure the eunuchs are placed; and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful Rājputās, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, Ḥādīs, and other troops, according to their ranks.

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

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

A'IN 16.

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.¹

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 Golāl-bār 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.² At its eastern end a pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long and 14 broad; and in the middle there stands a large chūbīn rūqis,³ and round about it a sarā-parda.⁴ Adjoining to the chūbā, they built up a two-storyed 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 chūbīn rūqis 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 sāyabān̄s⁵ of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a sarā-parda of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the Urdā-begās,⁶ and other female

¹ In text تریش, Tūrīsh, T. properly means "attack, assault". Tūrīsh-hā seems to mean here "military expeditions.—P.
² [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
³ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
⁴ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
⁵ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
⁶ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
⁷ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
⁸ [Described in the twenty-first A'īn.]
servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the Mahālāhī; 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 Nam-girā, 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 Gulāl-bār, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the Mahālāhī; and in the midst of it is a Chābān-rū, of it, 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 Ibāchī, which is the (Chaghatāi) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a Sarū-parda is being put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the Sarū-parda 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 tent-like covering, or Qalāndari, 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 Dīmnā-i khāqī or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles and the officers of the army, after having obtained leave through the Bakhshīs, 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 Dīmnā-i Amm, or public audience hall, round which, as above described,

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1 As may be still seen in the ruins of Fatḥpur Sikri.
2 [Note: "tent-wall".—P.]
3 [Note: "shāhīnd.—P.]
4 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.
the various guards are placed. At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve tanābe it is the Naqqāra Khāna, and in the midst of the area the Akās-dīyā is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the Farrūshes on a piece of ground which the Mir Manzils 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 carriages 100 elephants, 500 camels, 200 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, Manzelkars, Ahradis. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farrūshes, natives of Irān, Tūrān, and Hindustān, 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 dāms.

**Aṭīn 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 Naqqāra Khāna, 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 is allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to the left and centre are the tents of Maryām Mākān, and Gulbadan Begum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dānyāl; to the

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1. A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the tanāb, see the tenth line of the third book.
2. A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. Viz. p. 50.
3. Quartermasters.
5. Qct. M. is said to be the crate of an army in battle array. — F.
6. Maryām Mākān (i.e., dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Asiyah, the wife of Pharaoh, Kildija, Muhammad’s first wife, and Fatimah, his daughter, are the four perfect women of Islam) is the title of Akhar’s mother. Her name was Hamzah Bānā Begum; see Badkoni, ed. Bihl, Ind., p. 437. Gulbadan Begum (i.e., Lady Rose-body) appears to be the name of one of Akhar’s favourite wives. [No, his aunt.—R.]
right, those of Prince Sultan Salim, and to the left, those of Prince Shah Murad. 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 bazaars. 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.

\[A^\text{a}^{\text{in}} 18.\]

**ON ILLUMINATIONS.**

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider this forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select,"¹ 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 Shaykh Sharf ⁴d-Din ² 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 Suryakrant, 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. 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.

¹ The members of the Divine Faith.
² This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Mania is a town in Bahar; *sive Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1888*, 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.
There is also a shining white stone, called Chandrkrant, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one ghari before sunset, his Majesty, if riding, 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 mans 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 ser of oil, and half a ser 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 far, his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbär, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes;

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1 One ghari = 24 minutes.
2 Oil-burners with several wicks are very common in India.
3 For each flambeau.
and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Ākās-diya. Its light, 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 Mangabārs, Aḥadis, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dāmes.

\[\text{Part 19.}

\text{THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.}

The Shamaṣ 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 Aʿwāny, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The Chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The Sāya-bān 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 Aftābghīr. 4. The Kawkabs, of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

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

Of musical instruments used in the Naqūrakhāna, I may mention, 1. the Kusanpa, commonly called domāns; there are eighteen pair of

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1. From Ākās sky, and diya lamp. The Akāṣdiya is also mentioned by Berrier.
2. Shamaṣ is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.
3. Vedi the plates.
4. The Qār is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.
and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Akās-diya. Its light, 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 Mansābdlārs, Aḥadīs, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dāms.

A'īn 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The Shamsāt 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 Aṣerman, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The Chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The Sāya-bān 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 Aṣīābhīr. 4. The Kauckabo, of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

5. The ʿAlam, 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 Chatrīq, a kind of ʿAlam, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The Tamantoq is like the Chatriq, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The Jhavādā 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 Naqārakhāns, I may mention, 1. the Kuskarp, commonly called damāma; there are eighteen pair of

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1 From Ḥās sky, and diya lamp. The Akhadiya is also mentioned by Bernier.
2 Shamsā is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.
3 Vade the plates.
4 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 naqāra, twenty pair, more or less. 3. The dhubul, of which four are used. 4. The Karnā is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals, and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The sura of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The nafir, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The sinq 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 ghari before the commencement of the night, and likewise four ghari before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One ghari before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the sura, and wake up those that are asleep; and one ghari after sunrise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kawunga a little, wherupon they blow the karnā, the nafir, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqāra; after a little pause the sura is blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the nafir. One hour later the naqāras commence, when all musicians raise "the auspicious strain." After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The Muradili, which is the name of a tune played by the murail; and afterwards the bardāshī, 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 iškāhir, bičāzī, shīrāz, qalandari nigir qatra, or nukshād qatra, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old 4 Khwārizmit tunes. Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes Jalālshāhi, Mahāmīr karkat (?), and the Naurozi. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of Bā miyān dawar. 6. The passing into the tunes azfar, also called nākā bālā, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwārizmit tunes, played by the Murail, after which he passes into the mursali; 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 sura-

1 Or Karnā. [In text karnā.—P.]  

2 Probably blessings on his Majesty.  

3 Several of these names of melodies are uncertain, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words shīrāz qalandari, "a hermit of Shirāz," belong to each other.  

4 Nigir qatra means, bekold the tear. [Qalandar is a kind of Wandering dervish of wild appearance.—P.]  

* In text "old and new."—P.]
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 naqārī.

Mansabdārī, Ahadīs, and other troops are employed in this department. The monthly pay of a foot-soldier does not exceed 340 and is not less than 74 dāms.

A'īn 20.

THE ROYAL SEALS.

Seals are used in the three branches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions. In the beginning of the present reign, Mawlānā Maqṣūd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the riqūk 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'litq 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:

Rāstī mubārak-ir riqūk hukmām kān samādīs bi gur shud az rāgh-ir rāst.

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

Tāmkūn made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Mawlānā ʻAlī Ahmad of Dihīī improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chaghatā'i) name of Uzuk; and is used for farmān-i sabās; 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 nowadays for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words Allahāk Ākbar jallā jallā, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to farmāns, another stamp is used of various forms.

Of seal-engravers I shall mention:

1. Mawlānā Maqṣūd of Hirāt, one of the servants of Humāyūn, who writes well the riqūk and nasta'litq characters. The astrolabe, globes, and

1 Corresponding to the threefold division of the A'īn-i Akbari.
2 The word maḥr, 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 ḫulā nut is preferred. [The marking-oil tree commonly called khitān.—P.]
3 See note p. 30.
4 See the eleventh A'īn of the second book.
various mistress which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

2. Tamkin of Kabul. He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the nasta'liq.

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

4. Mawlana Ibrahim. 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 riqû and nasta'liq from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words la'l jalali, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. Mawlana Ali Ahmad of Dihili who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are used as copies. His nasta'liq is charming; but he writes also other characters as well. He learned the trade from his father Shaykh Husayn, studied the manner of Mawlana Maqshud, and eventually surpassed all.

THE FARRASH KHANA.

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 Buriakh, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

1 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 esfer, a line. The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the masjar, and presses on them with his hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

2 Niche of Hirat, in his Tabaqati Akbari, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.
people. It takes a thousand farrash, a week to erect 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 Chūhin nānaut 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 the crossbeam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a dāsa,¹ to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the dānas and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two; and at the height of the lower dānas there is a raised platform. The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet-sackcloth,² tied to the walls with silk tape. 3. The Do-āshiyāna manzil, or house of two storeys, 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 storey. 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 motley sarū 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 this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc.), which is called jharokā,³ or window. 4. The Zaminot is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The Ājāvāt 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, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The Mandal 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 Ath-khamā consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes

¹ A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, a support.
² Saqirot, perhaps a scarlet broad-cloth.—P.
³ Jharokā, a small window in an upper storey, especially one in a palace, to obtain a view.—P.
separate, sometimes joined together; they are supported by eight poles. 8. The Khargāḥ is a folding tent made in various ways; some with one, others with two doors. 9. The Shāmyāna-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The Qalendāri has been described. 11. The Sarāpardo was made in former times of coarse canvas, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness. 12. The Golābār is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the Khargāḥ, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together when the camp breaks up. The golābār is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

Carpetes. 2

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many masterpieces. The gilim of Irān and Tūrān are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goskān, 3 Khūzestān, Kirmān, and Sabzvar. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. These are found in every town, especially in Agra, Fathpūr and Lāhor. In the imperial workshops single gilim are made 20 gaz 7 tassūjes long, and 6 gaz 11½ tassūjes broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees.

Takya-namads, or woollen coverlets, are brought from Kābul and Persia, 4 but are also made in this country.

It would take up too much time to describe the jōjams, shatrinjas, balūchis, and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk.

1 in 22.

THE ĀBDĀR KHĀNA.

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

1 Vīde p. 48.
2 In text gilim, which is a carpet without a pilz.—P.
3 Goskān, or Joshāpūn, a town in Širāq-i Ālam, halfway between Kāshān and Īsfahān. Khūzestān is the Persian province of which Shushtar, or Shustar, is the capital; the ancient Sasanian. Kirmān is the capital of the Persian province Kirmān, which borders on Balūchestān. Sabzvar is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Sīvand, between Meshhad (Meshed) and the Caspian Sea.
4 In text aqāsh, dialect. Both countries are known by the name, as also England, in modern times.—P.
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 Ágra and in Fathpúr, the water came from the district of Sorún,¹ but now² that his Majesty is in the Panjáb, the water is brought from Hardwár. For the cooking of the food, rain-water or water taken from the Jamma and the Chanáb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On journeys and hunting parties, his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters.

Salt-petre, 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. Salt-petre 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 ser of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sers of salt-petre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sers of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold. The price of salt-petre varies from 5 to 4 annas per rupee.

Since the thirtieth year³ 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 Panhán, in the northern mountains, about forty-five kos from Láhor. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sers 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 sers, at the rate of 5 dámas. 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 sers, 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 sers arrive daily. By this kind of transport, a ser of ice costs in winter 3 d. 21 j.; during the rains 14 d. 20 j.; in the intermediate time 9 d. 21½ j.;

¹ The nearest station on the Ganges from Ágra.
² A.D. 1589. As in 1586 Fathpúr had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjáb.
³ A.D. 1586.
and in the average, 5 d. 15½ f. If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5 d. 19½ f.; in the middle 16 d. 2½ f.; and in the end 19 d. 15½ f. per ser; in the average, 8½ d.

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

A+ in 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 capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown 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 Bakawal, or

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1 The text has saráxari, which may mean the average; but the price given by Abúl-Fazl 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 ser of American ice costs two annas, or ½ rupee; i.e., ½ = 5 dinars of Akbar.
Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-house being sealed with the seals of the Mir Bakäwal 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 Dínwân-i buyûtât and the Mir Bakäwal, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g. Sukhdás rice from Bharāji; Devzīra rice from Gvāliār, Jīnja rice from Rājorī and Nimlah, ghī from Hīvār Fīrūsa; ducks, water-fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmir. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, bereries, fowls, ducks, etc., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept less 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 Bakäwal 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, etc., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthenware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the Sub-

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1 Foot.-p.
2 Superintendent of the stores, workshops, etc.
3 Bhaṭṭāchārī.-B.
4 Qāẓ T. goose not duck.-p.
5 Apparently the Barbary goat.-P.
6 Qāẓ T. goose.-P.
Bakāśwals. During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lockers-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 Bakāśwal taste it, after which it is tasted by the Mir Bakāśwal, 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 Bakāśwal 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 Bakāśwal, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the Bakāśwals, 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 Bakāśwal, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance; first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The Mir Bakāśwal 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, etc., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

Aṭ in 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 ṣūfilgūn; secondly, such in which meat and rice, etc., are used; thirdly, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First. 1. Zard biriyān: 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugarcandy; 3½ s. of ghi; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ¾ s. of each; ½ s. of salt; ⅛ s. of fresh ginger; 1½ dāms saffron, 2½ misqāls of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without
any: and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt. 2. Khushka: 10 s. rice; ½ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of Deseina paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot; jinjia rice yields 22 sers. 3. Khichri: Rice, mung dāl, and ghi 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. Thalī: 10 s. of wheat, ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of ghi; 10 misqāls of pepper; 4 m. cinnamon; 3½ m. cloves and cardamums; ½ s. salt; some add milk and sweetmeats: this gives four dishes. 6. Chikhi: 10 s. of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 s. of fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; saffron, cardamums, and cloves, ½ d. of each; cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 d. of each; fresh ginger, salt 3 d. of each: this gives two dishes; some add lime juice. 7. Bādinjān: 2 10 s.; 1½ s. ghi; 3½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafetida, each ¼ m. This gives six dishes. 8. Pahū: For ten sers of dāl of vetches (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc.) take 2½ s. ghi; ½ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cuminseed; 1¼ m. assafetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with Khushka. 9. Sāg: It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, etc., 1½ s. ghi; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamums and cloves: this gives six dishes. 10. Halwa: Flour, sugarcandy, ghi, 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. Qabūf: 10 s. rice; 7 s. meat; 3½ s. ghi; 1 s. grain 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. Dudhibāyin: 10 s. rice, 3½ s. ghi; 10 s. meat; ½ s. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. Qīma 4 Palāo: Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 s. ghi; 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. Shulla: 10 s. meat, 3½ s. rice; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh

[1] All split peas, pulse, lentils, vetches, etc., are called dāl.—P.
[2] Ḍudhibāyin is the egg-plant or brinjāl.—P.
[3] Qīma is pounded (or minced) meat.—P.
ginger; 2 d. garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives six dishes. 5. Bhughrā: 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; 1½ s. ghi; 1 s. gram; 1½ s. vinegar; 1 s. sugar-candy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ½ s. of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cumined seed, 1 d. of each; 2 d. cinnamon; 8 m. round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. Qina Shurbā: 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. ghi; ½ s. gram, and the rest as in the Shulla: this gives ten full dishes. 7. Harīnā: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. ghi; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. Kusḩk: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. ghi; 1 s. gram; ¼ s. salt; 1½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cumined seed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. Ḥalīm: The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. ghi; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ¼ s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. Qutīb, which the people of Hind call sāmbāsa: This is made in several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. fine flour; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. fresh ginger; ½ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamums, cumined seed, cloves, 1 d. of each; ½ s. of summāq. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. Bīryānī. For a whole Dāshmāndi sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. ghi; 3 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cumined seed: it is made in various ways. 2. Yakhnī: for 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and ¼ s. salt. 3. Yulma: A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off; it is then prepared like yakhnī, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. Kūbāb is of various kinds. 10 s. meat; ½ s. ghi; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ s. of each; cumined seed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, ¼ d. of each. 5. Muṣsimman: They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole; ½ s. minced meat; ½ s. ghi; 5 eggs; ¼ s. onions; 10 m. coriander; 10 m. fresh ginger; 5 m. salt; 3 m. round pepper; ½ m. saffron. It is prepared as the preceding. 6. Dusīyāza: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. ghi; 2 s. onions; ¾ s. salt; ¼ s. fresh pepper; cumined seed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each; 2 d. pepper: this will give five dishes. 7. Mūtajāna sheep: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. ghi; ½ s. gram; ¼ s. ginger; 1 d. cumined seed, round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 d. of each; this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. Dampaḥkht: 10 s. meat; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. Qalīyā:

1 Yakhnī is a gravy or broth.—P. J.
2 Does this mean fried?—P. J.
3 Dam-paḥkht means cooking slowly in a vessel with its lid closed by paste.—P. J.
10 s. meat; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 d. each; ½ s. salt; this will give eight dishes. In preparing qalinya, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the mulanjana. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways. 10. Malghuba: 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dishes.

A* in 25.

OF BREAD.

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a large kind,1 baked in an oven, made of 10 s. flour; 5 s. milk; 1 ½ s. ghi; ½ s. salt. They make also smaller ones. The thin kind is baked on an iron plate. One ser will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it; one kind is called chapati, which is sometimes made of chashka; it tastes very well when served hot. For the bread used at court, one man of wheat is made to yield ½ 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.


THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (Śāfyāna.)2

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 month of Rajab3 on the feast-day of every

[1] Probably a large flat cake.—P.
[2] Living according to the manners of the Sāfe.
[3] Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 18th 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.
solar month, during the whole month of Farwardin,¹ and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz. the month of Adbán. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of Adbán had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of Ažar 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 begums, the princes, and the principal nobility.

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

Å’in 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>Safflower seed (carthamus)</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul gram, do</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fennugreek, do</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black gram, do</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas, do</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentils, do</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard seed, do</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley, do</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keví, do</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet, do</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linseeds, per man</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. The autumnal harvest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mushkin, paddy per man</td>
<td>110 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinjin rice, do</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāda paddy, do</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakah (?) rice, do</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhdás rice, do</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirkí rice, do</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dûnaparsâd rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâthí rice, do</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâmzíra rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûng (black gram) do</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakarchíni rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûsh (a kind of vetch) per</td>
<td>15 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewzíra rice, do</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ February-March; [or March and April?—P]; 2nd the first Å’in of the third book; Adbán corresponds to October-November.

¹ Mashang or mushang, a pea.—P.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moth (a kind of vetch), per man</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sesame, do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black sesame, do.</td>
<td>19 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobiyā (a kind of bean), do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juwārī (a kind of millet), do.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māng dāl, per man</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukhād dāl, do.</td>
<td>16½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour, per man</td>
<td>22 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. coarse, do.</td>
<td>15 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fennel, per man</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips, do.</td>
<td>21 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage, per ser.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankakhū, from Kashmir, do</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dariwētū,</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqāqul (wild carrot), do</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāshmandi sheep, per head</td>
<td>6½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan sheep, 1st kind, do</td>
<td>2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do.</td>
<td>1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3rd kind, do.</td>
<td>1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir sheep, do.</td>
<td>½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustānī sheep, do.</td>
<td>½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbarī goat, 1st kind, do</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do.</td>
<td>¼ R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] Turnā, not turnip.—P.J.
[4] Kūlāng is the Common Crane or “coolan”—P.J.
[5] For charz. In Baluchistan this is the name of the Hubara, but elsewhere of the Florican.—P.J.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Durraj</em> (black partridge)</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kaby</em> (partridge), do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Budana</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Karwanaak</em> (stone curlew), do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fakhta</em> (ringdove), do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ghi</em>, per man</td>
<td>105 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Oil</em>, do.</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Milk</em>, do.</td>
<td>25 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Curds</em>, do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Saffron</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>400 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Clove</em>, do.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cardamums</em>, do.</td>
<td>52 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Round pepper</em>, do.</td>
<td>17 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Long pepper</em>, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dry ginger</em>, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fresh do.</em>, do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cuminseed</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aniseed</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sour limes</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lemon-juice</em>, do.</td>
<td>5 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wine vinegar</em></td>
<td>5 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sugarcane vinegar</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pickled sahtarogh</em>, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mangoes in oil</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. in vinegar</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lemons in oil</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. in vinegar</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. in salt</em>, do.</td>
<td>1½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. in lemon-juice</em>, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pickled ginger</em></td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Adarshakh</em>, do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Turnips in vinegar</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pickled carrots</em>, do.</td>
<td>¾ d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F. Butter, Sugar, etc.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Refined Sugar</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>White sugar candy</em>, do.</td>
<td>5½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>White sugar</em>, per <em>man</em></td>
<td>128 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Brown sugar</em>, do.</td>
<td>56 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F. Spices.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Turmeric</em> (Hind. haldi)*</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Coriander seed</em>, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Siyyihiina</em> (Hind. kalaunj)*</td>
<td>1½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Assafutida</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sweet fennel</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cinnamon</em>, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salt</em>, per <em>man</em></td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**G. Pickles.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Pickled bamboo</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. apples</em>, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. quinces</em>, do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. garlic</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. onions</em>, do.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. baadinjan</em> (egg-plant), do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Do. raisins and <em>mumappa</em>, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. kachnur</em>, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. peaches</em>, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. sahayna</em> (horse-radish)</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do. karil buds</em> (capparis), do.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. *Kak* the Chukor partridge.—P.  
2. The Common Quail.—P.  
3. The Rock Bush-quail.—P.  
4. *Kak* or *kotaka* saltzus raisins; *mumappa* large black raisins.—P.
Pickled kuril berries, per ser ½ d.  
Do. cucumbers, do. ... ½ d.
Do. suran, do. ... 1 d.  
Do. bādrang,¹ (gourd) do. ... ½ d.
Do. mustard ... ½ d.  
Do. kachali, do. ... ½ d.
Do. tori (a kind of cu-  
cumber) ... ½ d.  
Do. radishes, do. ... ½ d.

A in 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 Iran and Turan 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, etc., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kabul, Qandahar, and Kashmir, loads of fruit are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bazaars well supplied. Musk melons come in season, in Hindustan, in the month of Farmārd (February–March);² and are plenty in Urdūbish (March–April).³ They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called nāshpāri, bābāshayki, maisheri, alchā, barg-i may, dūd-i chirāq, etc. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of Shahr-iwar (August),⁴ they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kabul; during the month of Āzar (November),⁵ they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshān, and continue to be had during Day (December).⁶ When they are in season in Zābulistān, good ones also are obtainable in the Panjāb; and in Khakkar 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 Khurdab (May)⁷ to Amurdāb (July),⁸ whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmir grapes during Shahr-iwar.⁹ Eight seras of grapes sell in Kashmir for one dān, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per man. The Kashmiris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

¹ Bādrang, not gourd. Perhaps a citron.—P."
² March–April.—P."
³ April–May.—P."
⁴ August–September.—P."
⁵ November–December.—P."
⁶ December–January.—P."
⁷ May–June.—P."
⁸ July–August.—P."
⁹ Shahr-iwar.
From Mīr (September) till Urdibihist grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries, which his Majesty calls shāhālū, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, pirdūlū, and ādūkhas, etc., many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān. From Samargand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

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

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

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

A. Turānī Fruits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arhang melons, 1st quality</td>
<td>$2\frac{1}{2}$ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd and 3rd do., at 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul melons, 1st do., at 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd do., at $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3rd do., at $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samargand apples, 7 to 15 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinces, 10 to 30 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, per man, 6½ to</td>
<td>15 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, 10 to 100 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul and European apples, 5 to 10 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir grapes, per man 108 d.</td>
<td>6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates, per ser</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raisins (kișmish), do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abjōsh (large raisins), do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plums, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūbānī (dried apricots), per ser</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qandahar dry grapes, do.</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs, per ser</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaqqu, do.</td>
<td>6½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jujubes, do.</td>
<td>3½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds, without the shell, do.</td>
<td>28 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., with do., do</td>
<td>11 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, do., do</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilghūza * nuts, per ser</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simjīd (jujubes), do.</td>
<td>6½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, without shell, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauz nuts, do.</td>
<td>4½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filberts, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazel * nuts, do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] September–October.—P.]
[2] The original has a word kūs, which is not to be found in our dictionaries. It may be cerasus. [Gīlās is the common name in Persia and in Kashmir for the white sweet cherry.—P.]
[5] Girdgūn is properly the walnut.—P.]
B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.

Mangoes, per hundred, up to 40 d. Tendū, do. 2 d.
Pine-apples, one for 4 d. Üśirā. *
Oranges, two for 1 d. Dates, per ser. 4 d.
Sugarcanes, two for 1 d. Angūhal. *
Jackfruits, two for 1 d. Delā, do. 1 d.
Plantains, do. 1 d. Güla. *
Ber, per ser. 2 d. Bholasārī, per ser. 4 d.
Pomegranates, per man. 80 to 100 d. Tarkul, two for 1 d. Panīyāla, per ser. 2 d.
Guavas, two for 1 d. Lahsaurā, do. 1 d.
Figs, per ser. 1 d. Gumbhā, do. 4 d.
Mulberry, do. 2 d. Karahri. 4 d.
Custard-apples, one for 1 d. Tārī. *
Melons, per man. 40 d. Bang, two for 1 d.
Water-melons, one 2 to 10 d. Gūlar, per ser. 2 d.
Khirnī, per ser. 4 d. Pilū, do. 2 d.
Mahuwā, do. 1 d. Barauta. *
Dephal, do. 4 d. Piyār, do. 4 d.

* The original does not mention the price.

Mulberries and gūlar are in season during spring; pine-apples, oranges, sugarcanes, bers, üśirās, bholasārīs, gumbhās, dépahs during winter; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, lahsaurs, karahrīs, mahuwās, tendūs, pilūs, barautas, during summer; and mangoes, plantains, dates, delās, gūlās, pomegranates, guavas, water-melons, panīyālas, bangas, khirnīs, piyārs, during the rains.

C. Dried Fruits.

Coco-nuts, one for 4 d. Makhānā, per ser. 4 d.
Dry Dates, per ser. 6 d. Supyārī, do. 8 d.
Walnuts, do. 8 d. Kauigatta, do. 2 d.
Chiraunča, do. 4 d.

Dates, walnuts, chirauunchis, and kauigattas are in seasons during summer, and coco-nuts, makhānās, and supyārīs, during winter.

1. Kāna 2)
2. Amed guava, but in Persia and locally too in India, a pear.—P.]
3. Sūḍā-phal. The custard-apple is sūḍā-phal.—P.] 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).
4. Gūlar wild fig.—P.
### D. Vegetables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palwal, per ser</td>
<td>2 d</td>
<td>Kachalū, per ser</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourd, 1 one</td>
<td>2½ d</td>
<td>Chachindā, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādinjāns, per ser</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Sūrul, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tura, 1 do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Carrots, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandūrī, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Singhāra, do.²</td>
<td>3 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senb, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Sālak, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peth, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Pindālū, do.</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karīla, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Siyāthi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakūra, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
<td>Kaserū, do.</td>
<td>3 d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Śūrans and siyāthis are in season during summer; palwals, gourds, tura, kachalūs, chachindās, kandūrīs, senbas, peths, karīlas, kakūras, and singhāras during the rains; and carrots, sālaks, pindālūs, and kaserūs, during winter. Bādinjāns are to be had throughout the year.*

### E. Sour Fruits.

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

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

### F. Fruits somewhat acid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambīlī, per ser</td>
<td>2 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badhal, one for</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrak, four up to</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārauṇī,² two up to</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain grapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāman, per ser</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālsa, do.</td>
<td>1½ d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karāundā, do.</td>
<td>1 d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The original does not mention the price.*

*Kumraks and nārauṇīs,² are in season during winter; ambīlīs, badhals, mountain-grapes, phālsas, labhīrās, during summer; and kайs, pākars, karkās, jāmans, karāundās, jhambhīrās, 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.

² *Kadā pumpkin.?—P.*

³ *The water-nut.—P.*

⁴ *The emblems-myrobalans.—P.*

⁵ *The orange with close skin.—P.*
The Mangoe: The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusrav*. This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmets of Tūrān and Irān place it above muskmelons and grapes. In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one ser and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a walnut-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 *qalynas* (p. 64), 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 *koyilās*. 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 *Bhadīgya*. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down, else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengaḷ, Gujṛat, Mālwah, Khāndesh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Panjaḥ, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Lāhor his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put 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 one; others yield for one year no fruit at all. When many mangoes are eaten, digestion is assisted by drinking milk with the kernels of the mangoe 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.

1 Vide the fourth note on p. 75 of my Persian text edition.
2 *Shīgarf*, beautiful, fine.—P.
Pine-apples are also called kathul-i safar, or travelling jackfruits, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mango. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them, and 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 Hindustān. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

Sugar cane, which the Persians call Nāsahakar, 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 ways of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound Babul bark mixing it at the rate of ten sors 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 a stringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergris, camphor, etc. They also let meat dissolve in it. This beverage, when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

1 Jahāngīr in his Memoires (Tāzuki Jahāngīrī, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3) states that the pine-apples at his time came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese.
2 Kāzī. — P.
3 Wajīb, a span. — P.
4 A species of acaci, the ādhar of the Panjāb. — P.
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 Budasha, 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 extinguished at once.

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 lime, etc., 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

[† Kipê the gut of a sheep stuffed with mince and rice.—P.]
[2 *sêkê* might mean ironed.—P.]
[3 *Süssen* is the common purple flag-iris.—P.]
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 Makua tree resembles the mangoe tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called Gulanda, yields an intoxicating liquor.

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

The Tarkul tree, and its fruit, resemble the coco-nut 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 tuari; when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time it turns subacid and is inebriating.

The Panigila fruit resembles the Zaradla 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 Gumhri has a stem the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the kunur, come from below the roots.

The Turri 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 Pijnar 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 Coco-nut is called by the Persians Jawa-Hindhi: 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; the fruits ripen 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

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1 The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand.

2 Zaradla the acid apricot.—P.
gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with pans-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and ahichaks (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 Pind-khajur. 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 fufal. 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. It is eaten with betel leaves.

The Singhāra is a triangular fruit; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. It is eaten raw or roasted.

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

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

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

The Siyālī 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 kāgharī. 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 Amalbet 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.

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[1] Nārasī, orange — P.
[2] Lītā, lime. Kāgharī is applied to a small green lime with a skin as thin as paper — P.
The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambregris; 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 Khusraw of Dihli, in one of his verses, says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in Hindustān." 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 Bilakhi 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 Kūker leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The Jausūr leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The Kaprī leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The Kapūrkānt 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 Bangla leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of Chait (March–April), about New-Year's day, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with Karchanj 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 dregs, etc., about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The Karchanj leaf, which they separate for seedlings and call Perī. The new leaf is called Gadauty. 2. The Nanī leaf. 3. The Bahūt leaf. 4. The Chhīr leaf. 5. The Adhinīdā leaf. 6. The Agaunīya or Levūr leaf. 7. The Karchanj leaf itself. With the exception of the Gadauty, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some.

[1. The 21st March is New Year's Day.—P.]
others keep it for seeding: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the Peñí.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called Lakhāsa, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called Dholi; a lakhāsa is made up of dholis. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From 5 to 20 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and displayed in various ways. They also put some betel nut and kath 1 on one leaf, and some lime 2 paste on another, and roll them up; this is called a birā. 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.

Ā*īn 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 qaṣṣ; and Suṣūṣ 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 are endless; some have, however, names, e.g. baṣḥāṣat is a bitter and tart flavour, and azāṣūqa a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

Ā*īn 30.

ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloeswood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes; whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used

1 An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the pan leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red. [Cathechu 7.—P.]
2 In Persian čānn; but in Anglo-Indies, čahān.
in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. Suntuk is used for keeping the skin fresh: \( \frac{1}{2} \) tolae Civet; 1 t. Chêra; 2 râshas Chambele essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. Arqa of sandalwood; 2 t. Iksîr and Mid; 3 t. Chêra; 1 t. violet root; and gehla (the seed of a plant); \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. Gulkâma: Pound together 1 t. best Ambergris; \( \frac{1}{2} \) t. Lâdan; 2 t. best musk; 4 t. wood of aloes, and 8 t. Iksîr-i-sâbîr; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a small part of the juice of the flower called Gul-i sarghd, 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 Bahâr, and pound it again on Samâq stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called Bahâr-i Nâranj, and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black Râghûn (also called black Nâzûh). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. Rûh-o-frû, 5 s. Aloewood; 1 t. Sandalwood; 1 t. Lâdan; Iksîr, Lâbhûn, Dhûp (a root brought from Kashmir), \( \frac{3}{2} \) s. of each; 20 t. violet root; 10 t. Ushnâ, called in Hind. Chhârîl; Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into discs with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine.

5. Opatnâ is a scented soap: \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. Lâdan; \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. 5 d. Aloewood; the same quantity of Bahâr-i Nâranj, and \( \frac{1}{4} \) s. of its bark; 1 s. 10 d. Sandalwood; 3 s. 5 d. Sumbul-t-sûf, called in Hind Chhâr; the same quantity of Ushnâ; 38 t. musk; 1 s. 4 t. pâchâ leaves; 36 t. apples; 11 t. Saûd, called in Hind Moûh; 5 d. violet root; 1 t. 2 m. Dhûp; \( \frac{1}{4} \) t. Iksîr (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurrâbdûd, called in Hind. kachûr (zerumbet); 1 t. 2 m. Lâbhûn; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of Bahâr. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist let it dry. 6. Aûr mâna, 4 d. Aloewood; 2 d. Sandalwood; 1 d. violet root; 3 d. Sumbul-t-sûf; 3 d. Durrâlak; 4 t. musk of Khatû (Cathay); \( \frac{1}{4} \) d. Lâdan; \( \frac{3}{4} \) d. Bahâr-i Nâranj. Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. Kishâ, 24 t. Aloewood; \( \frac{1}{4} \) d. Lâdan, Lâbhûn, and Sandalwood; Iksîr and Dhûp, 2 t. of each; violet root and musk, 2 t.;

1 This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.
2 Gul-i sarghd in Persian is a pink fragrant rose that blooms in Spring. — P.
3 Samâq (vide sandag) is the hardest kind of marble. — P.
4 Orange-flower bloom. — P.
5 Sweet basil. — P.
6 Vide below the twelfth flower.
1 t. *Ushna*; mix with 50 t. refined sugar, and boil gently in two bottles of rose-water. It is made into discs. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. *Bukhūr*: 1 t. Aloewood and Sandalwood; 1/2 t. *Lādān*; 2 t. musk; 5 t. *Ikīr*; mix with two sorts of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. *Fatīla*: 5 t. Aloewood; 72 t. Sandalwood; *Ikīr* and *Lādān*, 20 t. of each; 5 t. Violet root; 10 t. *Lūbān*; 3 t. refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. *Bārjūt*: 1 t. Aloewood; 5 t. *Lādān*; 2 t. musk; 2 t. Sandalwood; 1 t. *Lūbān*; 1/2 t. Camphor. Then distill it like *Chūva* (vide below). 11. *Abīr-Ikīr*: 3/4 t. Sandalwood; 26 t. *Ikīr*; 2 t. 8 m. musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. *Ghasūl* (a liquid soap); 35 t. Sandalwood; 17 t. *Kutūl* (?); 1 t. musk; 1 t. *Chūva*; 2 m. Camphor; 2 m. *Mīd*. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

### A List of Perfumes and their Prices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfume</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ambar-i ashhab</em></td>
<td>1 to 3 Muhurs, per tola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zabūd</em> (civet)</td>
<td>1/2 R. to 1 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Musk</em></td>
<td>1 to 4 1/2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lāgnum aloe</em> Hīnd. <em>Agar</em></td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M., per sar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chūva</em> (Distilled wood of Aloes)</td>
<td>1/2 R. to 1 R., per tola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gaurā</em></td>
<td>3 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bhīmsēni Camphor</em></td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mīd</em></td>
<td>1 to 3 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Za'farān</em></td>
<td>12 to 22 R., per sar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Za'farān-i Kāmanda</em></td>
<td>1 to 3 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Za'farān</em> (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>8 to 12 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
<td>32 to 55 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nāfa-yī musk</em></td>
<td>3 to 12 M., per sar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kalanbāk</em> (Calemboic)</td>
<td>10 to 40 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Silāras</em></td>
<td>3 to 5 R., per sar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ambar-i Lādān</em></td>
<td>1 1/2 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kāfūr-i Chīna</em></td>
<td>1 to 2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Arāq-i Fīla</em></td>
<td>1 to 3 R., per bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Arāq-i Bād-i Mushk</em></td>
<td>1 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosewater</td>
<td>1/2 to 1 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Arāq-i Bahūr</em></td>
<td>1 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Arāq-i Chambehī</em></td>
<td>1/2 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet-root</td>
<td>1/2 to 1 R., per sar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 According to some MSS. *Kauwāli*.
2 Most of the following names are explained below.
3 In the text, p. 85, by mistake *Kauwāli*. Vide my text edition, p. 94, l. 6.
Azfār-t-tūb  
Barg-i Māj (brought from Gujrāt)  
Suγandh Gūγalā  
Lūbān (from Sargard?)  
Lūbān (other kinds)  
Alak, Hind. Chhar  
Duγālak, Hind. Chharīla  
Geγla  
Suδ  
Ikākī  
Zurumbād  

1½ to 2 R., per šer.  
½ to 1 R., do.  
10 to 13 R., do.  
½ to 3 R., per tolä.  
1 to 2 R., per šer.  
½ to ¾ R., do.  
3 to 4 d., do.  

* The original does not mention the prices.

A List of Fine Smelling Flowers.

1. The Senfī. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The Bholsarī. Whitish; in the rains.
3. The Chambelī. White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.
6. The Champa. Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.
7. Ketkī. The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot summer.
8. Kūgna. White. During the hot season.
10. The Jāhī. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
13. The Kenara. From Leo to Libra.
17. The Sīngārhār. It has small white petals. In the hot season.
18. The Violet. Violet. In the hot season.
20. The Kapūr bel.
A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

2. The Gul-i Kārāl. White and also bluish. In the rains.
3. The Jaʾfarī. 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 Ratan-manjāri. Bright red. It is smaller than jaamin. All the year.
6. The Kesā. In the hot season.
12. The Karīl. In spring.
14. The Kadun. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.
16. The Surpan. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.
17. The Sirī khundi. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.
18. The Jāit. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
20. The Lāhit. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The Gul-i Karaunda. White. It is smaller than the Chambel, and blooms during the rains.
22. The Dhauantar resembles the Nīlūfar. During the rains.
24. The Dupahriyā. Bright red and white. All the year.
26. The Sudarsan. Yellow; it resembles the Nīlūfar, but is smaller.
27. The Kanglāī. There are two kinds, red and white.
29. The Son. Yellow. During the rains.
On the Preparation of some Perfumes.

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

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

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 snakes 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 that they seldom leave them. 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 the year or any other cosmical disturbances, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called Ribbāk, or Qayṣūrī. 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 Ribbāk near Qayṣūr, 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 Bayṭār, 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 kinds it is the best, the whitest, has the thinnest layers, and is the cleanest and largest. Inferior to it is the kind called Qurṭūy, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called Kaukāb. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of Bāhūs. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books, camphor in its natural state is called Jūdānā or Bhīmānī. If kept with a few barley grains, or peppercorns, or surkh dāna, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of Zurumbād by mixing it with other ingredients, is called Chīnī or Maṣṣṣūt-camphor. White Zurumbād is finely pounded, and mixed with sour cream of cow or buffalo; on the fourth day they put fresh cream to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of Surkh Gul. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. Zabād (civet) is also called Shākh. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having how-

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1. Pār, the cheeta or hunting-leopard.—P.J.
2. Qayṣūrī, according to Marco Polo. Qayṣūr is a state in Sumatra.—R.
3. Zabād dealers give a few peppercorns along with every piece of camphor.
4. Dāma, buttermilk, not cream.—P.J.
ever, a larger face and mouth. The zabād—which is brought from the harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Āchīn, 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 tōl to eight māshas. Some civet cats become so tame as to keep still 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 becomes afterwards one of the finest perfumes. The perfume 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 zabād on the inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of Chunabī, or Rāy-bel, or Surkh gol, or Gul-i Karna, and expose it at daytime 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. Gaura 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 Āchīn. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

6. Mid¹ 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 sells for from five to six dāms only. 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: Agur, is the root of a tree. They lap it off and bury it in the earth, when whatever is bad rots, and the

¹ with the kafrūb, a kind of perfume. Kasāf’ i-lughāt.
remainder is pure aloe. 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 Mandalī, and the second in quality, Jabali or Hindī. 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 Samandūrī; the Qumari, which is inferior to it; the Qaṣṭī, next in rank; the Barri; the Qintī; and the Chinese, also called Qismūrī, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the Jalāṭī, the Mūqataqī, the Lāqūqī, the Qīrātī.1 But of all kinds, the Mandalī is the best. The Samandūrī 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 notährns, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrat, and nowadays it grows in Chāmpānir. It is generally brought from Āchīn and Dahnāsārī. 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. Chūwa is distilled wood of aloe; 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 in, smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry. After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloe 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 cow's dung, and light a gentle fire. Should flames break out they extinguish them with water. The wood of aloe 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 sar of wood aloe will yield from two to fifteen tölūs of Chūwa. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people.

1 The last three names are doubtful.
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 Maqásarı. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. Siláras (storax) is called in Arabic Mišah. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear is called Mišah-yi sáylú (liquid); the other kinds, Mišah-yi yábisá (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. Kalanbák (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zirbád (?) 1; 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.

12. The Maláqu 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 Mišah-yi yábisá. When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor. The Lubán which the Persians call Kundur-i daryá (mastix) is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. Azfár "t-tib, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind Nákh, and in Persian Nákhen-i boýá. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on sambul; it is found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Basrah, and Bahrayan; the latter being considered the best. It is also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer it to the other kinds. It is heated in butter; some expose it to the fire, pound it, and mix it with other perfumes.

15. Sugandh yógalá (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 Sauti resembles the Gul-i Surkh, but is smaller. It has in

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1 Zirbád (Zirábd), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. Qhíqíl "l-ingtol. (The Persian translation of the Malay Béwak engís, "below the wind, leeward," being the Malay name for the countries and islands to the East of Sumatra.—B.)
the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals. *Habitat*, Gujràt and the Dakhin.

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

3. The Rāybel resembles the jasmin. There are various kinds; single and double, etc. 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 lime tree; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

4. The Mungra resembles the Rāybel. It is larger, but inferior in perfume. It has more than a hundred petals; the plant grows to a large tree.

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

6. The Ketkī has the form of spindle² 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 Keera 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 perfume 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 Dakhin, Gujràt, Mālwah, and Bihār.

8. The Chalta resembles a large tulip.³ 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 Hamesha 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

¹ Orientalis, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.
² *Sacabarb-pokhar, a ši-com-?—P.*
³ *Lāla is the name of the common red poppy, as well as of the tulip. — P.*
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 lime tree. It blooms in seven 
years.

9. The Tashbih guldūl 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 Bholsuri 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 Singurūr is shaped like a clove, and has an orange-coloured 
stalk. The stamens look like poppy seeds. The tree resembles the pome-
granate tree, and the leaves are like those of a peach tree. It flowers 
in five years.

12. The Kūza looks like a Gul-i surīk; but the plant and the leaves 
are larger. It has five or a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in 
the middle. They make ābīrmāya and an extract from it.

13. The Pādal 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 Jūhī has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about 
trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The Nīsurī looks like a simple Rūg-bel, 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 Zafrūda (saffron). In the beginning of the month of 
Urdībihishāt, 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 Ābān; 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 two-thirds 
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

\[\text{Footnote: a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Ṣūba Kābul).}\]
are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour; they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two pals receiving two pals of salt. At the time of Ghāzi Khān, the son of (Khāji) Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven tarks of saffron flowers, of which one tark was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhi sers of clean, dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshāhi mans of saffron flowers they had to give two sers 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 Panpūr, which belongs to the district of Mararāj. The fields there extend over nearly twelve kōs. Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspūr, near Indrakol, not far from Kamrāj, where the fields extend about a kōs.

18. The Aftābī (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 Kanwal. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the shayāqīq, 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.

1 He was the contemporary of Shāh Khān; vide Abū l-Fazl's list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book. A good biography of Ghāzi Khān may be found in the beginning of the Maqār-i Naqshī, Persian MS. No. 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

2 One Kashmiri Turk = 8 sers (of Akbar) = 4 Kashmir, mans; 1 Kashmir, mans = 4 Kashmir, sers; 1 Kashmir, ser = 7½ pals.

3 These places lie to the south of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir; for Mararāj, the text has Ḍhār. Vide Sūhā Kābūl, third book.

4 The shayāqīq is probably the anemone. — P.
20. The Jafarū is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger... One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter re... 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 Gudhal resembles the jūghūnī 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 Ratammanjani has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The tree and the leaves resemble the rāy-bel. It flowers in two years.

23. The Kesā 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 Kaner 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 Kadom resembles a tumāgha (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the walnut-tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The Nāy kesar, like the Gul-i surkh, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the walnut 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 Hinnā plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The Srikundhī is like the Chambeli, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

29. The Hinnā has four petals, and resembles the flower called Nāfarman. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The Dupakriya is round and small, and looks like the flower called Hamesha-bahār. It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The Bhūn champā resembles the Nilāfar, 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 Sudarasan resembles the Rāy-bel, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the Susān flower.

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1. *susān* is properly the flag-iris. — P.
2. *Fusuma* locally survives in the sense of a hawk's hood. — P.
3. *Susān* is properly the flag-iris. — P.
are similar.  The Isbalt has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.  The Rutamwell is round and small. Its juice, boiled and are often with vitriol and musafar, furnishes a fast 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 Sumpur resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the Chambele. It flowers in two years.

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

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

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

39. The Champa is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like walnut 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 Lah 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 Karamada resembles the Jahi flower.

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

43. The Siras flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a tumagha. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the Pipl and Bar trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.

44. The Kansal has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The Soa (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the Chindar. 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 Pat-san. It makes a very soft rope.

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1. Musafar is perhaps bastard saffron. — P.
2. Bar: the banyan tree. — P.
3. Chindar: the plane tree. — P.
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 Iran and Turan, as the Gul-surkh, the Nargis, the violet, the Yasman-i kabud, the Susun, the Rayhan, the Rasna, the Zebal, the Shaghayiq, the Taj-ikharus, the Qalaba, the Nafarmun, the Khatmi, etc. 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 Babar, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained; and travellers nowadays 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, etc., 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 bars (or loads) (5 surkhs = 1 masha; 16 mashes = 1 karg; 4 kargs = 1 pal; 100 pals = 1 tula; 20 tulas = 1 bar); i.e., according to the weights now in use, 96 mans. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two gharis (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years. The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand jujans. 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 Iran, 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 Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, Ahmadabad, Gujrat, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

*See note 1.

†See note 2.

‡See note 3.

§Kheri, the hollyhock and the marsh-mallow. — P.

||Regarding this measure, vide the fourth book.

The text has a word which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagatai Dictionary. The meaning: a wardrobe. is however clear. [Also spelt یکار | B.]
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 Ghīyās-ī Naṣṣḥband may now be obtained for fifty muhrs, 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. 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 Takaschīpa 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. It requires seven yards and seven giriks, 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 misqāl of silk is required.

2. The peshwāz (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

1 Or as we would say, the prices have become less by 662, and even 76 per cent.
2 The coats used nowadays both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (Gewa. Schlafrock), but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied: the Muhammadans make the tie on the left, and the Hindus on the right side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin (chīdar).

3 It is not stated in A* how many giriks the tailor’s yox, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 giriks = 1 yox, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, see the 87th and 88th A*vol of this book. The Persian word girik is pronounced in India girak.
3. The Dūdāhī (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four giriha for the outside, six yards lining, four girihs for the binding, nine girihs for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One misqal of silk is required.

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

5. The Sūzanī requires a quarter of a sar of cotton and two dāms of silk. If sewed with bakāya \(^1\) stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with ajīda stitches costs four rupees.

6. The Qalamī requires \(\frac{3}{4}\) s. cotton, and one dām silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The Qabā, which is at present generally called jāma-yi pumba-dār, 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 gaz of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihs binding, nine for bordering, \(\frac{2}{3}\) s. cotton, 3 m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

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

10. The Fargul resembles the yāpanī,\(^2\) but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe,\(^8\) but everyone nowadays wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 gaz 6½ giriḥ stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price from \(\frac{1}{2}\) to 2 rupees.

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\(^1\) Bakāya, in Hind. bakāyā, corresponds to what ladies call back-stitching. Ajīda is the buttonhole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which bakāyā and ajīda now have. Sūzanī, 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, etc., on stuffs; the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find sūzanī work in rugs, small carpets, etc. The rugs themselves are also called sūzanī. A term sometimes used in dictionaries as a synonym for sūzanī is chikha; but this is what we call white embroidery.

\(^2\) A coat used in rainy weather. Callcutta Chakravolly Dictionary.

\(^8\) The etymology of the word fargul is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, nowadays current in India, are Portuguese; an sira, a petticoat; fīna, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are pāṇī, clergymans; giriḥ, a church, Port. igreja; kōbī, cabbage, Port. couve; chābī, a key, Port. chave. Aibl 'I-Fazl's explanation (vide my text edition, p. 162, l. 16) corrects Vullers II, p. 663a.
11. The Chakman is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Dārā-i wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 gaz stuff, 5 girīh binding, and 2 m. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 R.; of wool, 1½ R.; of wax cloth, ½ R.

12. The Shalwar (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 gaz 11 girīh cloth, 6 girīh for the hem through which the string runs, 3 gaz 5 girīh lining, 1¼ m. silk, ½ s. cotton. Price, from ½ to ½ rupee.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chiras, fauta, and dupattas, 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 woollen stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that his Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms. Instead of jāma (coat), he says sarbāparī, i.e., covering the whole body; for isār (drawers), he says yār-pārīhana (the companion of the coat); for nīmtāna (a jacket), tazēb; for fauta, patgāt; for burqa (a veil), chitragupta; for kulāh (a cap), sīs sobhā; for mūy-bāf (a hair ribbon), keshbān; for pathā (a clothe for the loins), katēb; for shāl (shawl), purmārām; for , 7, 8 purmārām; for kapārdhār, a Tibetan stuff, kapūnār; for pāy-afzār (shoes), charnāhr; and similarly for other names.

1 As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vuller's form charpān.
2 Stuffs of different shapes used for making turbans.
3 In allusion to the practice of Sāfī, who only wear garments made of wool (sāf). Abū 'l-Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a Sāfī 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 ness in praise has often been brought against Abū 'l-Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against Fāyzi, 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 eulogiums with self-complacency.
4 The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar's predilection for Hindī terms.
5 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banaras MS. has padak Firāng, or European Pardak (†).
ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, ETC.

His Majesty improved this department in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the Tāg 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 Alchas, also called Tarhdār, 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 Zardoci, Kalābatān, Kashida, Qulgha, Bāñdhān, Chkhit, Aloha, Pardār, 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 nowadays called misti, 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 Urmuz 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: Tās, safidalcha, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, mauve like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the Ratanmunjari.

1 Alcha, or Alācha, any kind of vascular (unkaftan) stuff. Tarhdār means cords.
2 Zardoci, Kalābatān (Forbes, kalabattān); Kashida, Qalgha, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; Bāñdhān, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; Chkhit is our chkit, which is derived from Chkit. Parudār are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.
3 Akbar, like the Parsee, benefited in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most impractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following Aryan. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.
flower, coloured like the Kāśī flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, bhojpatra coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the galgah flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mango coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the Fākhār.  

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 Lāhor also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called māyān, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for chīrās (turbans), fوتas (loin bands), etc.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Gold stuffs.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brocaded velvet, from Yazd, per piece</td>
<td>15 to 150 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Europe, 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 Hīrāt, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhor, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Barakah (†), do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutabbag, do.</td>
<td>2 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīläk, do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocade, from Gujrat, do.</td>
<td>4 to 60 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tās, Brocade, from do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 35 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

** Fākhār is the Common Ring-dove of India, the Turkez riemia of Jordon.—P.**

† Yazd is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khorasan. Kāshān lies in Irāq-i Čajrān, north of Isfahān. The assis of Khāsān are wider than the men of Isfahān, which latter town is for Persia what Bocotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, the kingdom of Pisa for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bihār for India—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls, the Sāyīds of Bārakah enjoyed a similar notoriety.

‡ Mutabbag, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from Khaṭilāk, and Mīlāk from Navaštān in Turkestan. Ghīpās† &l.uhāt.

§ Tās means generally brocade; Darābāf is a kind of brocaded silk; Mūgāyyaṣ, Mūgāyyaṣ, Mūgāyyaṣ, &c., are kinds of silk with stripes of silver—the Ghīpās says that Mūgāyyaṣ comes from the Hind, ḍōk, hair to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicized form of the Hind word as gōnūf, a stroke, for the Hind, hūyāf, or īf, a kind of medicine for trīphal, as it consists of three fruits, etc. Muskāfar is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; Dēṣā is coloured silk; Khārā, moiret antique; Khāzz is filolette-silk. For tufsā, vide Freytag III, p. 333, we also find tufsā.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darā'ī-bāf, from Gujrat</td>
<td>2 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mupayyash, do.</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīrūsāni Brocade, do.</td>
<td>6 to 17 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushajjar, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deba silk, do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārā, do.</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Chinese Tartary</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navār, from do.</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khazz silk</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafṣūla (a stuff from Mecca)</td>
<td>from 15 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtahsūr, from Gujrat</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīndil</td>
<td>1 to 14 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīra (for turbans)</td>
<td>½ to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupattā, do.</td>
<td>9 to 8 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polas (jain bands)</td>
<td>½ to 12 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpanes</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Text does not give the prices.

**B. Silks, etc., plain.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velvet from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Kāshān, per piece</td>
<td>2 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Mashhad, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Hirāt, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. Khāṭf, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhor, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Gujrat, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaṭṣa-ya i Pārahā, do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tājūn-bāf, per piece</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darā'ī-bāf, do.</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutabbaq, do.</td>
<td>1 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirvānī, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 10 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milak, do.</td>
<td>1 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasakhāb, from Kābul and Persia, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavār (?), do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārī (?), do.</td>
<td>4 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushajjar, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, per piece</td>
<td>1 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ A kind of velvet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Hirān, per piece</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārā, per yard</td>
<td>1 R. to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutnī, do.</td>
<td>1½ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalān, a from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>¼ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāfta, do.</td>
<td>¼ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbari, do.</td>
<td>4 d. to ½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derā, do.</td>
<td>½ R. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītpūrī, per piece</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qābābānd, do.</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāt bandpūrī, do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāh, per yard</td>
<td>¼ to ½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrī, per piece</td>
<td>½ to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sār, per yard</td>
<td>½ to ¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosar, b per piece</td>
<td>½ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain Kūrtawār Satin, per yard</td>
<td>¼ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapārīnār, formerly called Kapārdhār, do.</td>
<td>½ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alichā, do.</td>
<td>½ to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsīla, per piece</td>
<td>7 to 12 R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Cotton cloths.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khāna, per piece</td>
<td>3 R. to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chustār, do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 9 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmal, do.</td>
<td>¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tansukh, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrī Sāf, do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangājal, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhiān, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahān, do.</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhona, do.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atān, do.</td>
<td>2½ R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asāvalī, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāsta, do.</td>
<td>1½ R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmūdī, do.</td>
<td>½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Changing silk.
2 A stuff made of silk and wool.
3 Generally translated by lines. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is Mulsān.
4 Properly, woven; hence taffeta.
5 Nowaday chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; vulgo, tessa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Panchholiya, per piece</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jhola, do.</em></td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sālā, per piece</em></td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dorra, per piece</em></td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bahādur Shāhī, do.</em></td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Garba Sūtī, do.</em></td>
<td>1½ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shela, from the Dakhin, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mīhrkul, do.</em></td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mindīl, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sarband, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dupatta, do.</em></td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Katāncha, do.</em></td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fota, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gooshpech, do.</em></td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chhituf, per yard</em></td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gawinu, per piece</em></td>
<td>½ to 11 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Silāhust, per yard</em></td>
<td>2 to 4 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. Woollen stuffs.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe, and Portugal, per yard</em></td>
<td>2½ R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do., from Nāgor and Lāhor, per piece</em></td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sūf-i murhabāz, do.</em></td>
<td>4 to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sūfī ...2 do.</em></td>
<td>3 R. to 14 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Parmnarm, do.</em></td>
<td>2 R. to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chōra-yi Parmnarm, do.</em></td>
<td>2 R. to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fota, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Jāmāwūr-i Parmnarm, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gooshpech, do.</em></td>
<td>1½ R. to 11 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sarpech, do.</em></td>
<td>½ to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aghrī, do.</em></td>
<td>7 R. to 2½ M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (vide Reidon H, p. 250, l. 2 from below; p. 328, l. 7) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abū Fazl 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 nowadays 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 Hindu, *topi*, and in Persian *tāhīf* (vide Bahār-i Ājam) 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.
Parmgarn, per piece .......................... 3 R. to 2½ M.
Katās, do. ........................................... 2½ R. to 10 M.
Phūk, do. ............................................... 2½ to 15 R.
Durman, do. ......................................... 2 R. to 4 M.
Patā, do. .............................................. 1 to 10 R.
Ruwkar, do. .......................................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Miḍrī, do. ............................................. 5 to 50 R.
Burd-i Yamani, do. ............................... 5 to 35 R.
Mānfī (†) namad, do. ............................. 2 R. to 1 M.
Kapṣak (†) namad, do. ............................ 2 R. to 1 M.
Takyal namad, from Kābul and Persia .......................... 1½ to 5 R.
Do., country made, do. .......................... 14 d. to 4 R.
Loṭi, do. ............................................... 10 d. to 2 R.
Blankets, do. ....................................... 2 d. to 1 R.
Kaasmirian Caps, do. ............................. * The price is not given in the text.

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 white body, 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 qābil, i.e. capable of being acted upon, and muṭaqūn, i.e. subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

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 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 word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure; but the deepsighted a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it; or, it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye. A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas; a dark night ushering in day; a black cloud pregnant with knowledge; the wand for the treasures of insight; speaking, though dumb; stationary, and yet travelling; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God's knowledge falls on man's soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (mu'ajjarad) 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

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1 Khâlqī (from khâla) referring to states of mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, etc. These, Abu'l-Fazîl says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.
2 The fabulous cup of King Jamshed, 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, Haâfiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhârâ. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.
4 The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.
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 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*⁵ we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by *qala*⁶, the separation of the same. In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion; and thus the state is produced which we call sound. Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion; but others look upon it as the primary effect, i.e. they define sound to be the very *qara*, or the *qala*, of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances; it may be a 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 pianos, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abū ʿAli Šinā, call this modifying element (Ṣūrūz) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (muṣrūż); 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 many¹ 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 *lām* (2) separately as the end of the single letters in the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a *sākin* letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter *lām* is preferred ² as an example is because the letter *lām* is the

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¹ Abū ʿI-Paša has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because ֧, ֝, and ֜, have the same fundamental sign.
² Or rather, the *alif* was preferred to the *sān* or *yā*, because these two letters may be either *sān* or *mutahārrik*. But the custom has become established to call the *alif* when *mutahārrik*, *khamšak*; and to call the *alif* when *sākin*, merely *alif*, ʿAbdu-l-wasi, of Hāmshah, in his excellent Persian grammar, entitled Riśāya-yi ʿAbdu-l-wasi, which is read all over India, says that the *lām-alif* has the meaning of not,
middle letter of the word alif, and the letter alif the middle letter of the word lām.

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

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste; hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Māqūalī, Kūfī, Kashmirī, Abyssinian, Rayhānī, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, Rūhānī, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ādam-i Haftḥazārī; but some mention Idrīs as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the Māqūalī character. According to several statements, the Kūfī character was derived by the Khalīfah Ālī from the Māqūalī.

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-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the Māqūalī has no curved lines at all; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

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

In Iran and Turān, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

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1. He is said to have been born A.H. 100, and died at Baṣrah, A.H. 178 or 190. He wrote several works on the science which he had established, as also several books on the rhyme, lexicographical compilations, etc.
2. Adam is called Haft-ḥazārī, because the number of inhabitants on earth at his death had reached the number seven thousand. A better explanation is given by Badḵonī (II. p. 237, l. 10), who puts the creation of Adam seven thousand years before his time. Fide the first Aṯfā of the Third Book.
3. Idrīs, or Enoch.
systems, current, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i Muqlah from the Muṣḥaf al-Nāṣir and the Khāfir characters, viz., the Suṣa, Taṣaqiṣ, Muḥaqqaq, Nāṣik, Raṣāp, Riqāṣ. Some add the Gharib, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The Nāṣik character is ascribed by many to Yaqūt, a slave of the Khalifah Mustaṣṣam Billah. The Suṣa and the Nāṣik consist each of one-third curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the suṣa) is jali, whilst the latter (the nāṣik) is khaṣī. The Taṣaqiṣ and Riqāṣ consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines; the former is jali, the latter is khaṣī. The Muḥaqqaq and Raṣāp contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the proceeding, is jali, and the Raṣāp is khaṣī.

Among famous copyists I must mention 6 Ali ibn-i Hilāl, better known under the name of Ibn-i Baṣawī; 7 he wrote well the six characters, Yaqūt brought them to perfection. Six of Yaqūt’s pupils are noticeable: 1. Shaykh Ahmad, so well known under the name of Shaykh-zāda-yi Suwārtī; 2. Arghūn of Kābul; 3. Mawlānā Yūsuf Shāh of Mashhad; 4. Mawlānā Mubārīk Shāh, styled Zarrīn-qaṣīm (the golden pen); 5. Haydar, called Gandaḵwānīs (i.e., the writer of the jali); 6. Mir Yaḥyā.

1 It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abū ʿl-Feṣṣ’s letters, where nearly the whole of this A. is repeated, contain a reference to printed books. The first book printed in India was the Doctrina Christiana of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I know, first cast Tamuli characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled Flora Sancruorum, which was followed (?) by the Tamuli Dictionary of Father Antonio de Procenza, printed in 1679, at Ambadacate, on the coast of Malabar. From that period the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in Alberti Fabricii Salutarius Iux Epistol., p. 395. The Italian Original has the same years: 1577, 1578, 1679.

2 He was the last caliph, and reigned from 1242 to 1258, when he was put to death by Hulagu, grandson of Chingiz Khan. [Billah is not in the text.—P.]

3 Hence, the name ʿala, or one-third.

4 Jali (i.e., clear) is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a pen full of ink. Ghāṣī.—Khaṣī (hidden) is the opposite.

5 Ibn Muqlaḥ, Ibn Baṣawī, and Yaqūt are the three oldest calligraphers mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Bahātwar Khan’s Mir-ṣūl al-Qalam:

Ibn Muqlaḥ, or according to his full name, Abū ʿl-Feṣṣ Muḥammad ibn-i ʿAlī ibn-i Ḥasan ibn-i Muqlaḥ, was the vizier of the Khalifah Muḥfadir billah. Alqāḥir billah, and Arḵāzī billah, who reigned from A.H. 907 to 940. The last, cut off Ibn-i Muqlaḥ’s right hand. He died in prison, A.H. 937, or A.D. 1530–1531.

Ibn-i Baṣawī, or Abū ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn-i Hilāl, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalifah, Alqāḥir billah (A.D. 992–1030), the contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghur, and died A.H. 1016, or A.D. 1605.

Yaqūt, or Shaykh Jamāl, d.-Din, was born at Baghdad, and was the Librarian of Mustaṣṣam billah, the thirty-seventh and last Khalifah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shiʿa inclinations. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Hulagu Khan, and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A.H. 697, or A.D. 1297, during the reign of Ghasan Khan Hulagu’s great grandson.
the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the Taṣliq very much.

The eighth character which I have to mention is the Nastaʿlīq; it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mir ʿAlī of Tahirz, a contemporary of Timūr, derived it from the Naskh and the Taṣliq; but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the Nastaʿlīq character written before Timūr's time. Of Mir ʿAlī's pupils, I may mention two: 1 Mawlana Jaʿfar of Tahirz, and Mawlana Azhar; and of other calligraphists in Taṣliq, Mawlana Muḥammad of Awhān (near Hirāt), an excellent writer; Mawlana Bāri of Hirāt; and Mawlana Sultan ʿAlī of Mashhad, who surpasses them all. He imitated the writing of Mawlana Azhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sultan Muḥammad-i Khāndān; 2 Sultan Muḥammad Nūr; Mawlana ʿAlī ʿd-Dīn 4 of Hirāt; Mawlana Zayn ʿd-Dīn (of Nishāpūr); Mawlana Abdi of Nishāpūr; Muḥammad Qāsim Šāhī Shāh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good calligraphers, who are famous for their skill in Nastaʿlīq; as Mawlana Sultan ʿAlī, of Qāyīn; 3 Mawlana Sultan ʿAlī of Mashhad; 6 Mawlana Hīrānī; 7 and after them the illustrious Mawlana Mir ʿAlī, 8 the pupil, as it appears, of Mawlana Zayn ʿd-Dīn. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultan ʿAlī of Mashhad. The new method, which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many masterpieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Mawlana. He said, "I also have brought writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

1 The Mir ʿAlī mentions a third, immediate pupil of Mir ʿAlī Mawlana Kāshja Muḥammad, and relates that he put Mir ʿAlī's name to his own writings, without asking offence to his master.
2 In the Aṣ'ar, he was called Khāndān, as he was always happy. He was a friend of Amir-i-Saʿdī, and died A.H. 915.
3 In the Maṣūl, ʿAlī ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad of Hirāt.
4 ʿAlī ʿd-Dīn of Hirāt, as the instructor of Sultan Husayn Mīrza's children, and died A.H. 914. 2. ...in our maps. He was a friend of Amir-i-Saʿdī. He died A.H. 921.
5 ʿAlī ʿd-Dīn of Hirāt, as the instructor of Sultan Husayn Mīrza's children, and died A.H. 914.
6 A poet and friend of Amir-i-Saʿdī. He died A.H. 921.
7 A poet and friend of Amir-i-Saʿdī. He died A.H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mir Kāmil, son of Mir Khuṭrāw of Dīlū, and Bayzām Khān, Akhtar's Khānkhānān, as a master of Daffī poetry. Daffī, or entering, is the skillful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.
The following calligraphists are likewise well-known: Süfi Naṣr ‘Iläh, also called Sadr-i ʿIraqī; Arqūn; ʿAbd ʿIläh; Khwāja ʿAbdu ʿIläh-i Sayyāfī; ʿAbdu ʿIläh; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿIläh-i Aṣhpaz; Mawlānā Muḥīf of Shihrūr; Muḥīf, ʿd-Dīn-i Tanūrī; Shams, ʿd-Dīn-i Khaṭāʾī; ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥmūn-i Khaṭūlī (l); ʿAbdu ʿl-Ḥaqq; Mawlānā Jaʿfar of Tabriz; Mawlānā Shāh of Mashhad; Mawlānā Muṣṭufā of Baghdad; Mawlānā Shams, ʿd-Dīn Bāyassanghūr; Muṣīn, ʿd-Dīn of Fārāb; ʿAbdu ʿl-Ḥaqq of Sabzvār; Mawlānā Niẓāmat ʿIläh-i Bawwāb; Khwājaḥi Muṣṭafā i Marwārid, the inventor of variegated papers and sandars for strewing on the paper: Sultan Ibrāhīm, son of Mirzā Shāhrukh; Mawlānā Muhammad Hakim Hāfiz; Mawlānā Muḥammad Siyāḥ; Mawlānā Jamāl, ʿd-Dīn Husayn; Mawlānā Pir Muḥammad; Mawlānā Faḍl, ʿl-Ḥaqq of Qazwin.\(^3\)

A seventh kind of writing is called Taṣliq, which has been derived from the Riḍqī and the Tawṣīq. It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khwāja Tāj-i Salmān, who also wrote well the other six characters. Some say that he was the inventor.

Of modern calligraphers I may mention: Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Ḥaqq, the Private Secretary of Sultan Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, who wrote Taṣliq well; Mawlānā Darwish; Amīr Mansūr; Mawlānā Ibrāhīm of Astūrābād; Khwāja Ikhtiyyār; Munābī Jamāl, ʿd-Dīn; Muḥammad of Qazwin; Mawlānā Idrīs; Khwāja Muḥammad Husayn Munṣī; and Ashraf Khān.\(^4\)

\(^1\) He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Mirzā Shāhrukh (1404-47).
\(^2\) A contemporary and rival of the great poet Salmān of Sāwāh (died 769). The name Muṣṭufā appears to have been common in Baghdad since the times of the famous saint Muṣṭafā of Kāṣrī (a part of Baghdad).
\(^3\) The Maktūbāt and the Misṣāḥ also mention Mūlā Abū Bakr, and Shāykh Muḥammad.
\(^4\) According to the Maktūbāt and several MSS., ʿAbd al-Mūsīl, the Munṣī of Sultan Abū Saʿīd.

Mawlānā Darwish Muḥammad was a friend of the famous Amīr ʿAli Sher, vizier of Sultan Husayn Mirzā, king of Khurṣān (A.D. 1470 to 1505), and patron of the poet Jāmī. Mawlānā Darwish entered afterwards the service of Junayd-i Safawi, king of Persia (A.D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Mawlānā Darwish is to be found in the Maktūbāt-i Rūḥānī, p. 751.

Khwāja Ikhtiyyār, the contemporary and successful rival of the well-known calligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sultan Husayn Mirzā.

This is the title of Muḥammad Aṣghar, a Sayyid from Mashhad—see to the Tabāqāt-i Ākbarī, from Kārābābālī. He served Humayūn as Mir, Mir ʿArūj, and Mir Mālī. He accompanied Tādī Beg on his flight from Dīl imprisoned by Bāyyān, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Ākbar in A.D. when Bāyyān had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of Ashraf Khān, and served under Munṣī Khān in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Ākbar’s reign, A.H. 973. In Abū ʿl-Faḍl’s list of grantees, in the second book, Ashraf Khān is quoted as a commander of two thousand, but does not mention him among the contemporaneous poets. Abū ʿl-Mūsāfīr, Ashraf Khān’s son, was, A.D. 1596, a commander of five hundred.
In conclusion, I may mention: Sháh Mahmúd of Nishápúr; Mahmúd Is-háq; Shamsu-d-Dín of Kirmán; Mawlání Jamshed, the riddle-writer; Sultán Husayn of Khujand; Mawlání ʿAyshí; Chiyánu-d-Dín, the gilder; Mawlání ʿAbdu-Samad; Mawlání Malik; Mawlání ʿAbdu-l-Karím; Mawlání ʿAbd al-Rahím of Khwárizm; Mawlání Shaykh Muhammad; Mawlání Sháh Mahmúd-i Zaríngalám (or gold pen); Mawlání Muhammad Husayn of Tabríz; Mawlání Hasan ʿAli of Mashhad; Mir Muʿizz of Káshán; Mirzá Ibráhím of Isfahán; and several others whom have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists. Nastaʿliq has especially received a new impetus. The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of his Majesty, has become a master of caligraphy, is Muhammad Husayn of Kashmir. He has been honoured with the title of Zaríngalám, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlání ʿAbdu-l-ʿĀẓim; his Maddát and Dawār show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullá Mir ʿAli. Of other renowned calligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mawlání Bāqir, the son of the illustrious Mullá Mir ʿAli; Muhammad Amin of Mashhad; Mir Husayn-i Kulunkt; Mawlání ʿAbdu-l-Ḥay; Mawlání Dawrū; Mawlání ʿAbd al-Rahim; Mir ʿAbdu-l-ʿĀlah; Nizám of Qazwín; ʿAli Chaman of Kashmir; Nūr-illah Qasım Arsalán.

His Majesty’s library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within, and some without, the Harem. Each part of the library...
is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic,\(^1\) 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 Akhlaq-i Naṣiri, the Kinniya-yi ʿAṣafat, the Ḥāfiz-i Naṣiri, the works of Sharaf of Munayr (vide p. 50), the Gulistan, the Hadiqas of Ḥakim Sanāʾi, the Masnavi of Masnavi, the Jām-i Jam, the Bustan, the Shahināma, the collected Masnavis of Shaykh Nizāmi, the works of Khusraw and Mawlānā Jāmī, the Divāns of Khāqānī, Anwari, and several works on History, are continually read out to His Majesty. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindi, Greek, Arabic, and Persian books; into other languages. Thus a part of the Zich-i Jadid-i Mirzá\(^2\) (vide 3rd book; A* in l) was translated under the superintendence of Amir Fath\(^8\) Ilah of Shīrāz (vide p. 34), and also the Kishnjeshi, the Gangādhar, the Molshes Mahānand, from Hindi (Sanskrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahābhārata which belongs to the ancient books of Hindīstān has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqīb Khān,\(^3\) Mawlānā ʿAbdāl-i Qādir of Badāʾīn,\(^4\) and Shaykh Sultan of

\(^1\) Observe that the Arabic books are placed last. (But see p. 184, line 4.—R.)

\(^2\) Regarding this renowned man, vide Ṭābī ʿI-Fażl's list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 161.

\(^3\) Mulla ʿAbdāl-i Qādir, poetically styled Qādirī, was born A.H. 947 [or 949] at Badāʾīn, a town near Bihār. He was then two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaykh Mullah Shāh, and was a pupil of the Saint Bechār of Sambhal. ʿAbdāl-i Qādir, of Badāʾīn, 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 Mustaʿṣab. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court Poet for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jalāl Khān Qureši (vide list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 213). For forty years Badāʾīn lived in company with Shaykh Mubārak; and Fayl and Ṭābī ʿI-Fażl, the Shaykh's sons, but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badāʾīn looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the Rūmāγas (Badda),
The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses; His Majesty calls this ancient history Razmāna, the book of Wars. The same learned men translated also into Persian the Šáhān, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rām Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Hājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind translated into Persian the Athbarān, which, according to the Hindūs, is one of II., pp. 336, 360), from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand slokas 150 Ashrafs and 10,000 Tangahs; and parts of the Mahābhārata: extracts from the History of Rashīd; and the Baṣer e-Kuswar, a work on the Hadīs. A copy of another of his works, entitled Naqīb e-Rashīd, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the A.z. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled Majāla Hayat 'l-Tawārīkh, is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the Akhnūnāna or the Tabaqāt-e-Akbar or the Maqār-i-Rahīm. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A.H. 1004, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badānī died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the Mir'at 'l-Ahmar of Allāsī, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badānī's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tūrnī-i Jahāngīr unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badānī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which the Maqār-i-Rahīm was written, whose author complained of the want of a history besides the Tabaqāt and the Akhnūnāna.

In point of style, Badānī is much inferior to Bakhshāw Khan (Mir'at 'l-Ālam) and Muhammad Kākim (the Ālam-girr Nāma), but somewhat superior to his friend Mīrza Nāghīi 'd-īn Ahmad of Bharat, author of the Tabaqāt, and to Ābdul-Lāhī, author of the Firdawsīnāna.

Ābdul-Qādir of Badānī must not be confounded with Māwīnā Qādir, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

1 Vide Badānī, II., p. 278: and for Hājī Ibrāhīm, iii., p. 139. [il., p. 278, B.]
2 "'In this year (A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaykh Bāwān, had come from the Dakhin and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the Athbarān. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaykh Bāwān could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaykh Fāyzi, and then Hājī Ibrāhīm, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the Athbarān there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter š, and resembles very much our Lalūd/īl-Ūdā. Besides, I found that a Hindū, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindūs bury their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaykh used to defeat other Brahmins in argument; and they had in fact led him to embrace Islām. Let us praise God for his conversion!" Badānī, ii., p. 212.

The translation of the Mahābhārata was not quite a failure. 'For two nights His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahābhārata, and told Naqīb Khan to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqīb Khan; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteenth world—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a Harrāmāwā and a turnip-eater, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqīb Khan and Mullā Sheer, and another part by Sūltān Hājī of Thanesar; then Shaykh Fāyzi was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Hājī wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred jas together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the
the four divine books. The Lilawati, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian mathematicians on arithmetic, lost its Hindû veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Fayż-i Fayż. At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khân of Gujrat translated into Persian the Tajak, a well-known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs 2 of Bābar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirzā ʿAbd al-Rahim Khân, the present Khân Khânān (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmûrî into Persian 3 by Mawlānâ Shâh Muhammad of Shâhâbâd. The Muṣjam T-Buddâ, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mulla Ahmad of Thathâh, 4 Qâsim Beg, Shaykh Munawwar, and others. The Haribot, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlânâ Sherî (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 Dunmah, and published it under the title of ʿAyar Dânish. 5 The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Nasr ʿIlah-i Mustawfi and Mawlânâ Husayn-i Wâviz has translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindi story of the love of Nal and Daman, which melts the hearts of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my

original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue nowadays the fight between Panjâb and the Khurasân. 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 Islam; for He allows men to return to Him in repentance! This Razmâna was illustrated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and ʿAbd ʿAl-Fazl wrote an introduction to it of about two juz, etc." Badshahi, ii, p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen juz (a) is among the MSS. of the Az. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. The fuz (b) = sixteen pages quarto, or two sheets.

1 This work has been printed. ʿAbd ʿAl-Fazl's words Hindû veil are an allusion to Lilawati's sex.


During this year (A.H. 699, or A.D. 1399-1), I received the order from His Majesty to re-write in an easy style, the History of Kashmir, which Mulla Shâh Muhammad of Shâhâbâd, 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." Badshahi, ii, p. 374.

With the exception of this "heretic", vide Badshahi, ii, p. 364. Notices regarding the other two men will be found in the third volume of Badshahi.

For ʿAyar-i Dânish. Such abbreviations are common in titles.
brother Shaykh Fayzi-i Fayzâfi, in the musannif metre of the Layl Majnûn, and is now everywhere known under the title of Nal Damân.¹

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 Khân, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullâ Aḥmad of Thatah, and the whole concluded by Jaʻfar Beg-i Āsaf Khân. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of Türkîh-i Alfi,² the History of a thousand years.

The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called taṣeer. 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 masterpieces, worthy of a Bihāz̄ād,³ 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, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even imitate

¹ "Fayzâni Nal Damân (for Nal o Damân contains about 3,200 verses, and was composed, A.R. 1003, in the short space of five months). It was presented to Akbar with a few asharafs as a present. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqib Khân was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a masterpiece, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khusraw of Dihli, has composed." Bâdkhâni, ii, p. 296.

² In A.H. 1000, A.D. 1591-2, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that 'Isâ and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be 'Imām Ṭalâh, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Bâdkhâni's belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar's disciples saw in this common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the Din-e Ḥârî. The Türkîh-i Alfi was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

³ The copy of the Türkîh-i Alfi in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 19) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of 'Umar ibn-'Abdul-Malik (A.H. 99, or A.D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, vide Bâdkhâni, ii, p. 317.

⁴ "Bihâz̄ād was a famous painter, who lived at the court of Shâh Ismâil-i Safawi of Persia." Sirâjul-Ulughat.
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 muddling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus;¹ their pictures surpass our conception 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 ʿAli of Tabriz.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. Khwāja ʿAbd-e-Ṣamad, styled Shīrīngalam, or sweet pen. He comes from Shirāz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee³ 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 Khwāja's pupils became masters.

3. Dawsanth. He is the son of a palksh-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of 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 Khwāja. 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 masterpieces.

4. Basāwan. 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 Dawsanth.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Kesū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushtīn, Farghān the Qalmāq (Calmuck), Mādīnī, Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tārū, Sāwlī, Haribās, Rām. 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

¹ Compare with Abū'l-Fazāl's opinion, Elphinstone's History of India, second edition, p. 174.
² Better known as a poet under the name of Jādū.³ Vide the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the Story of Amir Hamza, mentioned on the next page.
³ He was a Chāhār-Gul. Vide the list of grandees in the second book, No. 266.
⁴ Mentioned in the Māʾnī-i ʿAbbās (p. 753); as in the service of ʿAbd-e-ʿAbbās Kān Khan Khān, Akbar's commander-in-chief.
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 masterpieces 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 Hamzanah 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 Chingiznāma, the Zafarnāma, the Razmāna, the Ramāyan, the Nal Daman, the Kalīlah Dammah, the ʿAyār Dānish, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses 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 Manṣabdāras, Aḥadīs, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1,200 to 600 dāms.

A* in 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 bazaar.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords (khaṣa 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 khaṣa swords (in consequence of presents, etc.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the kotal swords. There are also twelve Yakhbindi (†), the turn of every one of which recurs after one week. Of Jámkhars and Khapenns, 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 barchhus are required monthly. Of eighty-six Māsk, hadi bows, Bhadāyan 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 Bār-i Am, or Lēvee, the sons of the Amir, and other Manjalādārs and Aḥadīs, carry the Qur in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e., every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, piyārī war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several qatār of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels they use Bactrian camels, etc., for that purpose. At court receptions, the Amir and other people stand opposite the Qur, ready for any service; and on the march they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, saqqāras, flags, the khelbās, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the Qur, while eager mace-bearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mirbakhshis. In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses.

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

† I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word yakhbindi is not in the dictionaries.
‡ The text has an unintelligible sentence.
§ Five camels are called qatār, in Hind. qatār. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swords (slightly bent)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 15 Muhurt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khādā (straight swords)</td>
<td>1 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipī sāčī (a sword in a walking stick)</td>
<td>2 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamādhār (a broad dagger)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 2 1/4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuanjar</td>
<td>1/4 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāpwa</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 1/4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jām khāk</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 1/2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāk</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhanwā</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutāra</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narśik moth</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamān (bows)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taḥshīsh kamān</td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāvāk</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrows, per bundle</td>
<td>1/4 to 30 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quivers</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudi</td>
<td>1/4 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrbardār (arrow drawers)</td>
<td>1/2 R. to 2 1/2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paikānkash (do.)</td>
<td>1/4 to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neza (a lance)</td>
<td>1 1/2 R. to 6 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barchha</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāk</td>
<td>1/4 to 1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāntīhî</td>
<td>1/4 to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selara</td>
<td>10 d. to 1 1/4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurz (a war club)</td>
<td>1/4 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shashpar (do.)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kestan (l)</td>
<td>1 to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabar (a war axe)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piyāzī (a club)</td>
<td>1/4 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zāighnol (a pointed axe)</td>
<td>1/4 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakar-basola</td>
<td>1 to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabar zāighnol</td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarangāla</td>
<td>1/4 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārd (a knife)</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipī kārd</td>
<td>3 R. to 1 1/2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QuANCHI kārd</td>
<td>1 to 3 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāği (a clasp knife)</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 1/4 R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be jāpārīš, an arrow with a feather at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.
² This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. Vide my text edition.
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 nowadays guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 maans; 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. Dârogâhs 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 pieces, and properly put together again 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 Gajnâls. Guns which a single man may carry are called Narnâls.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each Sâba 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 Gajnâls and Narnâls.

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

1 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.
2 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.
ON MATCHLOCKS, ETC.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a marksman. 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; they then 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 Damānak. 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., Ustād Kabīr and Ḥusayn.

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 Daul. 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 tālās, 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

1 The text has an unintelligible word; the variatio lecturæ are marked on p. 123 of my text edition. Note (13). The Banūsa MS. has ḥy. The word appears to be a foreign term.
2 Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Fide Tusuk j Jahangiri, p. 16.
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 tarūnīsh takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouthpiece 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 filler. 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 ḫurgaz, etc. 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 sāda (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 quality of inlaid gold and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called ḫargūs (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.

1 Tarūnīsh means a trickling; the particular meaning which it here has is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries.
2 Ħurgaz, or ḫurgaz, 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.
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. Plate XV will best show what sort of a machine it is.

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 sąda (plain), rangīn (coloured), and koftkār (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as ḍhāra, i.e. for his special use. First, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. Secondly, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. Thirdly, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. Fourthly, thirty-one kotals. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, kotals are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; kotals; plain; coloured; koftkār, not handed over to the slaves; koftkār, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from peshkush presents, or from such as were bought; damānak, selected from peshkush, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five ḍhāra guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a kūsh, 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 ḍhāra guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half kotals, fourteen; quarter kotals, seven; one-eighth kotals, four; one-sixteenth kotals, two; one-thirty-second kotals, one. When kotals are given away, they bring half kotals; similarly, the place of a gun,
when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the kotha, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the kastikar not in charge of the slaves, the kofارد in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected Damūnak, 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 Sanyām one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the Forswardin month of the present era.

\textit{A\textsuperscript{4}in 40.}

\textbf{ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.}

The pay of a Mirdaka\footnote{A man placed over ten. The rank of the Mirdaka appears to have been the only rank commissioned rank in the Mogul armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a Bokhshā, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a Dabādāsī was the lowest Maqbooldar rank (vide the second book). Mirdaka is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after the horse.} is of four grades, 300 dāms, 280 d., 270 d., 260 d. The pay of the others is of five grades. Each grade is again subdivided into three classes. \textit{First grade}, 250 d., 240 d., 230 d. \textit{Second grade}, 220 d., 210 d., 200 d. \textit{Third grade}, 190 d., 180 d., 170 d. \textit{Fourth grade}, 160 d., 150 d., 140 d. \textit{Fifth grade}, 130 d., 120 d., 110 d.

\textit{A\textsuperscript{4}in 41.}

\textbf{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 horses; 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 a 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 lak 1 to one hundred rupees;

1 During the reigns of Akbar’s successor, the price of a well-trained war elephant rose much higher. *Vide Timur-I Jahangiri*, p. 198. At the time of Shahjahán, the first white elephant was brought from Pegh, *Padishahnamah*, i, p. 267.
elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common.

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. Bhuddar. 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 excrecence 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. Mir. It has a whitish skin with black spots; the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, yellow, black, and white. 4. Mir. It has a small head, and obeys readily. It gets frightened when it thunders.

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

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

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1 This excrecence is also called Gajmanik, or elephants' pearl. Forbes has also Gajmanik, and the Dalit's Sati, جس gaj sati (?)
2 In the fourth book of this work.
3 The time is differently given. The emperor Jahangir says in his Memoirs (p. 120):—
"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 foetus 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." Vogl IA. Johnstone's remarks on the same subject, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1868.
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 made 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 shows aversion to intercourse with the male; and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called bâl. When ten years old they are named pût; when twenty years old, bâkka; when thirty years old, kalâ. 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

1 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.
halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing 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 its rider. But elephants differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks grand; in this state he gets the name of Tañī or Sarhari. When the above discharge exudes from a place a little higher than the soft parts between the ears and the temples, the elephant is called Singadhāl; and when the fluid trickles from all three places, Tal-jor. When in heat, elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men or horses; but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

1 Challa afkās. This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse collect near the side which is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use sieves for such purposes.
The Bhaddar ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the Mand in spring; the Myy in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the Mir in any season. Elephant drivers 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 Gajmukta: 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 in heat. 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 in heat 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, hathi, etc. 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. Airavata, in the East; 2. Pundarika, south-east; 3. Baman, south; 4. Kumada, south-west; 5. Anjan, west; 6. Puhpadanta, north-west; 7. Sarihahuma, north; 8. Supratik, 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 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-feet, from the

5 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps Hoshapaj, graceful, is the correct reading.
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.

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 Dēs mīzāj (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 Gauḍhārba mīzāj (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are Brāhmaṇa mīzāj (of a brahminical temper). 4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, ungovernable, are said to have the temper of a Khattūrī, or warrior. 5. Those which are of a low stature, and forgetful, self-willed in their own work, and neglectful in that of their master, fond of unclean food, and spiteful towards other elephants, are Sūdra mīzāj. 6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or are destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a Pīshācha (spectre). 7. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a Rāchhās (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 found in the Sūbah of Ágra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Sūba of Ilāhābad (Allahabad), in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghoṛā, and Ratānpūr, Nandānpūr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Sūba of Māla, in Handiyah, Uchhōd, Chanderī, Santwās, Bījāgarh, Rāisin, Hoshangābād, Garha, Haryāgarh; in the Sūba of Bihār; in the neighbourhood of Rahtās.
and Jhārkhand; and in the Sūba of Bengal, in Opisā, and Sātgāw. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindi sahu. 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 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 Ayāz. 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 the 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 everything 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 evil-doers, with the help of this animal,
carry on their nefarious trade. Hence kings of former times never succeeded in suppressing the rebellions, 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 Daroghas. Certain elephants were also declared khāja, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

ṭin 42.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience:
1. Mast (full blood); 2. Sherjī (tiger-seizing); 3. Sāda (plain);
4. Manjīola (middlemost); 5. Karha; 6. Phandurkiya; 7. Mokāl. 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.

ṭin 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

1 The same phrase as on p. 13, line 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bayrām fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.
happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired into, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Most elephants.* Large ones get daily 2 *mans* 24 *sers*; middle-sized, 2 m. 19 s.; small ones, 2 m. 14 s. 2. *Shergirs.* Large ones, 2 m. 9 s.; middle-sized ones, 2 m. 4 s.; small ones, 1 m. 39 s. 3. *Sūdas.* Large ones, 1 m. 34 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 29 s.; small ones, 1 m. 24 s. 4. *Munjholas.* Large ones, 1 m. 22 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 20 s.; small ones, 1 m. 18 s. 5. *Kurhas.* Large ones, 1 m. 14 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 9 s.; small ones, 1 m. 4 s. 6. *Pandurākipūs.* Large ones, 1 m.; middle-sized ones, 36 s.; small ones, 32 s. 7. *Mokals.* Large ones, 26 s.; middle-sized ones, 24 s.; third class, 22 s.; fourth class, 20 s.; fifth class, 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.

**THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.**

1. *Most elephants.* There are five and a half servants for each, viz., a *Mahāwat,* 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 *dāmas* per month; but if the elephant be *khatatur,* 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 *Mahāwat.* His monthly pay is 110 d. *Thirdly,* the *Meths,* of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A *meth* fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. *Meths* of all classes get on the march four *dāmas* daily, and at other times three and a half.

2. For every *Shergir,* there are five servants, viz., a *Mahāwat,* at 180 d.; a *Bhoi,* at 103 d.; and three *Meths* as before.

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¹ i.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.
3. For every Sūda, there are four and a half servants, viz., a Mahāwat, at 160 d.; a Bhoi, at 90 d.; and two and a half Mehs.
4. For every Manjhora, there are four servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 140 d.; a Bhoi, at 80 d.; and two Mehs.
5. For every Karha, there are three and a half servants; viz., a Mahāwat at 120 d.; a Bhoi, at 70 d.; and one and a half Mehs.
6. For every Phandurkhiya, there are two servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 100 d.; and a Meth.
7. For every Mokal, there are likewise two servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 50 d.; and a Meth.

Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, viz., a Mahāwat, at 100 d.; a Bhoi, at 60 d.; two Mehs. 2. Middle-sized ones have three and a half servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 80 d.; a Bhoi, at 50 d.; and one and a half Mehs. 3. Small ones have two; viz., a Mahāwat, at 60 d.; and a Meth. 4. Makals have likewise two; viz., a Mahāwat, at 60 d., and a Meth.

The Faujdār.

His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants. Such a troop is called a halqa; the superintendent is called Faujdār. 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 Faujdār is raised to the dignity of a Sadi (a commander of one hundred) or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other Faujdārs, as Bīstīs (commanders of twenty) and Dabhāshīs (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the Dabhāshīs up to the Hazāris (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the Sadi is different. Some Faujdārs have been raised to the dignity of grandee of the court. A Sadi marks two horses. A Bīstī of the first grade has 30 rupees per mensem; second grade, 25 R.; third grade, 20 R. A Dabhāshī of the first grade has twenty R.; second grade, 16 R.; third grade, 12 R. Bīstīs and Dabhāshīs mark one horse, and belong to the Akadis. Such Faujdārs as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves have to pay the wages of the Mahāwats 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 Mahāwat.

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter. He therefore put several halqas 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 (*40 in 78).

*40 in 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The Dharna 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 *Aadū* is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The *Berī* is a chain for fastening both hind feet.

4. The *Balind* is a fetter for the hind feet, an invention of His Majesty. It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The *Gaddh berī* resembles the *Aadū*, 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 forefoot, 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 extent that it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The *Charkhi* is a piece of hollowed bamboo half a yard and two *tassūjes* 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 flaxen wrap 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. Aṇḍhikāri, i.e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into Ujjāli, i.e., light; is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, etc., and tied with two ends to the Kilaṁa (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 canvas, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The Kilaṁa consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without, however, being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is; the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the kilaṁa, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The Dulta is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a staff. This they tie over the kilaṁa to strengthen it.

11. The Kanaśi is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the kilaṁa, and prick the elephant’s ears with it in order to make the animal wild or to urge it on.

12. The Đor is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

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

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

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

16. The Chaṇḍi consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

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1 This should be Kalaṁa. Abū l-Faṣīl spells the word wrong; vide my text edition, p. 130, l. 16. It looks as if Abū l-Faṣīl had mistaken this Persian word for a Hindī term; else, why should he have any spelling at all? In Villiers’ Persian Dictionary, ii, p. 682b, read ḍhat for ḍhāṭ, and sa ṭavād for his enumeration (?) tāvās.
broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. Pittakakh 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 kalāsae, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. Qutās (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 Tassyā consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the Tassyā there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the kalāsae, to which both are attached. Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the kalāsae; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The Qutās 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. Qutās 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 Pākhar is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

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

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

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

25. The Guteñ 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 Pūy ranjus consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The Ankas is a small crook. His Majesty calls it Gajpāga.1 It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

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1 I.e., an elephant-run. His Majesty had reason to change the name Ankas, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." Rashidi. Hence the Persians pronounce it aquak.
28. The Gad is a spear which has two prongs instead of an iron point. The Bhoś makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The Bangri is a collection of rings made of iron or brass. The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them.

30. The Jagāvet resembles the Gad (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoś uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

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

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

For each Masta and Sherīr and Sāda, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ dāms. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindi kambal, at 10 d. each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 d.

For Manjholu and Karha elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For Phandurkīyas and Mokals, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddlecloth 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 haḷqa-dār is allowed ten ser of iron for chains, etc., 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 kaḷāwa of the elephant on which the Faujīr rides, at 8 d. per ser; but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, etc., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve dāms is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

Āṁ in 46.

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

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 ghī, and half a man of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc.; and some have one and a half man of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the Mahācīvā.

Each elephant requires three bhoś in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 d., and are fixed by His

1 Toğh is the same as ṭōğ. Vide Āṁ in 19, p. 32.
2 Liquids are sold in India by the weight.
Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four _meths_. In the _Halaqs_, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each _khāsa_ elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half _meths_; second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes as in the _Halaqs_.

As each _Halaq_ is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every _khāsa_ elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten _khāsa_ elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called _Dāḥī_; _idār_. They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees _per annum_. Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called _Naqīb_ (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 _Ahādī_. His Majesty 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.

_A'īn 47._

THE MANNER OF RIDING _KHĀSA_-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephant, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.¹

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the _bhōr_. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, viz., the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 _R._; the _Dāḥī_, 31 _R._; the _Naqīb_, 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

¹ Jahāngīr, in his _Memoirs_, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect; _vide_ _Tuzuk_, p. 16.
ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is
over, if the combatants were khāṣa elephants, the bhois receive 250 dāma
as a present; but if other elephants, the bhois get 200 d.

The Dakhāidār of khāṣa elephants receives one dām for every rupee
paid as wages to the bhois and meths; the Mushrif is entitled to \(\frac{1}{4}\) d., and
the Naqš to \(\frac{1}{4}\) d. In the case of halga elephants, the Sadāwal, the
Dakhāshī, and the Bistī, are entitled to 1 d. for every rupee; and the
Mushrif and the Naqš receive the allowance given for khāṣa elephants.

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 khāṣa elephant the Bhois are fined three months' wages.
If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhois and Meths are fined two-
thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddledcloth, 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 khāṣa elephant, the Bhois lose three months' pay and are further
suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched to inquire into the
fatness or leanness of the khāṣa elephants. If elephants are found by them
out of flesh to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by
the Pāgoṣht Regulation (vide A* in 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and
the bhois are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of
halga elephants, Aḥādis are told off to examine them, and submit a
report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the Mahāwat 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 kāli—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 dārogha paying two-thirds, and the Fawjdar one-
third. Should the injury not reach as far as the kāli, 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 khāṣa elephants,
however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.
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 ʿIrāq-i ʿArab and ʿIrāq-i Ṣājām, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drovers after droves arrive from Tūrān and Irān, and there are nowadays twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty. And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes.

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man; and after a short time Hindustān ranked higher in this respect than Arabia, whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from the ʿIrāqī 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 Panjāb, horses are bred resembling ʿIrāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of Sāwājī; 1 so also in the district of Patī Haybatpūr, 2 Rajwāral, Tihāra, in the Šūba of Āgra, Mevāt, and in the Šūba of Ajmīr, where the horses have the name of pachwariya. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustān, a kind of small but strong horse is bred, which are called gūṭ; and in the confines of Bengal, near Kûch [Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the gūṭ and Turkish horses, and are called tānghas, 3 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.

1 Several good MSS. read Sārjī.
2 Halbatpūr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76° 2'; Tihāra, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 75° 25'.
3 Tūgkan.—P.]
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 harshness 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 Karwanas, 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 half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.

\[\text{Ain } 59.\]

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. Khāṣṭa; 2. Those that are not khāṣṭa. The khāṣṭa 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., si-aspī, bist-aspī, dakh-aspī, i.e., belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse

1 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.
2 Abū 'l-Fażl mentions this very often in the Ain. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a consideration, to Mahājana (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks, whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazir Mirzā Sālīh, brother of the great Persian historian Nīmadīr Bayādī) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (maqāṣid), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mirzā Rāhīm, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mirzā Sālīh 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." Tāhir Naqshbandi's Fungon.
whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a Duh-muhri stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a Biat-muhri stable, and so on.

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

A*in 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A khosa horse was formerly allowed eight sers fodder per diem, when the ser weighed twenty-eight dums. Now that the ser is fixed at thirty dums a khosa 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 ghiri. Two dums are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available. About three bighas of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses, they stop the ghiri; 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 Iraqui and Turké 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 dum being given for boiling one man of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter ser of salt. When ghiri and fresh grass are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one ser of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a ser. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass is given, horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one man and ten sers of ghiri; such as are from eleven to twenty muhurs thirty sers; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither ghiri, brown sugar, nor green oats. Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a dum, though it is mostly given in a lump. Iraqui and Turké 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 bigha of

[1] Moch, a small, hard, blue grain used, when well boiled, for fattening horses. Dums “grain” colloquially amongst horse-dealers, etc., means “gram.”—P.
[2] Kharbi is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.
[3] Qand-i alfa is probably sus.—P.]
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 mares 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 khāsa horse. The gāhi horses get five and a half seres 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 1⁄2 d., when in the country; but they do not get ghār, molasses, or green oats. Qirsāng [i.e., female horses] get, at court, four and a half seres 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 dām are allowed. Stud mares get two and three-fourths seres of grain, but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed.

A foal sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-fourths seres 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.

A in 52.

ON HARNESS, ETC.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the khāsa horses on which His Majesty rides.

For the whole outfit of a khāsa horse, the allowance is 277½ d. per annum; viz., an arīq, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 d.; a yālpāsh (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 arīq, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old yālpāsh; a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 d.; halters for the

1 Khūnd is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.
2 Qand-i șgā is probably gur.—P.
3 Bānas colloquially means, as here, gram.—P.
nukhiṭa¹ (headstall) and the hind feet,² 40 d.; a puṣṭ-taṅg (girth), 8 d.; a magas-rān (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 d.; a nukhiṭa and qayza³ (the bit), 14 d.; a curry-comb, 1½ d.; a grain bag, 6 d.; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1¼ d. These articles are given annually, and fifteen dāms, ten jetais, 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 196½ 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 155½ d.; viz., for the artak, 39½ d.; the gālpōsh, 27½ d.; a coarse saddle cloth, 30 d.; the girth, 6 d.; the nukhiṭa and qayza, 10 d.; and the nukhiṭa ropes and feet-ropes, 32 d.; the magas-rān, 2 d.; a towel, 1¼ d.; a curry-comb, 1¼ d.; a basket, 1 d.; a grain bag, 4½ d. Twenty dāms are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and qirmūq, and gūṭ, the allowance is 117½ d.; viz., an artak, 37 d.; a gālpōsh, 24½ d.; a jīl, 24 d.; a nukhiṭa band and a pāy-band, 8 d.; a nukhiṭa and qayza, 8 d.; a puṣṭ-taṅg, 5 d.; a magas-rān and a towel, each 1½ d.; a curry-comb, 1¼ d.; a basket, 1 d.; a grain bag, 4½ d. The amount subtracted is the same as before.

1. The Karāh ⁸ 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 mān of iron; but this includes the wages of the maker. 2. The Missīn Saṭl, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten kāṣṇa horses. The price of making one is 140 d. For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, etc., there is only one. 3. The Kamanī, attached to iron pegs, is 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 mān; its cost price is 140 d., and 16 d. the

¹ Nukhiṭa for nukhiṭā.—P.
² 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 leading horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word nukhiṭā, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced nukhiṭa. Similarly, qirmūq is pronounced qirmūṣ; see Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, i, p. 26 b.c.
³ All together 106½ 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.
⁸ Karānī or jālān, H. 1.—P.
wages of the rope maker. 4. The Ḍāhāniin mekh, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five sers, and costs 15 d. 5. The Tabartukhmāq, or hammer, weighs five sers, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the khāṣa stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dārōghās; 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. Našl, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight dāms were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. Kūndlān. One is allowed for ten horses. The price of it is 80\frac{1}{3} R.

**A`in 53.**

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The Ālbeqi 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 Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief).

2. The Dārōgha. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior Ahadis.

3. The Mushrif, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty’s orders are carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees.

4. The Dūda-uar, or inspector. His duty is occasionally to inspect the horses before they are mustered by His Majesty; he also determines the rank and the condition of the horses. His reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by the Mansabdārs or Ahadis.

5. The Akhtachis look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis.

6. The Chābūkswar 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 Hādā. This name is given to a class of Bājputās, who teach horses the elementary

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1 This appears to be the same as the Hīd, ṭaf, which our measure dictionaries describe as a "kind of tent."

2 Or Mīrzā Kān Khān, i.e., Ḍābūs Khān, son of Bayrūm Khān; vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 20.
steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the Aḥadīs. 8. The Mirdaha is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Aḥadī; but in other khāṣa stables, he only gets 170 d.; in the country-bred stables, 160 d.; in the other si-aspī stables, 140 d.; in the bīst-aspī stables, 100 d.; and in the dāh-aspī stables, 30 d. Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The Bāyṭār, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Aḥadī. 10. The Naqīb, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. They report the condition of each stable to the Dāroghas and the Mushrif, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head Naqībes are Aḥadīs, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 d. 11. The Sādīs, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the chihil-aspī stables, each groom gets 170 d.; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 d.; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 d.; in the country bred stables, 126 d.; in the other si-aspī stables, 106 d.; in the bīst-aspī stables, 103 d.; and in the dāh-aspī stables, 100 d. 12. The Jīnawdār (vide AY in 60) and the Payk (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1,200 to 120 d., according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred kroh (kos) a day. 13. The Naṭbānd, or farrier. Some of them are Aḥadīs, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 d. 14. The Zindār, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the khāṣa 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 Akhash, 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 Farrāsh (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every khāṣa stable. His pay is 130 d. 17. A Sipandār is only allowed in the stables of forty horses;

1 The seeds of sipand (in Hind. asā, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (vagū-i had, chash checking), which is very dangerous for Akbar's choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a cracking sound. The man who burns them is called Sipandār. Vide the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under Shikhs. Instead of Sipandār, 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 horseshoes to the gate of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gate in Fatehpur Sikri. [Sipand P., or barmal A., is wild rue not mustard.—P.]
his pay is 100 d. 18. The Khākrūb, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan Halālkūr; ¹ 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 dāroghas 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 dārogha has not received the extra allowance. Each cooly gets two dāms per diem.

\[ \text{A}^\text{1} \text{in p. 54.} \]

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

\[ \text{A}^\text{1} \text{in p. 55.} \]

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word 
\[ \text{ناجر, sight,} \]
sometimes with the word 
\[ \text{ندو} \]
(dāgh, mark), and sometimes with the numeral \[ \text{ن} \] (seven).² 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 Jirghi and Mūjanna.³

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¹ Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; vide p. 46, l. 28; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 69, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under rankār. Habīlāghar, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for karīkāghar, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, etc. The word habīlāghar 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 mahter, a prince, which is the plural title of khākrūb, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc., is an example of the irony of fate.

² Vide A² in 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A.H. 981, a.d. 1573, when Shāhzād and been appointed Mir Bağkī. He followed the regulations of Āghā-n-dīn Khilji and Sher Shah; vide Bidd, pp. 173, 100.

³ Mūjanna, i.e., put nearly equal (to an Irāṣī horse); vide 2nd book, A² in 2. [I think mūjanna means half-bred. — E.]
horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turki and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays 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.

**Ārīn 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 khāsa 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.

**Ārīn 57.**

ON FINES.

When a khāsa horse dies, the Dārogha has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdaha ten di., upon every muhur of the cost price; and the 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 Dārogha for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees
upon every muhur; and from the Mirdaha 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 Mirdaha is fined ten dāms upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

A'śīn 58.

ON HORSES. KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two khāsha horses; but of courier-horses, three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to the ten muhur stables and the gūts. They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a misl.

First misl: one from the chāhilaspi stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of khāsha courier horses. Second misl: one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the stud-bred; one from the chāhilaspi 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 Shāh Murād 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, khāsha horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses. Third misl, one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud-bred, and the seventy-muhur horses. Fourth misl, 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 gūts.

[1] Rāmsr, ambling, a roadster.—P.J.

[2] "Prince Murād in the beginning of the fortieth year (1286) of Akbar’s reign, was put in command of the army of Gujerāt, and ordered to take Ahmādābād. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that Murād’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 Abū ‘l-Faṣl to bring the prince back to court. Abū ‘l-Faṣl came just in time to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (sorf, delirium tremens) brought on by habitual drunkenness." Mirā'ī.
ON DONATIONS.

Whenever his Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six khāms stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with a 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 khāma horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one dām to the Āthbegi, two to the Jilawdār; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushri, the Naqīb, the Akhtachi, and the Zindār. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty dāms were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a dām less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty dāms 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 dāms, 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 dāms; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten dāms; for courier horses, five; for stud-breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWĀNA.

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 dāms upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten dāms per muhur are divided as follows:—The Āthbegi gets five dāms; the Jilawbegi, two and a half; the Mushri, one and a quarter; the Naqība, nine jetals; the grooms, a quarter dām; the Taḥsīlār, fifteen jetals; the remainder is equally divided among the Zindār and Akhtachi.

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

[1] Rādūr, ambling; a roadster.—R.

2 Jilaw is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called jainān. The adjective jilawān, which is not in the dictionaries, means referring to a led horse. We have to write jilawān, not jilawāna, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives; as su-īs, jainīs, from su, jain, not su-īs, or jainīs. The jilawār, or jilawēr, is the servant who leads the horse. The jilawēr is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The taḥsīlār collects the fee.
THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown 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 Iran and Turan.

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 khāṣa camels, which is named Shāhpasand (approved of by the Shāh), 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 Ājmīr, Jodhpūr, Nāgor, Bīkānīr, Jaisalmer, Bātimā, and Bhaṭāmā; the best are bred in the Sūba of Gujrat, near Cauchh. But in Sīnd is the greatest abundance; many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards. The swiftest camels are those of Ājmīr; the best for burden are bred in Thatha.

The success of this department depends on the Arvānās, i.e., female camels. In every country they get hot in winter and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of Bughar. The young ones of camels are called sar (male) and māya (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the sar the name of bughṭi, and to the female that of jammūsa. The bughṭi is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the jammūsa excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called lōk, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a bughṭi and a jammūsa goes by the name of ghurd; the female is called māya ghurd. If a bughṭi, or a lōk, couples with a jammūsa, the young one is called bughṭi or lōk respectively. But if a bughṭi or a lōk couples with an arvānā, the young male is named after its sire and the young female after its dam. The lōk is considered superior to the ghurd and the māya ghurd.

[1 In the text māya, which also means a female camel—a very harmless pon. Vide Dr. Spranger's Gulistan, preface, p. 8. Regarding the word bughar, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1888, p. 59.
[2 Corruption of bughṭi.—P.]
When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into qatārā (strings), each qatār consisting of five camels. The first camel of each qatār is called peshang; the second, peshduara; the third, niyāna qatār; the fourth, dundost; the last camel, dundār.

A* in 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 janamacas, ghursa, māyāk ghursa, and lokāk, 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 dāms per sar. As the sar has now 30 dāms, 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 Pāgoshī rule (A* in 83); and when the rutting season is over, the Dāroghas 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 to the Pāgoshī 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.

A* in 63.

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for kāsa camels: an Afsār (head stall); a Dun- afsār (crupper); a Mahār kāthi (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer—an invention of His Majesty); a kūchī

1. So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of poshāng, the leader of a troop. Peshduara means "in front of the belly, or middle, of the qatār." 
2. Chara-gāū, grazing-places.—P.]
(which serves as a saddle-cloth): a Qatārē; a Sarbeḥī;¹ a Tang (a girth): a Sarṭang (a head-strap); a Shebband (a loin-strap); a Jallāyē (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a Gardanband (a neck-strap); three Chādars (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 qatārēs of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a Mishafta, 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 qatārēs they allow three qatārēs coloured articles.

For Bughētis, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225 2/₃ d., viz., a head-stall studded with shells, 20 1/₄ d.; a brass ring, 1 1/₂ d.; an iron chain, 4 1/₂ d.; a kalagi (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock’s feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a pushtpozi (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a dum-afūr (a crupper), 1 1/₂ d.; for a takalū (saddle-quilt) and a sarbeḥī, both of which require 5 sers of cotton, 20 d.; a yul (saddle-cloth),² 68 d.; a jahāz-i gujkārī,³ which serves as a mahārkāthī (vide above), 40 d.; a tang, shebband, gułābānd (throat-strap), 24 d.; a tanāb (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope tāqa tanāb, or kharvār—38 d.; a bālāposh, or covering, 15 d.⁴

For Jammūnas, two additional articles are allowed, viz., a gardanband, 2 d.; and a sīnā-band (chest-strap), 16 d.

The cost of a set of plain furniture for Bughētis and Jammūnas amounts to 168 2/₃ d., viz., an afūr, studded with shells, 10 d.; a dum-afūr, ½ d.; a jahāz, 16 2/₃ d.; a yul, 32 2/₃ d.; a tang, a shebband, and gułābānd, 24 d.; a tāqa tanāb, 37 1/₂ d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.⁵

For Loks, the allowance for furniture is 143 d., viz., an afūr, jahāz,

¹ The meaning is doubtful. The Arabic, sarbī, like qatārē, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that sarbeḥī is a sort of quilt.

² A yul (—jaḥāz H.) is a heavy horse-covering of blanket and felt.—P.

³ Gujkārī appears to be the correct reading. The Arabic, jahāz means whatever is upon a camel, especially the saddle and its appendages, generally made of coarse cotton steeped in lime (gaţ). Hence gujkārī, white-washed.

⁴ These items added up give 230 d., not 225, as stated by Abū Ṭaftū. 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 20 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 triennially, but had to last a longer time.

⁵ These items added up give 168 d., instead of Abū Ṭaftū’s 168 2/₃ d.
khareeār, according to the former rates; a jul, 37½ d.; a tang, shebband; gulāband, 14½ d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the woodwork. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every qatār, 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.2

Saltf camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ d. for country-bred camels, and loks, viz. [for country bred camels] an afsār, 5 d.; a jul, 36½ d.; a sardoq, ¼ d.; a tang and a shebband, 10½ d.; 3 and [for loks], an afsār, a tang, and a shebband, as before; a jul, 45½ d.; a sardoq, ¼ d.

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

Shalita tūs, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every qatār, at a price of 30½ d. for bughfis and jammāzas, 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 Saltf camels.

A4 in 64.

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

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

1 The items added up give 144 d., instead of Abü'l-Fazl's 143 d.
2 Hence the Government paid, as a rule, ⅔ of the estimates presented.
3 The addition gives 52½ d., instead of 52½. The following items, for loks, give added up 62½.
For each Bughdi and Jammāza 3½ 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, 6½ s. of butter-milk, and 3 s. of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once, a year.

A* in 65.

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into qatārs, and given each qatār 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 qatārs are of three kinds—1. Every five qatārs 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 qatārs, are committed to the care of a Panjāhi, or commander of fifty. He is allowed a horse, draws 960 d., and has nine drivers under him. 3. Every hundred qatārs are in charge of a Panjahādi, or commander of five hundred. Ten qatārs are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one qatār, Government finds drivers for the others. The Panjahādi and Bistopanjīs are under his orders. Their salary varies; nowadays many Yūshāshis are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the farāshes. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each Panjahādi under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected to inquire 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 Panjāhi and the Panjahādi. If a camel get lame or blind, he is fined the fourth part of the price.

Rainbāri.

Rainbāri 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

\(^1\) Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.
as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital to the frontiers of the empire, in 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 Rāwašā is also put in charge of fifty stud arwānas, 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 arwānas get no allowance for grain or grass. For every bughur, bughdā, and jammaža in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 s. of sesame oil, 1/3 s. of brimstone, 61/3 s. of butter-milk.¹ The first includes 1/4 s. of oil for injection. Loks, arwānas, ghurds, and wāya ghurds, get only 3 1/2 s. of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6 1/3 s. of butter-milk,² and 1/3 s. of brimstone.

Botas and Dumbīlas—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens; they are allowed 2 1/2 s. of oil, inclusive of 1/4 s. for injection into the nostrils, 1/8 s. of brimstone, and 41/4 s. of butter-milk.³

Full-grown stud-camels get weekly 1/8 s. of salt-petre and common salt; botas get 1/4 s.

The wages of a herdsman is 200 d. per mensem. For grazing every fifty stud-camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 d. per diem. A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present to His Majesty three arwānas 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 bughdā and jammaža, each camel being assessed to yield four sera of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with dum-afsārs, wooden pegs, etc.

The following are the prices of camels:— a bughdā, from 5 to 12 muhurs; a jammaža, from 3 to 10 M.; a bughur, from 3½ to 7 M.; a mongrel lok, from 8 to 9 M.; a country-bred, or a Baluchi lok, from 3 to 8 M.; an arwāna, from 2 to 4 M.

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first class bughdā, not more than 10 mans; a second class do., 8 m.; superior jammažas, loks, etc., 8 m.; a second class do., 6 m.

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

¹ Māst, cumh. — P. ² In text "from 4 to 7". — P. ³ The text has also here: a yoga bughur from 3 to 5; a yord from 3 to 8; a yoga yord and a lok from 3 to 7. — P.
THE GĀW-KHĀNA 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 Gujrāt are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakhin. 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 worth more than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of dāms [5,000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmir, the Qutās, 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 everything 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 khāṣa 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, Âṭīn 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 Âṭīn 22).

1. G̣yr, ox. The bullock only is used for work.—P. 2. Ṃāst, curds.—P.
There is also a species of oxen, called qainā, small like qūt horses, but very beautiful.

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

A* in 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first khāṣa class is allowed daily 6½ s. of grain,¹ and 1½ d. of grass. The whole stable gets daily 1 man 19 s. of molasses,² which is distributed by the Darogha, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office. Cattle of the remaining khāṣa classes get daily 6 s. of grain,¹ and grass as before, but no molasses ² are given.

In other cow-stables the daily allowance is as follows. First kind, 6 s. of grain,¹ 1½ d. of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 d. The second kind get 5 s. of grain,¹ and grass as usual. The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 s. of grain,¹ and grass as usual. First class qainās get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only ½ d. Second class do., 2½ s. of grain,¹ and ½ d. of grass at court, otherwise only ¼ d.

A male buffalo (called arna) gets 8 s. of wheat flour boiled, 2 s. of ghī, ½ s. of molasses,³ 1½ s. of grain,¹ and 2 d. of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion ⁴ 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 grain, 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-wagons ⁴ get 6½ s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1½ d. for grass; but now they get a quarter less, and grass as before.

The milch-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 thāṭ. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 s. of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 s. The buffaloes of the Panjāb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two dāms weight of ghī for every see of milk.

¹ Dēna—gram, see p. 142, note 1.—P.]
² Qand-i sipād, see p. 142, footnote 3.—P.]
³ Shēr in India is the tiger, but shēr in Persia is the lion.—P.]
⁴ Carriages for the transport of trained hunting leopards. See Book II, A* in 27.
THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW-STABLES.

In the *khās* 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 *Aḥādīs*; others get 300 d., others 256 d. down to 112 d. *Bahals*, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. *Chatrīdār* or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the *chatr*, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called *ghur-bahal*. For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed. The head driver, or *Mirdahān*, 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 2,200 *dāms* [55 Rupees].

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

Formerly the Dāroghas paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a *dām* as *āng* money—*āng* is hemp smeared with ghi, 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 Dāroghi 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 Dāroghas 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 *maņs* 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 such service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the *Pāgosht* regulation (*vide* *Ā* in 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

[1] *Gāv, ox; vide p. 157, note 1.—P.]
[2] *Ghur-bahul.—P.*
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 4s., and 1½d. were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance is 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 theoning, 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 leaness; cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months. Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, etc., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.

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 everything, and its breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground, and it 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 Pakhali and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of the country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them; but in consequence of the

1 Which the subjects could not so easily do, if the princess, on their tours of administration of justice, were to ride on elephants, because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king.

2 The Sarkār of Pakhali lies between Arak (Attock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindes. Ride towards the end of Book III.
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 ʿArab and "Irāq-i ʿAjam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

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

Mules reach the age of fifty.

A* in 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 1¼ 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 one lot.

A* in 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ d.; an iron chain weighing 2 s., 10 d.; a ranakī (crupper) of leather, 4 d.; a pālān (pack-saddle), 102 d.; a shāltāng (shawl strap), and a pālās-tang (blanket strap), 36½ d.; a tāqa tānāb (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 d.; a qaṭār shalāq (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every qaṭār, 10 d.; a horsehair saddle, 40 d.; a kalāwa (vide A* in 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 44 d.; a sardoz (a common head stall), 4 d.; a khurjīn (wallet), 15 d.; a fodder-bag, 4 d.; a moyas-rān (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 tāqa tānāb and sardoz, 40 d.; a bell, 5 d.; a fodder-bag, 3 d.; a crupper, 3 d.; a saddle, 24 d.; a curry-comb and a hair-glove, 4 d.

The furniture is renewed every third year; but for all iron and wood work, half the price is deducted. The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 d.; but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear. Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 d. per head.

Each qaṭār is in charge of a keeper. Turānis, Irānis, and Indians, are appointed to this office; the first two get from 400 to 1,920 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 *peşbayr* (first mule of their *qarâr*) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; one 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.

Ærin 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 everything 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 passed 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.

[¹ The *peşbayr* is selected for being a quick-stepper and for intelligence.—P.]
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 a means of fulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening when that fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honour of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world: and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light. 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

* Fide Abû 3 Fartî's Preface, pp. 18 and 49.
the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on
the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern,
talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the intro-
duction 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 Súfis, 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 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 daybreak, musicians of all nations are
introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious
strains; and when four gharís 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 daybreak, they are allowed to make the kornish (vide A* in 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.

\textit{A} in 73.

\textbf{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, \textit{darzan} (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 anything 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 Daroghas and Bitkichi (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.

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

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. See A*in 77 and the Note after it.
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 mansub, a jāgin, 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 His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz., prostration (sijda); 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

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4 The prostration, or sijda, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all Muhammadans 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 ραςσαωδο had been the usual salutation. It was Nizām of Badakhshān who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpur (before 1566). The success of the innovation made Mullā Aqālam of Kābul exclaim, "O that I had been the inventor of this little business!" Barh. III, p. 153. Regarding Nizām, or Ghāzi Khān, see Abī 'l-Fazl's list of Grandees, 2nd Book, No. 144. The sijda as an article of Akbar's Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to A in 77.
ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the Darbūr-i A'm (general court-days). However, in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune.

In this manner, by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfils the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom.

A'in 75.

ON ETIQUETTE.

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 anyone 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 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 korsih, 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.

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1 The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.

2 The finger tips of the left hand touch the right elbow, and those of the right hand the left elbow; or, the fingers of each hand rest against the inner upper arm of the opposite side. The lower arms rest on the knees. When in this position, a servant is called shahduyi khirmat, 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 suffi aqil. The emperor sits on the throne (side Plate VII) with crossed legs, or shahduyi khati, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called jisat yustaki, 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 vainglory. The position suitable for society is the jazaliy 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.
The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer.

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne.

All others stand in the Yasal.1 One or two attendants 2 stand nearer than all.

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 inquired 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.3 Some pray His Majesty to remove a religious doubt; others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter.4 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 5 from Tūrān and Īrān, Turkey and Europe, Hindūstān and Kashmir, are fixed by the proper officers in

1 Yasal signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court, and the chief funerarists; on the other wing stood the Quṣ (see page 110), the Mullah, and the Ullāmā, etc.
2 The servants who hold the sipah-bāz, A† in 10, or the fans.
3 In this manner it is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. See next A† in 10.
4 As settling a family-fond, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, etc.
5 ‘Abū ’-ʾIzzī 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 (see Second Book, A† in 1) a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.
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 nowadays only men appointed to the post of an Ahadi its to 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 dūms for each horseman.

Special Bītikchis [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Ahadis. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Ahadi to buy his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadis who 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.

A* in 77.

HIS MAJESTY & AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE.

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies

1 As Ahadis drew a higher salary (II, A* in 4) they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.
2 A* in 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Ahadis.
3 So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 138, l. 10, has As it is not customary for Ahadis to buy a horse, etc. Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to A* in 4 of the second book, an Ahadi was supplied with 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 Abū ʿAbd Allāh evidently means: for in the whole A*in he speaks of newcomers.
4 A note will be found at the end of this A* in.
among men, one class of whom turn to religious (dīna) 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. 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 thousands of 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 anyone muster sufficient courage, and

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1 As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.
2 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 dīna and dunya. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Śāfīī 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 Abū l-Fazl’s preface with this A*nin.
3 The world.
4 These Śāfīī 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, the lover, and both are one, Brahmin = man; the idol = God’s lamp = thought of God. “House = man’s heart.” The thoughtful man sees everywhere “the bright assembly of God’s works.”
5 The text has kafl, 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 [Abū l-Fazl, Hakim, Abū l-Fath, etc.] called logfsdigiat, i.e., things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575] a great number of Portuguese, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning.” Badd. ed II, p. 281.
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 everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it.

Men versed in foretelling the future knew this when His Majesty was born, and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they 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 inquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors

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1 Vide Abâ 'l-Farîd's preface, p. iii. l. 10.

2 This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor. Akbar spoke, "From Mirzâ Shâh Muhammad, called Fâhrin Khân, son of Shâh Beg Khân, who had the title of Dawrân Khân, and was an Aghahe by birth." The author heard him say at Lahor, in A.H. 1093. "I asked Nawâl, Râ'isi Sokah, who has the title of Khân-i Agham, [vide List of Grandees, second Book, A in 30], whether the late emperor, like the Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother. He replied, "His mother told me it was true." Dehshus al Magâhid, Calcutta edition, p. 390. Bombay edition, p. 260. The words which Christ spoke in the cradle, are given in the Qur'ân, Sûr. 19, and in the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Christ, pp. 5, 111.
could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as Sannyāsīs, Jogīs, Sātrīs, Qālānīsars, Hakims, and Sīfīs, 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 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 it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfills the desire of the supplicant. 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.

1 "He [Akbar] showed 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 Gia Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1593, in Murray's Discoveries in Asia, II, p. 90.

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.
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 shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle 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, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire 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 Shaghâ, upon which is engraved "The Great Name", and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "Allâh Akbar." This teaches the novice the truth that

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1. "He [Akbar] showed, besides, no partiality to the Muhammadans; 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. 33.

2. The text has zabân-i hûl, and a little lower down, zabân-i beragfâni. Zabân-i hûl, or symbolical language is opposed to zabân-i muqâl, spoken words.

3. Or rather, from his head, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfishness is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction.

4. Shaghâ means sign; secondly, anything sound, 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 Badzará, the members wore on their turbans.

5. The Great Name is a name of God. "Some say it is the word Allâh; others say it is Al-Îsân, the eternal; others Al-Hây, the living; others Al-Qâyyûn, the everlasting;
"The pure Shafi and the pure sight never err."

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible, while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

Ordinances of the Divine Faith:

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allah Akbar," and the other responds, "Jalla Jallaullah."1 The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode 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 birthday,
and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and birdeatchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR ON THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

In connexion with the preceding A*in, 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, are, besides Abū 'l-Faḍl's A*in, the Muntakhāb *t-Tawārikh by Abū l-Qādir ibn-i Mulak Shāh of Bādān—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 110, and to a longer article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869—and the Dobiatūn *t-Mazāhīb,1 a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pārsi tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrato, Francisco Enriquez, etc., of whom the first is mentioned by Abū 'l-Faḍl under the name of Pāḍrī Radulf.2 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., 1834, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Bādānī, 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

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1 Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay A.H. 1272 [A.D. 1856]. This work has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

2 Not Pāḍrī Radulf, as in Elphinstone's history, but: the letter (luṣ) having been mistaken for a (luṣ).
Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, vol. ii.

I shall commence with extracts from Badānī. The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badānī.

Abū l-Fażl's second introduction to Akbar. His pride.


It was during these days [end of 982 A.H.] that Abū l-Fażl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgar, came the second time to court. He is now styled Ṣulṭānī. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the Sabāḥīs, 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-Kurṣī, which contained all subtleties of the Qur'ān; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abū l-Fażl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words Tafsīr-i Akbarī (Akbar's commentary) gives the date of composition (993). But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abū l-Fażl 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 Abū l-Fażl'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 Ḥabshi and others), Shaykh Ābū Nābi and Māhīdūm Ī-Mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously

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

The year 1080 A.H. commenced 14th May, 1572 (Old Style).

- 981—3rd May, 1573
- 982—22nd April, 1574
- 983—12th April, 1575
- 984—21st March, 1576
- 985—21st March, 1577
- 986—10th March, 1578
- 987—28th February, 1579
- 988—17th February, 1580
- 989—5th February, 1581
- 990—26th January, 1582
- 991—16th January, 1583
- 992—4th January, 1584
- 993—24th December, 1584
- 994—13th December, 1585
- 995—2nd December, 1586
- 996—22nd November, 1587
- 997—10th November, 1588
- 998—31st October, 1589
- 999—20th October, 1590
- 1000—9th October, 1591
- 1001—28th September, 1592
- 1002—17th September, 1593
- 1003—6th September, 1594
- 1004—27th August, 1595

2 Qur., Sūr. ii, 256.
represented to the emperor that Shaykh Mubârak also, in as far as he pretended to be Mahdi, belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him; they dispatched police officers to bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaykh, with his two sons; had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaykh, at first, took refuge with Salim-i Chishti at Fathpûr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaykh Salim, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujràt. Seeing that Salim took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubârak applied to Mirzâ 5Aziz Koka [Akbar’s foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaykh’s learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons; adding that Mubârak was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he [5Aziz] could really not see why the Shaykh was so much persecuted. The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaykh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn; and Abû ’l-Fazl when once in favour 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 shamef ul 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 Shaykhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

He used to say, openly and implicitly:

O Lord, send down a proof for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods a gnat as big as an elephant!
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up their heads;
Send them a Moses with a staff; and a Nile!

1 Fârî p. 113, note 2.
2 Salûsî belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawi rumours for his own purposes; see below. The extract shows that there existed before 982, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.
3 That is, a man capable of teaching the “Ulamâ a lesson. Abû ’l-Fazl means himself.
4 Nimrod, or Namrud, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of his head; but at last died from the effects of his own blows.
And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the Ulama (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following Rubâsî 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 Muftahid, 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 Shaykhs and Ulama.

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badâonî 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'âshîyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qur'ân), and the word of the prophet (the Hadîth, or Tradition). Questions of Sûfism, scientific discussions, inquiries 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 Hû 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 Sulaymân, ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150

1 A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Mohammedan law. There are few Muftahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding Rubâsî is translated by Sir H. Elliot in the Mohammedan Historians of India, p. 244.
2 Or some ascetic. Yâ Hû means O He (God), and Yâ Hâdî, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some Sufis repeat them several thousand times during a night.
3 The edition of Badâonî calls him Mîrî Kârânânî. He is sometimes called Karânî, sometimes Kârânânî. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 990, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.
Shaykhs and Ulamās, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mīrzā Sulaymān, a prince of Sūfī tendencies, and a Sāhib-i ḥal was coming to him from Badakhshan.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called Aṣūrtalāqā, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the Ulamās and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the Ulamās, and the heretical (Shīti) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullā Sheri, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddād (cfr Qur., Sūr. 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, Shaykhs, Ulamās, 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 Ulamās to the south; and the Shaykhs to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other and make his inquiries... when all at once, one night, 'the vein of the neck of the Ulamās 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 [Badāoni], 'In future report any of the Ulamās that cannot behave and that talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall.' I gently said to Āsaf Khan, 'If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulamās 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."

Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.

[Bad. II., p. 219.]

"Some people mentioned that Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes, quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick in order to strike him, when the Ḥājī by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."
Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the Ulama 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 Ulama; 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 Mawla Mas'ud Ilah of Sultanpur, who had received the title of Makhzum i-Mulk, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Haji Ibrahim Shaykh Abul Fazl (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 Mawla 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 Mawla, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qur'an (Sur. XVI, 72), 'And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, etc.' Among other stories, Khan Jahan said that he had heard that Makhzum i-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 Gujrat, 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.

Khan Jahan also related that the Mawla had invented a clever trick by which he escaped paying the legal aims 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."

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1 This extract as given by Sir H. Elliot on p. 244, conveys a wrong impression. Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before A.H. 1000.

2 Aims 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 aims.
"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 Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimaq and other deserving people of the Panjab—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection" (Qur. 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: 1 for Shaykh 'Abd al-'Nabi had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlawīs was fast sinking."

But a heavier blow was to fall on the Shia. [Bad. II, p. 207.]

"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many free-born women a man was legally allowed to marry (by nikāh). 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 free-born and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, when the emperor remarked that Shaykh 'Abd al-'Nabi had once told him that one of the Muqaddims had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Shia present replied that the Muqaddim alledged to was Ibn Abi Layā; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qurān verse (Qur., Sūr. IV, 3), 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two, 2 and three and three, and four and four,' but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh 'Abd al-'Nabi, 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 fatwā in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. 'The Shaykh,' 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 Shia, having collected

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1 I.e., he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.
2 Thus they got 2 + 2 = 4, or 4 + 4 = 8. But the passage is usually translated, 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two, or three and three, or four,' which was nine unto himself, translated "two or three or 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 freedom of Akbar's freedman princesses was acknowledged.
every tradition on the subject. decreed, first, that by muṣṣah [not by nikāh] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, secondly, that muṣṣah marriages were allowed by Imām Mālik. The Shiʿahs, as was well known, loved children born in muṣṣah wedlock more than those born by nikāh wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl-ʿĀmīrah.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled Najūt al-rashīd [vide note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the Muṣaffa of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of muṣṣah marriages.

"Another night, Qāzi Yaṣqūb, Shaykh Abū ʿI-Faẓl, Ḥāji Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the Anṣāʿī al-ʿAṣr. Shaykh Abū ʿI-Faẓl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding muṣṣah marriages, which his father (Shaykh Mulābak) 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 sectarians customs, is this:—Imām Mālik and the Shiʿahs are unanimous in looking upon muṣṣah marriages as legal; Imām Shāfiʿī and the Great Imām (Ḥanifah) look upon muṣṣah marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāzi of the Mālikī sect decide that muṣṣah is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk.' This pleased His Majesty very much."

The unfortunate Shaykh Yaṣqūb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qāzi. 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 Mālikī Qāzi Ḥasan ʿArab as the Qāzi before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaṣqūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzi Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made muṣṣah marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūm ʿI-Mulk, Qāzi Yaṣqūb, 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, Mawlānā Jalāl ʿd-Dīn of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,
"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 Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the "Aimadān and other deserving people of the Panjāb—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur. 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.

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1 Lk., he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.
2 Thus they read 2 + 2, 3 + 3, 4 + 4, 18. But the passage is usually translated, 'Marriage whatever women ye like, two, or three, or four.' The Mujahid, who took nine unto himself, translated 'two-and-three-four.'—8. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the harda of Akbar's freeborn princesses was acknowledged.
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"The veteran lawyers, as Makhḍūm 'l-Mulk, Qāzī Ya‘qūb, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

"This was the commencement of their sore and yellow leaf'.

"The result was that, a few days later, Mawlānā Jalāl-d-Dīn of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,
was ordered from Agra (to Fatehpur Sikri) and appointed Qāzi of the
realm. Qāzi Yaṣqūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāzi.

“From this day henceforth, the road of opposition and difference in
opinion lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed
Mujtahid of the empire.” [Here follows the extract regarding the formula
Allāh ṣaḥab, given on p. 173, note 1.]

[Radonj II, p. 211.]

“During this year [983], there arrived Ḥakīm Abū Ḥaṭṭ, Ḥakīm
Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Quli,
and lastly to Ḥakīm Humām), and Nūr ṣaḥab, who as poet is known
under the name of Qarārī. They were brothers, and came from Gīlān,
near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address
were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendency 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, Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, who
got the nickname of Yazdī, and attaching himself to the emperor, com-
menced openly to revile the Sahābah (persons who knew Muhammad,
except the twelve Imāms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard
to make the emperor a Shiʿah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bār—
that bastard!—and by Shaykh Abū Ḥaṭṭ and Ḥakīm Abū Ḥaṭṭ, who
successfully turned the emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject
inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints,
and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

“At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qāzi Jalāl ṣaḥab to write a commentary on the Qurʾān; but this led to
great rows among them.

“Deb Chand Bāja Manjhuḷa—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 (Sūrat
‘l-baqara) of the Qurʾān.

“His Majesty had also the early history of the Islām read out to him,
and soon commenced to think less of the Sahābah. Soon after, the
observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything
connected with the prophet, were put down as taqīdī, or religious blindness,
and man’s reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion.
Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty inquired
into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason.”
"In the beginning of the next year [584], when His Majesty was at Dinpur in Mâlwa, Sharif of Amul arrived. This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic. For some time he had studied Sûfie nonsense in the school of Mawlâna Muhammad Zâhid of Balûk, nephew of the great Shaykh Husayn of Khwârazm, 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 Mawlâna also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs:—

"There was a heretic, Sharif by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

In his wanderings he had come to the Dakhin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dakhin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey, and shown about in the city. Hindustân, 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 Mâlwa, and settled at a place five lacs 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 Islam casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called Nautaca, 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 Millennium. 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 duasâ (véde p. 168, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty; no one dared to draw near them, but I sometimes heard from a distance the word Sûm (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths', or 'the groundwork of things'.

1 Châdak-nâ means Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Hariri and the Crusades.
"A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk.
He is immersed in heresies internal,
And prattles—God forbid!—of truth eternal.

"The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmūd of Basākhwān (a village in Gīlān), who lived at the time of Timūr. Maḥmūd who had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but ṭādūl, which name he had given to the ‘science of expressed and implied language’. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Barūr o Kūza (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 in his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharīf—the dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled Tarāshshuh-i Zuhūr, in which he blindly follows Mīr ʿAlī ʿAwwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words mīformūdūnd (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 1904], 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 1886, they became violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islām were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The ʿUlmās, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other Kāfs, or occurred.

[Bad. II, p. 255.]

"Makhdūm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, in which he accused him of the murder of Khīzr Khān of Shīrwān, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mīr Ḥabīb, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with ʿAbd al-Nabī, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī called Makhdūm a fool, and cursed him. The ʿUlmās now broke up into two parties, like the Sibṭūs and Qībtūs, gathering either round the Shaykh, or round Makhdūm al-Mulk; and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor.
by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

"His Majesty till now [986] had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islam. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different."

[Bad. II, p. 239.]

"In 984 the news arrived that Sháh Tahmásp of Persia had died, and Sháh Ismá'íl II had succeeded him. The Táhirí of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words which form the name of the place = 984. Sháh Ismá'íl gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer. Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose."

[Bad. II, p. 241.]

"In 985, the news arrived that Sháh Ismá'íl, son of Sháh Tahmásp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister Parí Ján Khánun. Mir Háydar, the riddle writer, found the Táhirí of his accession in the words Shahinsáh-i rúí zamín [984] 'a king of the face of the earth'. and the Táhirí of his death in Shahinsáh-i ser-i zamín [985] 'a king below the face of the earth'. At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India [p. 240], and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabriz, Shirwán, and Mázandaran. Sultán Muhammed Khudábanda, son of Sháh Tahmásp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the Sáfíábah.

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

1 As Tahmásp in his short Memoirs [Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengali] gives the word جلی 980] as the Táhirí of his accession, we have Tahmásp from 930 to 984 = Ismá'íl II, 984 to 983.
2 Princeps's Tables (Hind edition, p. 309) give =--Tahmásp, 932 to 983; Ismá'íl II, from 983 to 994.
BADĀ'ONI'S SUMMARY OF THE REASONS WHICH LED AKBAR TO RENOUNCE THE ISLĀM.

[Bad. II, p. 256.]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path. I shall not give all, but only some, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides 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 inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamic) 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, they grew, gradually as the outline of a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islām, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself.

Moreover, 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,

1 Explained in Arab. dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (landshak). Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.
for the truth of their own and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their 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 showed 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." 1

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 Purukhotamb, author of a commentary on the ... 2 whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debi was pulled up the wall of the castle, 3 sitting on a chārpāc, 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 Mahāmāt, 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." Infanter flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

1 Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of inquiry 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.
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.

Sometimes again, it was Shaykh Tāj-i Dīn of Dihli, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaykh is the son of Shaykh Zakariyā of Ajodhan. The principal Ulama of the age call him Tāj-i Sūfīn, or crown of the Sūfīs. He had learned under Shaykh Zamān of Panipat, author of a commentary on the Liwā'ih, and of other very excellent works, was in Sūfism and pantheism second only to Shaykh Ibn Ṣarāhī, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the Nuzhah-i Aru'āh. Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Sūfī trilles. As the Shaykh was not over strict in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Sūfis will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the Fussūs-i Ḥikam, 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 Shaykh 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 Qur'an or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase Ināsin-i Kāmil (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the sijda (prostration), which people mildly call zamānbas (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the Ināsin-i Kāmil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king Kusba-yi Murādāt, the sanctuary of desires.

1 As long as a Sūfī conforms to the Qur'an he is sharqi; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the profession of his profession, he is said, free, and becomes a heretic.

2 Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore made an accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the Fussūs, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses to be a true prophet.

3 The Ṣālih says, Ḥām-sānu bay'ir i-zawāf; i-rīja, "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.
and Ḍībā’-yī ḫāˈjn, 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 sects. And after this, when.

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaykh Yaʿqūb of Kashmir, a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʿAYN al-ʿQūṣāt of Hamadān, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of Al-khālī (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of Al-muṣṭil (the tempter), that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalifahs, called the whole Šahābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnīs and the Aḥl-i Jamāʿat, and represented every sect, except the Shiʿah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ʿUlamāʾ, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the ʿUlamāʾ of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imām-i Ḥāzāzī and Imām-i Rāzī, and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ʿUlamāʾ, 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 Pādre. They have an infallible head, called Pāpā. 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

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1 As the asnāhis, or the use of holy names as KaʿBah (the temple of Makkah) or Qiblā (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).
2 The text has an unintelligible sentence.
3 According to the Islam, God leads (khād) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.
4 Aḥl-i Jamāʿat is a term which is often joined with the word Sunnīs. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾān, or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (jiyās) of famous Shāhīs; or lastly, upon ijmaʾ agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the Hijrah. Hence Aḥl-i Jamāʿat comprises all such as believe ijmaʾ binding.
5 Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of ʿImām Ḥanbali are the Ḥanbali ʿUṣūlān and the ʿImām-i ʿAbdāl al-Muṭtahid, which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Aḥbār liblid.
Jesus, ordered Prince Murād 1 to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū 'l-Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual Bism' illāh 'r-rahmān 'r-rahim, the following lines were used—

\[Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū\]

(O thou those names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, "O thou whose name is gracious and blessed"; and Shaykh Fayżî added another half, in order to complete the verse

\[Subhāna-kā lā sūra-kā Ya hū.\]

(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 Muḥammad, 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 everything. The ripening of the grain in 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 Nawrūz-i Jalālī 2 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,

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1 Prince Murād was then about eighty years old. Jahāngīr (Salim) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Ḍabīdī 1 Lawwal 977. Three months after him, his sister Shāhānšāh Khusrau was born; and after her in the year 978 on 3rd Muharram (Bad. II, 132) Shāh Murād, who got the nickname of Pahārī, as he was born in the hills of Fatḥpur Sikrī. Dāyāl was born in Ajmir during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th, the Jamālī Lawwal 979.

2 The formula "Bism’ llāh, etc." is said by every schoolboy before he commence to read from his text book.

The words Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristu are taken from the Dabštān; the edition of Badānī has Ay nām-i tu zahā’o Kiristu, which, though correct in metre (vide my "Prosody of the Persians", p. 33, No. 32), is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabštān has a common Masnavī metre (vide my "Prosody", p. 33, No. 31), and spells Jesus jād zanūz. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.
each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the
seven colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus, formulae 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 (?)
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 Nausäri in Gujrät, and proved
to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fire-
worship "the great worship", and impressed the emperor so favourably
that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis,
and ordered Ahū 'l-Faẓl 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 Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string
with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced
these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls
and jewels as presents. The custom of Râkhi (or tying pieces of clothes
round the wrists as amulets) became quite common.

When orders in opposition to the Islâm 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 Qur'ân says (Sûr 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 anything connected with the Islām was to be abolished.

*Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.*

[Rad. 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 Timūr Sāḥīb-qirān, and Mirzā Ulugh Beg-i Gurgān, and several others, had themselves read the Khuṭba (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumādā I-anwāl* 987, in the Jāmīs Masjid of Fathpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khuṭba. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaykh Fayzī had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imām (leader of the prayer) to Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn, the Court Khirīb. 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, Allāh! Akbar!"

[p. 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qur'ān, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muḥammads 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 Abū 'l-Faṣl, Fayzī, etc.) 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

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1 As Abū 'l-Faṣl has done in the Ā'in. But Fayzī added the usual praise of the prophet (nabi) to his *Naq Danān*, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends." *Bāshānt.*

2 Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula "Bism Allāh, etc." had been changed to *Allāh* Akbar, we also find *Allāh* Akbar in the heading of books, as in the Ā'in.
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."

[pp. 270 to 272.]

"In the same year [987] a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhduμr 'l-Mulk, of Shaykh ṢAbd-‘n-Nabi, sadr, m-m-dür, of Qāzi Jalāl 'd-Din of Mullān, Qāzi-yīn 'l-qâ'āt of Sadr Jahān, the mufti of the empire, of Shaykh Mubārak, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghāzi Khan of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. The objects of the document was to settle the superiority of the Imām-i Sādi r (just leader) over the Mu'tahād, 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 qaahād, and as to whom the term Mu'tahād was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imām who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the Mu'tahād, 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 Ulamas, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning. first, of the verse of the Qur 'ān (Sūr. 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 Imām-i Sādi r; whosoever obeys the Amīr, 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 Sultān-i Sādī r (a just ruler) is higher
in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujahid. Further we declare that the king of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, ʿAbdullāh ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Jalālī ʿalā Muhammad Akbar Pūdishāb-i qāūsī, 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 Mujahids 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 Qurʾān, 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 Islam, and is signed by us, the principal ʿUlamā 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 Shaykh Mubarak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaykh 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 Imam 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 Imam became law.

"But the state of Shaykh Abū ʿl-Faḍl resembled that of the poet Hayrati of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Mā-warāʾ nahr (Turkistan), joined the old foxes of Shiʿitic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road.' You might apply the proverb to him—'He prefers hell to shame on earth.'

1 The birthplace of the poet Hayrati is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistan. It is said that he was a great wine-fiddler, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kāshān, and became a Shiʿa. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.
"On the 16th Rajab of this year, His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmīr. It is now fourteen years that His Majesty has not returned to that place. On the 6th Shābān, at the distance of five ākos from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Muḥsinu'd-Dīn). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwāja of Ajmīr, 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 Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qurʾān, elicited 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 jinn, 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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān, 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 Qurʾān.

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!" 1

"His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God, but God, and Aklar 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 ḥamāḥ-yi ummat, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Qūṭu'd-Dīn Muhammad Khān and Shāh Bāz Khān (eule List of grandees, 2nd book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Qūṭu'd-Dīn said, 'What would the kings of the West, as the Sultan of Constantinople, say, if he

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1 Bedā'uni bewails the blindness of Aklar, Abū 'l-Farā, etc., who threw away the means of grace of the Islām (prayers, fasts).
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. Shâhâbâz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bir Bar—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shâhâbâz 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 Shâhâbâz in particular, and to the others in general, "Would that a shoeful of excrements were thrown into your face."

[p. 276.]

"In this year the Tâmâkhâ (inland tolls) and the Jânya (tax on infidels), which brought in several kroas of dâmas, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire."

"In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpur, headed by Muhammad Ma'sûm of Kabul, Muhammad Ma'sûm Khân, Muâizzâl-Mulk, 'Arab Bahâdur, and other grandees. They objected to Akbâr'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 Mullâ Muhammad of Yazd (vide above, pp. 184, 191), who was Qâzi 'Al-quzåt at Jaunpur; 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. Mullâ Muhammad of Yazd and Muâizzâl-Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Agra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnâ."

"In the same year the principal 'Ulamâs, as Mahdî 'Al-Mulk, Shaykh Munawwar, Mullâ 'Abdâzâd 'âsh-Shukâr, etc., were sent as exiles to distant provinces."

[p. 278.]

"Hâji Ibrâhîm of Sarhind (vide above, p. 111) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaykh 'Ibn 'Arabî. In this book, it was said that the Sâhib-i Zaman 1 was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him

1 Sâhib-i Zaman, or "Man of the Period", is a title frequently given to Imam Mahdi,
were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought
a fabricated tradition that the son of a Sahābi (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 Hajj during discussions, behaved imprudently towards
Abū l-Fazl, Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath and Shāh Fath 'Ilāh, he was sent to
Rantambhūr, where he died in 994.

"Farmāns were also sent to the leading Shaykhs and Ulams of the
various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to
inquire into their grants (Sīne 2nd book, A1 in 19) and their manner of
living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving
them private interviews, and assigned to them some lands, as he thought
fit. But when he got hold of those 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 Shaykhs, who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu
Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no
other place where to live, except mouseholes."

[p. 288.]

"In this year [988] low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned,
but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the
Sāhib-i Zamān, who would remove all differences of opinion among the
seventy-two sects of the Islām. Sharif of Anbul brought proofs from the
writings of Māhumūd of Raḵāwān (Sīne above, p. 186), who had said
that, in 990, a man would rise up who would do away with all that was
wrong: And Khwāja Māwānā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Ḥafīdān,
came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharifs of Ṭakkakh, in which a
tradition was quoted that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as
that time was now over, the promised appearance of Imām Mahdh would
immediately take place. The Mawānā also brought a pamphlet written
by himself on the subject. The Shīʿahs mentioned similar nonsense
connected with ʿAlī, and some quoted the following Rubātī, which is said
to have been composed by Nāṣīr-i Khusrāw, or, according to some, by
another poet:

In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and on the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.

1 The text here does not give a clear meaning.
2 A Persian poet of the fifth century of the Hijrah. As he was a free-thinker and
Shīʿah, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The Fakhr-i Jahanīyārī is
full of verses from the works of this ancient poet.
“All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.”

[p. 291.]

“At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of a man who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception. Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence. Thus Hakīm Humām (cited above, p. 184) mentioned himself, and Shaykh Abū 'l-Faṣl his own father.

“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, honour, 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 Shaykh Jamāl Bakhtyār to bring Shaykh Qūṭb d-Dīn of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be ‘attracted by God’. When Qūṭb d-Dīn 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 Shaykh 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 Shaykh 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 Shaykh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

“A large number of Shaykhs and Faqirs 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 Shaykhs and disciples, and known under the name of Ḥākīs. 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 Qandahar, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts."

[p. 301.]

"His Majesty was now [990] convinced that the Millenium of the Islāmitic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaykhs and Ulāmās 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 show the era of the Millenium, 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 ṣiyāda, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of ṣiyāda, the word samāmin was used. Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings and uproars. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. Of course, people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly inquire 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 Shaiūnpūra, or Devilsville."

1 The coin showed the word — see B.
2 Kajār is near, which is impossible. Akbar's order was well meant; but according to Bāzialdī, his Act of Segregation was impractical. The passage is remarkable, as it shows the open profanity among the Grandees, which annoyed Akbar very much. For another instance, see Bād. II, p. 20.
A Dārogha 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 well-known courtiers wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed. Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked.

"His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had depraved 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 Rāja Bir Bar, a member of the Divine Faith, who had gone beyond the four degrees and acquired the four cardinal virtues. At that time he happened to live in his jāgir in the Pargana of Kāral; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogi; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from everything which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him. Hence this custom has become very general. Pandering 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

1 Fārāz-darbarā, or the four virtues, viz., hīmrat wisdom; ānjażat courage; Safāt chastity; Čālāat justice. Books on Ābhaq divide each into several kinds. Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

2 "The last three things are inconvenient in kissing."
importance it was to cultivate a beard. Moreover, former ascetics had looked upon carelessness in letting the beard grow as one way of mortifying one’s flesh, because such carelessness exposed them to the reproach of the world; and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islam looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftis also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that some Qazis of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words ka-nu gaf’alū ba’sa l-qurūt (as some Qazis have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be ka-nu gaf’alū ba’sa l-cu’āth (as some wicked men have done)

"The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and... and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words Kafir shāni shud, or 'heresy became common', express the Turidh (985). Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mirzá Jání, 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 Islam in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Sháh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion.’ And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mújtabi (Abú l-Faqil) 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 Islam, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the bear 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 possessed one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their

1 The text has a balbala (i.e. ‘unabashed’ B.) kín khuskhásh-e sháamad, which I do not understand.
excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets, used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustanis, 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."

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

"The ceremonial ablation after emission of semen was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the sperma genitale, 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 birthdays. Such feasts were called Ash-i hayât, food of life."

"The flesh of a wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the 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 Islâm, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, as the son of Mu'llâ Mubârâk, a worthy disciple of Shaykh Abû l-Fazîl 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 Nişâbû 's-sâbiyân. Fourteen festivals also were

1 Fazîl.
2 I.e., that you are a dog.
3 According to the law, bathing is required after jenâs and ihtilâm.
4 For the poor.
5 Provisions for the life to come.
6 The Muhammadan law enjoins Muslims to go to the Mosques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammadans disapprove of our "Sunday dresses" and pewage.
7 Vide p. 43, note 1.
introduced, corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Musalmāns, and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people ¹ used to go to it. The new era was called Tārikh-i Ḥālī, or 'Divine Era'. On copper coins and gold muhrs, the era of the Millennium ² 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 Muhammadan law, the exegesis of the Qurān, 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 َس, َج, َح, َغ, َة, َت, َخ, ُخ, َع, َل, were avoided. Thus for ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل people wrote ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل; and for ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء people wrote ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shāhnāma, which Firdawsi 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,
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!

"Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the . . . ³ in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

"In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islām, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islām with reason, the doctrines of Ra'y, Taḥrif, and Ta'kwīn, ⁴ the details of the day of resurrection and judgment—all were doubted and ridiculed.

¹ The text has an unintelligible sentence.
² That is, the word ُع (see thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with ُع on it (vide Marsden, p. 500) were struck about 901.
³ The word in the text is ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل. In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.
⁴ ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, or ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnis. The Shi'ahs say there will be no actual seeing.
⁵ Taḥrif. A man is called makâ'if ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, bound by the law, first, if he belong to the Isā; secondly, if he have ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل or a sound mind; thirdly, if he have reached ُع ُس ُه ُء ُل ُل, i.e., if he be of age.
⁶ Ta'kwīn means existence between two non-existences (Godomaga). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islām says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.
And if anyone did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well known how little chance a man has who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality in condition is a sine qua non in arguing.

A man who will not listen if you bring the Qurʾān and the Tradition, can only be replied to by not replying to him.

"Many a family was ruined by these discussions. But perhaps discussions is not the correct name; we should call them meetings for arrogance and defamation. People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many presents. Thus Latif Khwaja, who came from a noble family in Turkistan, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi's Shama'i, 1 and asked how in all the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an idol. Other remarks were passed on the straying camel. 2 Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet, in the beginning of his career, plundered the carvans of Quraysh; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband if the Prophet thought her agreeable, etc.

At night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'The Forty,' 3 and every one might say or ask what he liked. If then any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said, 'You had better ask the Mullas about that, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason.' But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Sahabah, when historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs, and the quarrel about Fudak, the war of Siffin, 4 etc.—would that I were

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1 The book of the famous Mubakhar (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizi, which contains all Traditions regarding the figure and works of the prophet. The word shama'i is expressive of great beauty; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unmeaning to Muhammad, who had abolished idols.
2 This refers to the charge of adultery brought against Aisyah Muhammad's favourite wife. The whole story will be found in Sale's Qurʾān, Sur. 24, p. 288.
3 The Chihāl nāshā, or 40 Abāles. After the death of Muhammad, the last of the long series of prophets, the earth complained to God, that henceforth she would no longer be honoured by prophets walking on her surface. God promised her that there should always be on earth forty (according to some, seventy-five) holy men, Abāles, for whose sake He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called (these).
4 Fudak is a village not far from Makkah, which Fatimah claimed as her own; but Abū Bakr would not let her have it. Siffin is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle took place between 'All and Musa'iyah.

Both affairs form, even now-a-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnis and Shi'ahs. Hence the author of the Dahistān has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader will find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Dahistān.
deaf! The Shiah, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself.' The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but 'Allah Akbar'; and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mulla Sheri, at this time, composed a *qiṣaṣ* of ten verses, in which the following occur:

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet Will ever vanish from the earth.

I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness, Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:

'This year the emperor has claimed prophethood.
Next year, if God will, he will be god.'

'At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the Ulamas and the pious, nay even the Qazis and the Mufti of the realm, to drink wine. ... And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Fayqi, called out, 'Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!' On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Shuraf* 'sh-shuraf', and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jāigs, or horses, or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought.'

'In this year Gulbadan Begum [Akbar's aunt] and Salima Sultan Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Shih Abū Turāb also, and Istimād Khan of Gujrat, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant. The stone contained, according to Abū Turāb, 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, Shaykh Mubarak of Nagor 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 (Quran); hence it is impossible to trust either.'

"Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why
at the approaching close of the Millenium, he did not make use of the sword, 'the most convincing proof,' as Shāh Ismā'īl 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 Rubā'ī of Nāṣir-i Khusraw was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdi 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, Rāja Bhagawān said, 'I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmāns 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 Rāja. But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued. The Tārīḵā was found in the words Ḥdūs-i bad͟sat, the innovation of heresy (990).

"During those days also the public prayers and the azān, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like Ḥaḥūd, Muḥammad, Muṣṭafū, etc., became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till, after some time, those courtiers who had such names, changed them; and names as Yār Muḥammad, Muḥammad Khān, were altered to Ruḥmat. 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 all broke out in Āgra, burnt down great and small families, and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!"

[p. 315.]

"In Rabī‘ 990, Mīr Fath-ā llāh came from the Dakhin (vide above, p. 34). As he had been an immediate pupil of Mīr Qhiyās-ā 'd-Dīn Mānsūr of Shirāz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fath-ā llāh would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fath-ā llāh was such a staunch Shi‘ah, and at
the same time, such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon, and of the nobility that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shi'ism. Even in the state hall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shi'i prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots; but he convined at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor in Faṭḥ al-Allāh's presence, said to Bir Bar, 'I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could, in the space of a moment, leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm.' So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. 'Why,' said His Majesty, lifting up one foot, 'it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe!' And that wretch (Bir Bar) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, 'Yea, we believe! Yea, we trust!' This great foot-experiment was repeated over and over again. But Faṭḥ al-Allāh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something, for he was a new-comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear.'

Here Badā'uni mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p. 110. It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit or from Hindi translations, or from both. Badā'uni clearly states that for some translations, as at the Atharban, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahābhārata, there may have been Hindi translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (vide p. 111, note 2) translated passages to Naqīb Khān. Abū 'l-Fazl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the Agra. 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 Ābān (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

1 As Faṭḥ al-Allāh was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Faṭḥ al-Allāh to make a remark on the Prophet's ascension (miṣra'il).
who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During
the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as
a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year
over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing
the use of meat altogether.

"A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four
times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His
Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names of the Sun
collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; he
then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round
about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists. He also
adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used
to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play
at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed
into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukidârs. For the word jamâ'at
(public prayer). His Majesty used the term jimâ'âs (copulation), and for
hayyaâ ala, he said yatalâ yatalâ.

"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
Khayr-pûra and the other Dharmâpûra. Some of Abûl-Fazl's people
were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding
the poor. As an immense number of Jogîs also flocked to this establish-
ment, a third place was built, which got the name of Jogîpûra. His
Majesty also called some of the Jogîs, and gave them at night private
interviews, inquiring 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 showed in public some of the gold made by
him. Once a year also during a night called Sierât, a great meeting was
held of all Jogîs of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the
principal Jogîs, who promised him that he should live three and four
times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and con-
nnecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, he got quite
convinced of it. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs

1 Hayyaâ ala, for "hayyaâ ala 'e-salâh" (the和完善 form of salât). "Come quick to the
prayer," is a phrase which occurs in the Asâ, Yatalâ yatalâ is a phrase used by drunkards
in the height of mirth.
for the longevity of the emperor, and said that: the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet there were even now a class of Lâmaïs, 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 Lâmaïs, limited the time he spent in the harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening of the human body) under a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul, by metempsychosis, will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king.

"His Majesty gave his religious system the name of Taqsid-i llahi, or Divine Monotheism.

He also called, according to the manner of the Jogis, a number of special disciples Chelâs (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the emperor; and every evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindus and Muhammadans, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering, and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the 1,001 names of the 'Greater Luminary', and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd, prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1,001

1 Zâbâl, in Persia Kavvasa, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Niwâm says sainda sofâs bâ kavaasa seyward. "He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing." Anoar Sekhidra, in praise of some physician. Zâbâl shâped-i dâr wâxânâmâni, "Saturn is wisdom in his pupil." Hence the famous astronomer Abûl-Qasim has the laqâq (title) of Ghahvâq Zâbâl. Besides, there are seven cycles of years, over each of the seven planets reign. 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 Hâck, who says, In chârâq bâ hâ dâr hârâmân hârâmân. "What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon?"

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 honour 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 Fathpur, the ten cubit square of the Ḥanafis and the Qullatays1 of the Shāfīis and Shiʿahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Ḥanafis was greater than that of the others.

"His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shiʿahs, when the Hindustānis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shiʿah side."

[p. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullā Ilāhīdūd of Amrohah and Mullā Sherı attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to sadarships in the Duāb of the Panjāb. Mullā Sherı presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled Ḥazār Shuās or 'The Thousand Rays', which contained 1,000 qatās 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.]

"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,2 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 'Allāh 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 everything else admitted which is forbidden in the Islām. A play-house was even

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1 Qullatays, two large jars containing 1,200 rajū'at (Rajval) pounds of water. According to the Shiʿah and the Shāfīī sect, water does not become ajīz, or scalded, from being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 rajū', or the cube of 31 spans. Hanfīah fixed (10 rajū') just deep enough that the hand, in passing over it, did not touch the bottom. The experiment which Akbar made had for its object to throw blame on the Ḥanafī Sunnīs.

2 Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of discipleship as, Ahmad, disciple of ʿAll, disciple of Muḥsin, disciple of Rayāzīd, etc., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (mahāra) is given.
built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (side Second book, J in 15). Interest and *shutdown* (money given at the end of the play to the bystanders) 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 *Siddiqa* was totally disapproved of. But why should I mention other blasphemies? — May the attention which any one pays to them run away like quicksilver — really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

"The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason why people should not believe the words of the prophets. So especially in the case of David and the story of Uriah. And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastinglly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor. But according to the proverb, 'What people sow, that they shall reap,' they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and 'the infallible authority got the nickname of *Abu-jahl*.' Yes, 'If the king is bad, the Vizier is worse.' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns; but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and everything else was accessory."

"In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion. His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bazaars, which are held on New Year's day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Beggars 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;"

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1 *Siddiqa* is the title of *A'isha*, the daughter of *Abd 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 thrilled, 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 in 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 kissed her, and played with her hair (Thaibli, Tafsir 2, 180); and he told the faithful that she would be his wife in Paradise." From *Springer's Life of Muhammad*, III, p. 62.

2 David counts as a prophet. The book revealed to him is the *Tahrim*, or the Psalms.

3 Properly, father of ignorance. *Badil* means *Abd*; *I-Fazl*, which name signifies father of wisdom. Besides, *Abd*; I-Fazl had the title (al-Allazani) *Al-Asalat*, the most learned.
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 Hindūtānis 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 Sultan Khwāja 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 Safar (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar’s troops were defeated by the Yūsuf-zāi. Badaʿuni 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 Ḥasan Khān, and Khwāja ʿArab, pavanmaster (colonel) of Khān Jahān and Mullā Sherī, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words az Khwāja ʿArab ʿawf express the Tārikh of the defeat, by one less. Hakim Abū ʿl-Fażl and Zayn Khān on the 5th Rabīʿ 1-lawwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Ārak. . . . But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bar. He said, 'Ah! 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 Bir Bar 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,

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1 Vide List of grandees, Text edition of the Ḍin, p. 227, No. 220, where for Ḵᵛāja read Ḵᵛāja. In the MSS. of the Ḍin he is called ʿArab or Ḵᵛāja. My MS. of the Tārikh reads ʿArāb, Ṭabarzāf, and calls him Ḵᵛāja. The edition of Badaʿuni has wrong ʿArāb. His biography is not given in the Maʿṣūma. ʿArāb ʿawf.

2 The letters give 993: hence one more = 994.
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 'Allāh* Khābar', and the other should respond 'Jallā Jallā-llāh*'. These formulas were to take the place of our salām, and the answer to the salām. The beginning of counting Hindu mouths should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramājit. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmāns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujarāt and Bengal.

"Common people should no longer learn Arabic; because such people were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmans, and not by Mussalmān 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.

"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 Tārīkh of this order is Fasād-i fazl (995).

"On the 10th day of Muḥarram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bāhūr, Hājīpūr and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Mān Singh. He said without reserve, 'If Your Majesty mean by the

1 The text has not against the ideas of the Hindus.
2 The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Mavclari Āghā Ahmad Āll had in editing Bādī, and, give no sense.
3 This was an insult, because the Muhammadans in India face the west during prayer. Vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 56.
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 Safar 996, Mirza Fülâd Beg Barlâs managed to get one night Mullâ Ahmad of Thathah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed at him, because the Mullâ openly reviled [as Shi'ahs do] the companions of the prophet. The Târîkh of this event is expressed by the words Zijhe khunjar-i Fülâd, 'Hail, steel of Fülâd,' or by Khâk-i saqari, 'hellish hog!' And really, when this dog of the age was in his agony, I saw that his face looked just like the head of a pig, and others too witnessed it—O God! we take revenge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mirza Fülâd tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lahor; for when Ḥakim Abû-Fath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mirza, whether he hadstabbed at the Mullâ 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 Mullâ.' The Ḥakim 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 Mullâ outlived the Mirza three or four days. The Shi'ahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the anus, and plunged him several times into the river. After his burial, Shaykh Fayzî and Shaykh Abû'l-Fazl put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmir, the people of Lahor one night took the hideous corpse of the Mullâ 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

1 Sunnis assert that this transfiguration into an animal (maṣṣât) happens very often to Shi'ahs, because they revile the Shi'ah. Fayzî, according to Badawi, 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 negations, is that no Shi'ah can ever become a maṣṣât, i.e., no Shi'ah can commit the Qur'an to memory.
2 Either Abû or Abû'l-Fazl.
3 This was done to clean the intestines of fœces, which were thrown into the river from which the Sunnis got their water.
which he used in eating.

"In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced."

"In 1002, special orders were given to the kusile to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the *rin, *rin. The following are new:

"If any of the darsaniyya 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 in 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 pay 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 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 Aqam Khan returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharifs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *ida 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

1 From *diwan, for which see p. 165.
2 This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
During the Muharram of 1004, Šadr Jahan, murti of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandship of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the Shast of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his Hazārīship. 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, Mullah Taqi of Shushtar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Shāhmāna into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase jall "Sażmatu-ha we Sassu shāmu-ha," whenever the word Sun occurs. Among others that joined were Shaykhvāla Gəšāla Khań of Banāras; Mullah Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, and Ṣūfi Ahmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muhammad Ghawan. They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words mū-tarāsh-i chand, or 'several shavars,' express the tāritā of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan, or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them, 'My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islam will still remain on your neck.' This Ahmad, 'the little Ṣūfi,' is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaykh Ahmad of Egypt. He said that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age, he had come to India and the Shaykh had frequently told him to assist the Sultan of India, should he commit an error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case."

So far, Badā,oui. 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 Badā,oui's remarks, the number of those that took the Shast must have been much larger.

1. Abū 'l-Faḍl.
2. Fayš, his brother, Akbar's court-poet.

1 Shast, which has been explained on p. 174; also means a fish hook.
3 Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
4 Vide p. 112, note 3.
5 That is, over-zealous.
3. Shaykh Mubārak, of Nāgor, their father.
4. Jāfār Beg Āṣaf Khān, of Qazwīn, a historian and poet.
5. Qāsim-i Kháli, a poet.
6. 'Abd-i ʿṢamad, Akbar's court-painter; also a poet.
7. Āṣam Kħān Koka, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, a historian.
9. Şūfī Ahmad.
10 to 12. Şadr Juhān, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
14. Sultan Khájā, a šādūr.
15. Mirzā Jānī, chief of Thathah.
16. Taqī of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shāykhzāda Gosāla of Banāras.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the A'īn; the others are mentioned in the above extracts from Bādānī. The literary element is well represented in the list.

The above extracts from Bādānī possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islām to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fire-worship of the Parsis. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the A'īn, nor to the longer article in the Dabistān.

As the author of the latter work has used Bādānī, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new.

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar's birth.

[Dabistān, p. 390.1]

"Khvāja Mas'ud, son of Khvāja Maḥmūd, son of Khvāja Mūshāhid-i Ḥaqiq, who was a gifted Sāḥib-i kāl,3 said to the writer of this book, "My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world 'reveals himself.' I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared, or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jalāl i d-Dīn Akbar, the august son of Humāyūn Pādshāh and Ḥamīda Bānū Begum."

The second miracle has been related above, on p. 172, note 2. These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author

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1. Vize also Sīna and Tropē's English translation of the Dabistān, III, p. 49.
of the Dabistan has divided his article on the "Divine Faith". The second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badâ'uni, which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shen's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tûtârs. The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Āfûm.

p. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Irân, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher."

p. 412. Abû l-Faqîl wrote, as a counterpart to his commentary on the Ayat al-kursî (p. 177), a preface to the translation of the Mahâbhârata (vide p. 111) of two juz.

p. 413. "When Sultan Khwâja, who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, he said that he hoped His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man. He was therefore buried in a grave with a peculiar lamp, and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him."

"Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islam, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; but so should also a Musalma woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism."

p. 414. "I heard from Mullâ Tarson of Badakshân, who was a Hanâfi 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 Multân, I saw Shah Salâm Ilah, who has renounced the world, and is a mawâhid (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jalâl ud-Dîn Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, 'Had I

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The author of the Dabistan gives much prominence to the idea that the power and success of the Tûtârs was in some way mysteriously connected with their sun and star worship, and that their conversion to the Islam was looked upon as the beginning of their decline. It looks as if the writer wished to connect this idea with Akbar's successes and sun worship.

3 Regarding this Ardsher, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, low 1868, p. 14. Akbar's fire temple was in the Harem.

4 vide above, p. 214.

5 The words in italics are not in Badâ'uni. 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 mabûhâ 'l-Câfî.
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 Nawâb ʾAbd al-Ḥasan called Lashkar Khân of Maâh, had report the same as having been said by Akbar.

"Salâm ʾIlâh 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, Tartars, etc., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbeks and Qizilbashesh (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Shâh ʾAbbâs, son of Sultan Khudâbânda-yi Šafawì, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjas (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 Ā*d* in which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 50; 51; 56; 59; 60; 61, ii, 20 to 24; Ā*d* in 26, p. 64; p. 96, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Badâ,oni, vide above p. 189, l. 19; p. 103, note 3; p. 110, note 1; 111–113; p. 115, l. 4, because the "making of similitudes" is as much forbidden by the Islâm as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Ā*d* in 72, p. 162; 163; Ā*d* in 77, p. 162; Ā*d* in 81, p. 226. In the Second Book, Ā*d* ins 18, 19, 22–5; in the Third Book, end of Ā*d* in 1 (Târikh Ilâhi); Ā*d* ins 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 Ā*d* in had been completed. Badâ,oni's history ends with a.H. 1004, or A.D. 1596; but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahângîr 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 Pârsi-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahângîr's Memoirs, which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musâlmân, and

1 *See the notes of Ā*d* in 30 of the Second Book.*
"reverted" 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. 219, had died before Akbar; such as were still alive, as Sharif of Amul took 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 Awrangzeb. But people still talked of the Divine

1 The story of Akbar's "conversion" is also repeated in Elphinstone's History, second edition, p. 341. The Mullâ whom Akbar, according to Price's Memoirs, is said to have called is Šâde Jâhân, who, as remarked above on p. 219, was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Turak-i-Jahângir, as published by Seyyid Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Ḳûhânamâ, a poor production (though written in beautiful Persian), or Ḳâhîf Khân, allude to the conversion which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Ḳâhîf Khân especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Bahâ-ullâh, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (vide Ḳâhîf Khân, I, p. 196). The silence of the author of the Dabistan is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullâ Tarsun, and the abuse uttered by his companion against Akbar (p. 220), are proofs that Akbar did not "revert." To this we have to add that Jâhânâr, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls Ḳurât Naqqâr-i Âkbar; he also continued the eight, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar's Solar Era, though it involved a loss to the revenue because for every 33 lunar years, the state only received taxes for 32 solar years; he allowed some Hindu customs at Court, as the Ṭāḥâb (vide above p. 195), and passed an order not to force Hindus to join the Islam (Faruq, p. 100).

2 Akbar died on the Shâh-i Chahâshâhshâh, 12th Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh 1014 a.m., which, according to note 3 of p. 180, is our Tuesday night (not Wednesday, as in Price, and all European Historians), the 15th October, 1605, old style. Hence Akbar would have died in the night which followed the day on which he celebrated his sixty-third birthday if we adopt our mode of reckoning: vide p. 64, note 1.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the exact day of Akbar's death. The Pâdshâhshâh (vol. I, p. 68) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the Chahâshâhshâh (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh, corresponding to the 2nd Abân of Akbar's Era. The Mi'râ and Ḳâhîf Khân (I, p. 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight. Pâdshâhshâh (p. 69) and Ḳâhîf Khân (p. 240) fix the jâlu'd or accession, of Jahângir for Thursday, the 20th Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh, or 10th Abân: i.e. 8 days after Akbar's death.

Muhammad Hâdi, in his preface to the Turak-i-Jahângir, says that Akbar died on the Shâh-i Chahâshâhshâh, 12th Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh; and Seyyid Ahmad's edition of the Turak refers the Jâlu'd to Thursday, the eighth Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh; but the word jâlu'd is often confounded in MSS. with jâlu'd.

Again the Mi'râ and Sharîf-i Šâîrîn in his Ištâlshâl, mention the Jâlu'd as having taken place on Thursday, the eleventh Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh. Lastly, the preface of the Farhang-i-Jahângir refers the Jâlu'd to the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of Jamâdâ-i 'Aârâh [a mistake for Šâîrîn], corresponding to the 2nd Abân, or the eleventh of Abân.

3 Vide Turak, p. 22.
Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistan collected his notes on Akbar's religion.

A 78.

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The Khlīqa 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 Hulqas elephants are mustered, according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitikchi, during the muster, must be ready to answer any questions as to the name of each animal (there are more than five thousand elephants, each having a different name. His Majesty knows to which section most of the elephants belong—ten elephants form a section of ten (dahā,5), 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 khīqa; its promotion in the hulqas; the time when 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 Fawjdār has assigned to it. The rule is, that every Fawjdār 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 Fawjdārs.

Each day five tahefāt (transferable) elephants are inspected by an

1 Only one of Akbar's innovations, the Siyāh was formally abolished by Shāhjāhān. "During the reigns of Arāb Dāgūrāf [Akbar], and Jamāl-Malā' [Jahāngīr], 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 Ilāhān. . . . When His Majesty [Shāhjāhān] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to the reinstatement of the custom of the Ilāhān, the strict observance of which had died away, and turned his august zeal to rebuilding the edifice of the law of the Prophet, which had all but decayed. Hence on the very day of his accession, His Majesty ordered that putting the forehead on the ground should be restricted to God, Malā'ī-Shāh Khān, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, etc. His Majesty would not even allow the Zamīndārs, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Taslim [Akbar had fixed three, vide p. 166, l. 3]." Padishkhdānā, I, p. 110.
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 Tukasîlî 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 halqas are set apart for this purpose. The rank of the khâzîa 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 halqas, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the khâzîa elephants are again examined, ten every day. Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves. After them come the halqas. 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 Fawjdârs 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 Fawjdâr is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Fawjdârs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Fawjdâr 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.

Â in 72.

THE MUSTER OF HORSES.

They begin with the stables of forty; then come the stables of the princes; then the khâzîa courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten-muhir horses have been inspected, they bring the Güts, Quraqâs, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the Bûyîrî horses ( vide p. 146, l. 23; p. 143, l. 10 from below, and Â in 54, p. 147). 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-muhir stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten-muhir stables. They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries. The precedence at musters of bâzâr-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 muhrs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty. A cash-keeper attached to the State-hall is entrusted with money, so that horse-dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims. When horses have been bought they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange.

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three rupees for every 5Irâqî, Mâjaumnas (vide p. 147, note 3), and Arab, imported from Kâbul and Persia; two and a half rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahâr; and two from Kâbul horses, and Indian Arab bred.

*In 80.

THE MUSTER OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five qaţârs are daily inspected. Those pânsadis (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dârogâ has the permission to parade before His Majesty a qaţâr of excellent Bughdâs and Jammâzas. Then come the Bughdâs, and after them the Jammâzas, the Ghurds, the Loks, and all other camels. The commencement of the muster takes place
on Fridays, on which day double the usual number marches past. The precedence of camels is determined by their value.

\[\text{Â² in 81.}\]

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 Dinâni—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.

\[\text{Â² in 82.}\]

THE MUSTER OF MULES.

The muster of this beast of burden commences on Thursdays, when six qa'das 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.

\[\text{Â² in 83.}\]

THE PÁGOSHT REGULATION.\(^1\)

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores,

\(^{1}\) The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily extra quanta of food supplied to the animals, had been fixed by minute rules (Â² in 42, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Déroghas (store-keepers) entered into their sandnâchos, 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. (c) Similarly, he determined a fatness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (b), though Ahâ' j. Faqî does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, etc.,
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 Fāgošt 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...

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 Fawjdārs, to mark, at the time of the musters of the halqas, one halqa 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 halqa. If the Fawjdār works in concert with the Dārogha, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Fawjdār is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dārogha for the remaining part of the food. The leanness of old elephants is fixed by the condition of the whole halqa. In the horse stables the grooms, water-carriers, and sweepers are fined one-fourth of the wages. In the case of camels, the Dārogha is fined the amount

were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as \(\frac{\text{3A}}{8}, \frac{7\text{A}}{8}, \frac{6\text{A}}{8}, \text{etc.} \). Thus in the case of elephants the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees.

Fāgošt means a quarter of flesh, and evidently expresses that the food is only produced \(\frac{\text{1A}}{4}\), instead of \(\frac{\text{1A}}{2}\). 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 it. The rule may appear fanciful and unpractical; but it shows how determined Akbar was to fatten the dishonesty of his Dāroghas. Hence the carefulness which he showed in assessing fines (48), (27), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men. In reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by \(\text{Aila}^4\), Dīn-Khālit and Sher Shāh, in fixing the perquisites, in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, etc.

1 The text (p. 163, l. 19) enumerates several fractions, or degrees of leanness, but they give no sense. The confusion of the MSS. is due to the want of interpunctuation.
of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass. In the case of 
oxen used for carriages, the Dārogha 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.

Ā* in 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 everything 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 inquire 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 amuse-
ment. 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 khaśa; each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. 
A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer, 
first, those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild 
ones; secondly, such as fight best with tame ones; and thirdly, such as 
fiercely attack wild deer. The fights are conducted in three different 
ways. First, according to number, the first fighting with the second, the 
third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole. At the second go, the 
first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. If a 
deer runs away, it is placed last; and if it is known to have run away three 
times, it ceases to be khaśa. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake 
does not exceed 5 dāms. Secondly, with those belonging to the princes. 
Five khaśa pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two khaśa pair 
from His Majesty’s hunting-ground; then five other khaśa pair. At the

¹ To join Akhar’s Divine Faith.

² The text has ḍāhā which is the Persian name of the kháš (H.), the “ ravine-deer” of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.;
same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five khāṣa deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen khāṣa 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 khāṣa deer. The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhr. Thirdly, with the deer of other people.

His Majesty selects forty-two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets. The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven. To every set a Mal, a water-buffalo, a cow, a quçeqür (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 khāṣa 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 khāṣa deer is eight muhrs, and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhrs, if it be an Atkal; and four, if an Anān. As deer have not equal strength and impetuousity of attack, the rule among deer-keepers is, once to select each of their deer in turn and take it to the arena. Such deer are called Anān. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called Atkal. In case of Mals, the betting is five muhrs; for water buffaloes and cocks, four; for cows and fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhrs on a khāṣa deer; and with one of his own rank, 3½ muhrs; if the bet is on an Atkal; and three on an Anān; and so also in the same proportion on Mals, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows, fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a khāṣa deer 50 rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30½ R. on an Atkal, and 25 R. on an Anān; on a Mal 3½ muhrs; on a water-buffalo and a cock 3½ M.; and on all other animals, 1½ M. A commander of Eight Hundred is allowed to bet 48 R. on a khāṣa deer, with one of his own rank, 30 R. on an Atkal; and 24 R. on an Anān;

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1 Mal, according to Aćh in 8 of the second book, is the name for a Gujarāt wrestler.
2 [In text pàr, which in Persian is applied to the bull, cow, and buffalo. It is improbable that caws were used for fighting.—P.]
3 Or perhaps with his opponent in the set (mif).
4 See note 2 on previous page.
on a Mal 3½ M.; on a water buffalo and cock, 2½ M., and on other animals as before. A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank on an Āṭkal 27½ R.; on an Ānīn 22 R.; on a Mal 3 M.; on other animals as before. A commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank, 25 R. on an Āṭkal; 20 R. on an Ānīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 M. [36 R.] on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 2½ M. on an Āṭkal, and 2 M. on an Ānīn; on other animals, as the preceding. A commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 21½ R. on an Āṭkal; 17 R. on an Ānīn; 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 khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank, 18½ R. on an Āṭkal; 15 R. on an Ānīn; 2½ M. on a Mal; on other animals as the preceding. A commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 15 R. on an Āṭkal; 12 R. on an Ānīn, and on other animals as before. A commander of One Hundred may bet 2 M. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 1¼ M. on an Āṭkal; 1 M. on an Ānīn; and on other animals as before. A commander of Eighty may bet 16 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 10 R. on an Āṭkal; 8 R. on an Ānīn; 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 khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 7½ R. on an Āṭkal; 6 R. on an Ānīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Twenty may bet 10 R. on a khāṣa deer; 6½ R. with one of his own rank on an Āṭkal; 5 R. on an Ānīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Ten may bet 8 R. on a khāṣa deer, and 5 R. on an Āṭkal, with one of his own rank; 4 R. on an Ānīn; on other animals as before. People who hold no maṇṣabā, bet 4 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ R. on an Āṭkal; 2 R. on an Ānīn; 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 Ānīn. 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 Bitikehī of this department appoints half the number of deer as Anīnas, and the other half as Āṭkals. He then writes the names of the Āṭkals on paper slips,
folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an Awin. 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 khúa deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the kotal deer; and the deficiency in the number of kotas is made up from half kotas. One pair of kotas 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, 2 to 2½ R.

Deer are kept and fed as follows: Khúa deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 s. grain, 1/2 s. boiled flour, 1/4 s. butter, and 1 d. for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty's hunting-grounds, kotas, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1 1/2 s. of grain, and flour and butter as before. The grass is supplied by each amateur himself. All khúa, 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 1 1/2 s. grain, and 1 d. for grass. They have one keeper for every four; but one for every two, if they are fit to become khúa. Some deer are also sent to other towns; they get 1 1/2 s. grain, and have each one keeper. If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get 1/2 s. of grain for a fortnight. They then get 1 s. and when one month is over, 1 1/2 s.

In the deer park, Mansabdârs, 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 1 1/2 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 1 s. of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter of a s. of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, 1 1/2 d. is given from the seventh to the tenth month. Young males also get weaned after two months, when they get 3/4 s. of grain, which is increased by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2 1/2 s. From the fifth to the eighth month, they get ½ d. for grass, after which period they get ½ 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.

Å°in 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 Sarā, is 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 inquired 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.

Å°in 86.

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, ETC.

Many people are desirous of building houses; but honesty and conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders. His Majesty has carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied.
Red sandstone costs 3 d. per man. It is obtainable in the hills of Fatehpur Sikri, His Majesty's residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so 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 (sang-i gulūla), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the pharī, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 gaz long, 2½ g. broad, and 1 g. high. Such a heap contains 172 mans, and has a value of 250 d., i.e. at the rate of 1 d. 11½ j. per man.

Bricks are of three kinds: burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three sera, and cost 30 d. per thousand. The second class cost 24 d., and the third 10 d. per thousand.

Wood. Eight kinds of wood are in general use. 1. Sīsāū,² unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 Ḥābi gaz long, and 8 Ṭāssūj broad and high, costs 15 d. 6 j. But if the height be only 5 or 6 T., 11 d. 10½ j. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. Nāzhā, called in Hindi Jīdh.³ A beam, 10 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 13½ j.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 3½ j. 3. Dusang (1), called in Hindi Karī; a beam 3 T. broad, and 4 gaz long, costs 5 d. 17½ j. 4. Ber, an T. broad and high, 4 gaz long, 5 d. 17½ j.; so also Tūt, or Mulberry. 5. Mūghilān (Bahūl), of the same cubic contents as No. 4, 5 d. 2 j. 6. Sira, size as before, 10 d. 4 j. 7. Dayūl, same size, first quality 8 d. 22½ j.; second quality, 8 d. 6½ j. 8. Bakāyin, same size, 5 d. 2 j.

Gāy-i shrīrān, 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. Quṭ seri sangīn, per man 5 d. 5 j. Sadafī 5 d. Chūna, or quicklime, 2 d. per man; it is mostly boiled out of kungur, a kind of 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. Gulgīhk (large nails with broad heads), 12 d. per sēr. Dīhīrin nails,

¹ Khāsh in text. In modern Persian this word means a sun-dried brick as opposed to ajār, a kiln-burnt brick.—P.]
² In Platt's text.—P.
³ This word is spelt Cīdh in Ast in 99, No. 59.
⁴ Karī.—P.
⁵ "The Ber was in great request in Akber's time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibre is equal to that of Salwood." Balfour's Timber Trees of India.
5 d. per ser. Geya, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 d. for one hundred; second quality, 5 d.; smallest, 4 d.

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.

Khapre, 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 thousand; enamelled, 30 d. for ten.

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

Bás, 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 [muhrs] per piece. They are used for making thrones. Bamboo, at a rupees per piece, is common. Potal, is made of the reed which is used for qalams (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ d. per square gaz; second quality, 1 d. Sometimes they sell patol at 2 d. for pieces 2 gaz long, and 1½ g. broad. Sirki is made of very fine qalams reeds, looks well, and is very smooth; it is sold at the rate of 1½ d. per pair, 1½ g. long, and 16 sirkis broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

Khas is the sweet-smelling root of a kind of grass which grows along the banks of rivers. During summer, they make screens of it, which are placed before the door and sprinkled with water. This renders the air cool and perfumed. Price 1½ R. per man.

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

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

Kāh-i dākh, straw, etc., which is put on roofs, 4 d. for a load of 2 mans.

Mānj, the bark of qalams 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, etc., 3 d. per man.

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

Sirish-kāhi, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 d. per ser.

Lak 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 qalvi. 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, gerū; 1 40 d. per man. There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwālīrār.

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

A 5 in 87.

ON THE WAGE OF LABOURERS.

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

Sang-turāk (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 c. for each gaz; one who does plain work, 5 d. A labourer employed in quarries gets for every man he breaks, 22 j.

Carpenters, first class, 7 d.; second do., 6 d.; third do., 4 d.; fourth do., 3 d.; fifth do., 2 d. For plain job-work, a first class carpenter gets 1 d. 17 j. for one gaz; second class do., 1 d. 6 j.; third class do., 21 j.

Pinjara-sārī (lattice worker and wicker worker). First, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 d. for every square gaz; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 d.; when hexagonal, 18 d.; when jamīrī [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical, the other horizontal], 16 d.; when šatrūgī [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 d. for every square gaz.

Secondly, when the work is ḍhary-vasī (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 d. per square gaz; for second class do., 40 d.

Arra-kash (one who saws beams). For job-work, per square gaz 2½ d., if sīνā wood; if māchā wood, 2 d. A labourer employed for the day, 2 d. There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Bildārīs (bricklayers), 1 first class, daily 3½ d.; second class do., 3 d. If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 d. per gaz; for laying foundations, 2½ d.; for all other walls, 2 d. For digging ditches, ½ d. per gaz.

The gaz of a labourer contains 32 āssāj.

Chāh-kān, or well-diggers, first class workmen, 2 d. per gaz; second class do., 1½ d.; third class, 1¼ d.

[1 Gerū, H. Armenian holo.—P.]
[2 Bel-dir: a digger, a panner.—F.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Plant Name</th>
<th>Mango Sess.</th>
<th>Tanka 1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sain (Acacia suma)</td>
<td>19 32 10</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Baqam (Caesalpinia sappan)</td>
<td>19 22 10</td>
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<td>Kharaab</td>
<td>19 11 5</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Mahwā (Bassia latifolia)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Chandani</td>
<td>18 20 10</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Phulāhi</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Red Sandal, in Hindi Rakī Chandan (Pterocarpus santalinus)</td>
<td>18 4 10</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Chamrī</td>
<td>18 2 7 1</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Chamar Mamrī</td>
<td>17 16 1</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Gūnymāb (Zizyphus sativa)</td>
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<td>Sisā Patang (vide No. 40)</td>
<td>17 1 7</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Sāndan</td>
<td>17 1 28</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Shamshād (Buxus sempervirens)</td>
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<td>Dhāu (Grislea tomentosa)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Āṃla, Hind Aywlah, (Emblica officinalis)</td>
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<td>Karīl (Sterculia setida)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Āṃlā</td>
<td>15 17 20</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Sāl (Shorea robusta)</td>
<td>15 4 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree Shāh Ālā, but in Kābul and Persian it is called Ālā Bālā 1 (Cherry)</td>
<td>14 36 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kailās 2 (Cherry-tree)</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Nīmb (Azadirachta indica)</td>
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<td>Dākhārī (Berberis aristata)</td>
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<td>Babīl (Acacia arabica)</td>
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<td>Mulberry</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Bān Barās</td>
<td>12 38 21</td>
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<td>Sirs (Acacia odoratissima)</td>
<td>12 34 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sisān (Dulbergia sisson ; vide No. 19)</td>
<td>12 26 4</td>
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1. Ālā-ū-bālā is a sour dark cherry.—P.
2. Gūlā in Persia and Kasmir is a sweet cherry.—P.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<td>Haldi</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Kaim (Nuclea pereisflora)</td>
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<td>Jāman (Jambosa)</td>
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<td>Parās</td>
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<td>Bar (Ficus indica)</td>
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<td>Khandū</td>
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<td>Chanār 1</td>
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<td>Chārmaghz (Walnut-tree)</td>
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<td>Champā (Michelia champaca)</td>
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<td>Ber (Zizyphus jujuba)</td>
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<td>Pāpari (Ulmus)</td>
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<td>Diyār (Cedrus deodar)</td>
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<td>Bed (Willow)</td>
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<td>Kumbhār (Gumbhār (1) gmelina arborea)</td>
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<td>Chīdh (Pinus longifolia)</td>
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<td>Pipal. The Brahmins worship this tree (Ficus religiosa)</td>
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<td>Kathal (Jacktree, Artocarpus integrifolia)</td>
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<td>Gurdain</td>
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<td>Ruherā (Terminalia beccrica)</td>
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<td>Palās (Butea frondosa)</td>
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<td>Surlh Bed</td>
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<td>Āk (Calotropis gigantea)</td>
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<td>Seqbal (Cotton-tree)</td>
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<td>Bakāyin (Meslea composita)</td>
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<td>Lahsorā (Cordia mitra)</td>
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<td>Padmākā (Cerasus caproniana)</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>And</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sāsidār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above weights the sar has been taken at 28 dāms.

[1 Chanār, the Plane.—P.]
BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

Arm 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 Zamindārs of the country furnish more than four million, 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 Ahadīs, 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. Turānis and Persians get 25 Rupees; and Hindūstānis, 20 R. If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 R. Such troopers are called Barāwārdī.

Some commanders, who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called Dakhāliās.

In the contingent of a commander (manṣābdār) of Ten Thousand, other manṣābdārs as high as Hazāris (commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Eight Thousand, Manṣābdārs up to Haftṣadīs (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Seven Thousand, Manṣābdārs up to Haftṣadīs (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve; in the contingent of
a commander of Five Thousand, other Manṣābdārs as high as Panṣādīs (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a Panṣādī, Manṣābdārs as high as Ṣadīs (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Manṣābdārs of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Manṣābdārs.

Some commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called Kumakās.

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 tātā 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 Æ in 7). This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty; hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves, nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was then the order of the day. His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System. Easy-minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, low men were taught honourableness 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

[1 In text بیوک کلاس مبارزی. — P.]
[2 For tātā H. pony.— P.]
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.

\[\text{ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.}\]

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [\textit{vide} p. 147, note 2]. 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 inquired 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 Bakshis were also freed from the heavy responsibility of bringing new men, and everything went on smoothly.

1. \textit{Horses}. They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are \textit{Arabs, Persian horses, Mushinas, Turki horses, Yakhis, Tayis, and Jangla horses.}

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 \textit{dams per mensum}; and get daily 6 \textit{z}, of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 \textit{d. per man}), 2\frac{1}{2} \textit{d. of ghi}, 2 \textit{d. for sugar}, and 3 \textit{d. for grass}. Also, for a \textit{jul, artak, yilpash, girth} \textsuperscript{1} (His Majesty does not call it tang, but a \textit{farakh}), \textit{gaddi nakhtaband}, \textsuperscript{2} \textit{gannya} (which the vulgar pronounces \textit{ganyza}), \textit{magassan}, \textit{curry-comb, hatthi} (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, \textit{paj-band}, nails, etc. [\textit{vide} p. 144], 70 \textit{d. per mensum}, which outlay is called \textit{kharji yaragh-i asp} (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 \textit{d. for the saddle, and an apchi (1) every second month}; 7 \textit{d. per mensum} for shoes; and 63 \textit{d. for a groom, who gets double this allowance if he takes charge of two horses. Total, 479 \textit{d.}} But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and inquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 \textit{d.} by 81 \textit{d.}; and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 \textit{dams}, His Majesty granted a second additional allowance of 80 \textit{d.}. This coin [the Rupee] is always counted at 40 \textit{d.} in salaries. Afterwards a third additional allowance of 2 \textit{R.} (80 \textit{d.}) was ordered to be given for

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Tang} is girth, but \textit{farakh} is a body-roller, not a girth.—P.]

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Nakhtaband} for nakhtab headstall t.—P.]
each class of horses, except *Janglas*, which horses are nowadays 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 *yarāq*, 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. 147, note 3], and are mostly Turkī, 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, etc.; 15 d. less in *ghī*; 3 d. less for the groom; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 d.; second, 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fourth class are horses imported from Tūrān; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 d. Of this, 298 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 d. less than for *Mujannas* horses, viz., 30 d. less for sugar, 30 d. less for grass; 10 d. less for the *yarāq*; 4 d. less for the saddle, bridle, etc.; 2 d. less for shoeing; 2 d. less for *ghī*. 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, 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fifth class (*yābū* horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Turkī 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 *ghī*; 15 d. less for the groom; 10 d. less for the *yarāq*; and 6 d. less for the saddle, bridle, etc. 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 *Tārī*; the middling, *Janglas*; the inferior ones, *Tātū*.

Good mares are reckoned as *Tāsīn*; if not, they are counted as *Janglas*.

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

[1] *Sīrāq*; [*Ajām.—P.*]  
[2] "*Irāqī* horses,"—P.  
[3] *Idbiš* does not mean gelding but "of mixed breed."—P.  
1. **Jangla.** Monthly cost, 240 d., of which 145½ d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ d. less than for Tāziā. 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 *ghi* and molasses; 4½ d. less for the *yurāq*; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ d.; second, 25 d.; third, 40 d.

Formerly mules were reckoned as Tāzi horses; but nowadays, as Jangla.

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

*Note by the Translator.* We may arrange Abū 'l-Fazl's items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badā'ī, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindustān was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kowās responsible for it; *vide* Bad. II, p. 399, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a *Munshīdar*, brought horses with them, for which the *Munshīdar* received from the treasury an allowance according to the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>VI.</th>
<th>VII.</th>
<th>VIII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Åmba.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>52 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ghi.</em></td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>29 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tarāq.</em></td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle, &amp;c.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original Allowance:**

| 479 d. | 438 d. | 398 d. | 299 d. | 220 d. | 180 d. | 154 d. |

**1st Increase:**

| 81 d. | 67 d. | 72 d. | 62 d. | 41 d. | 22 d. | 20 d. |

**2nd Ditto:**

| 80 d. | 75 d. | 60 d. | 40 d. | 20 d. | 25 d. | 20 d. |

**3rd Ditto:**

| 90 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. |

**Total monthly cost in åmbs:**

| 729 d. | 680 d. | 660 d. | 480 d. | 400 d. | 320 d. | 240 d. | 160 d. |

*The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Abū 'l-Fazl makes from Class IV; but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. *Ghi* and molasses were generally given together; *vide* p. 142.*

[1] *Quand i загл is probably yar. H.—P.*

[2] *See footnote 8, p. 244.—P.*
3. Elephants. The branned elephants of the army are divided into seven classes: Mast, Shergir, Sudra, Manjholo, Karha, Phandurkiya, and Mokai, elephants; but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty’s elephant stables [vide p. 131, l. 27].

The monthly allowance for Mast elephants is 1,320 dâms [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ maüs. No elephant has more than three servants, a Mahâwat, a Bhoj, 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, 1,100 d., which is 220 d. less than the former. Grain, 2 m. per diem, which makes 180 d. less per mensem; also 15 d. less for the Mahâwat and the Bhoj. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 d.

Sudra 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 Mahâwat and the Bhoj. An increase of 50 d. was sanctioned.

Manjholo 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 Mahâwat. No Bhoj is allowed. The additional grant is 60 d.

Phandurkiya 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.

Mokai 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, dâms are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation.

4. 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 dâms, 20 d. more were allowed.

5. 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.

6. 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 waggons are only allowed to Mānsābdārs, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

**Aṭīn 3.**

**THE MĀNSĀBDĀRS.**

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 themselves, and avoid wilful violence; hence they live comfortably and watch over their advantages and disadvantages. But men, from the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in need of a just leader round whom they may rally; in fact, their social existence depends upon their being ruled by a monarch; for the extraordinary wickedness of men, and their inclination to that which is evil, teach their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even cause them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command. To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favour. 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

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1 The Arabicians say sewage; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced muṣṣāb. It means a post, an officer; hence mānsābdār, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

2 "When the Collector of the Diwān 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 (ṣamāṣa), 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 Islam, the true religion, and to show contempt to false religion; 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 Muṣāfa (Muhammad), because Muṣāfa, 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 Islam-i Ḥaṣām (Abū Hanīfah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the Jīza from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, 'Either death or the Islam.'" Türk-i Fırāzd Shāhī, p. 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the sultans.
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 Mansabdārs, from the Dakhāshī (Commander of Ten) to the Dāh Hazārī (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand to his august sons.

The deep-sighted saw a sign, and inquirers got a hint from above when they found the value of the letters of God’s holy name; they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Mansabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of Allāh, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

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 mansab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Mansabdārs vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his mansab, 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.

Yūzbāshīs (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 Dakhāshī troops are nowadays 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 Duḥṣāf, the fixed number of Turkī and Jangla horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned generally Ṣuṣmānas, rarely

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1 Yūzbāshī. This curious word is, according to Bahār-ī Ẓā‘īm, an abbreviation of the phrase Jalāl jaldā-kh, “May His glory shine forth.” It is then used in the sense of God: thus the dual jaldātāy, saying Allāh! Allāh!; and šatān jaldā saying the word Allāh 125,000 times. Similarly here; the 66 mansabs correspond to the value of the letters of Yūzbāshī, i.e., 66 = 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66. Abū l-Fazl makes much of the coincidence, for Akbar’s name was Jalāl d-Dīn, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say coincidence, because of the sixty-six mansabs only one half existed.

2 Abū l-Fazl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Badāwī says Akbar learnt the art from the Jogās.
Yâbûs; and Dâbbâshis are excused the Turch horse, though their salaries remain as before.

**Note by the Translator on the Manşabs.**

The sixty-six Manşabs, detailed by Abû 'l-Faḍl in the following table, appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Manşabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar's plan; but the list of grandees, as given by Abû 'l-Faḍl himself in the 30th Ā' in of this Book, only mentions thirty-three—the three commands of the three Princes from 10,000 to 7,000; and thirty commands of the Manşabdârs, namely commands of 5,000, 4,500, 4,000, 3,500, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,250, 1,000, 900?, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. On the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Ā'in, though the List of Grandees of Shâh Jahân's time (Pâdshâhânmâ, II, p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Manşabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

Abû 'l-Faḍl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Manşabdârs of 500; he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list. Of the Commands below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, viz.:

**of Commanders of**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 (Yâbûshis)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all, 1,388 commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Manşabdârs from 5,000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abû 'l-Faḍl made his list.

As Abû 'l-Faḍl's List (Ā'in 30), according to the testimony of Nigâm-i Haravi is a complete list, it is certain that of the 66 Manşabs of the

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1 Nigâm 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 tâfel-i nâm-i-i bar yâh va nafa'izînâsit Shâhèsh Abû 'l-Faḍl dar kitâb-i Akbarnâma marqâm-i qalam-i bâdà'i-ic ragam gardinâda.
following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shāhjahan's grandees in the Pādisīshāhnama, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the Pādisīshāhnama are:—Four commands of the princes (Dārā Shikoh, 20,000; Shāh Shujāʿ, 15,000; Awrangzeb, 15,000; Murād Bakhsh, 12,000) and commands of 9,000, 7,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500.

From the fact that Abū ʿl-Faḍl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the Pādisīshāhnama up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Mansābs under 200, and at Shāhjahan's time, Mansābs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of Amīr. To judge from Nizām's Tabaqāt and the Muṣāṣir-i Raḥimī, Mansāb-dārs from the Hazārī (Commander of 1,000) were, at Akbar's time, styled umarāʾ-i kibār, or umarāʾ-i nizām, great Amirs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to Mansāb-dārs from the Hazāris upwards. Nizām does not restrict his phrases ba-martaba-yi imārat rasīd, or dar jarga (or silk, or zamra)-yī umarā muntazam qasht, to commanders from Hazāris.

The title Amīr ʿl-umarā (the Amīr of the Amīrs, principal Amīr), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Nizām gives his title to Adham Kāń, Khizr Khwaja Kāń, Mir Muhammad Kāń Atkah, Manṣafar Kāń, Qutb ʿd-Dīn Muhammad Kāń, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bayrām Kāń, Munṣim Kāń, and Mirzā ʿAbū ʿr-Raḥim, the three latter being styled Kāń Khanān,1 or Khan Khanān o Siyāshāūr.

In the Pādisīshāhnama, however, the title of Amīr ʿl-Umarā is restricted to the first living grandee (Ṣāli Mardān Kāń).

It is noticeable that Nizām only mentions commanders of 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000—for lower Mansābs he does not specify names. Abū ʿl-Faḍl gives three intermediate Mansābs of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks we may conclude that these Mansābs were unusual. This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders; for if we leave out the commands of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250, we have, according to ʿĀ* in 30, twelve steps from 5,000 to 500, and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs. 2,500) is the twelfth part of the salary of a commander of 5,000 (Rs. 30,000). The Pādisīshāhnama gives fourteen steps between the

1 For Kāń-i Khwaja, the Khan of the Khāns. In such titles the Persian ḫwājā is left out.
commanders of 7,000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a commander of 7,000 at one kror of dáms per annum, or 250,000 Rs., stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled Ghīyās' 'l-lughāt, states that the salary of a commander of 5,000 is one kror, or 250,000 Rs., and that the salary of a Pānṣādi, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. per annum, the 12\textsuperscript{th} part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Mansābdārs, as given by Abū 'l-Fażl in the following table, are somewhat higher than those given in the Pādīshāhnāma and the Ghīyās, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be considerably reduced, if each Mansābdār had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, etc., which Abū 'l-Fażl specifies for each rank. Taking the preceding Ā\textsuperscript{in} and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, etc., mentioned in the following table, would amount, for a commander of

- 5,000 (monthly salary 30,000 R.) to 10,637 R.
- 1,000 ( ) \( \rightarrow \) 8,200 R.) to 3,015\ 1/2 R.
- 100 ( ) \( \rightarrow \) 700 R.) to 313 R.

The three classes which Abū 'l-Fażl mentions for each Mansāb differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p. 249, 1. 23.

A commander of 5,000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5,000 men. In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Mansābdār. Thus Nizām says of Todar Mall and Qutb\textsuperscript{a} d-Dīn Muḥammad Kān, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4,000 cavalry, and the latter 5,000 na\textsuperscript{k}hars, or servants, i.e., soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4,000 (Nizām says 5,000), and Qutb\textsuperscript{a} d-Dīn a commander of 5,000, Of 6Abdul majid Ḥāṣī Kān, a commander of 3,000(vide Ā\textsuperscript{in} 30, No. 49), Nizām says, "he reached a point when he had 20,000." In the Pādīshāhnāma, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 commanders of 500 under Shāhjahan, only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers. This also explains the use of the word  זָּעַ ת after the titles of Mansābdārs: as panj hazār-\textsuperscript{yi} zāt sikhāzār suvār, "a commander of 5,000, personally (zāt, or by rank), and in actual command of 3,000 cavalry." Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as Shāyista Khān panj hazārī, panj hazār suvār-i dawapsi sīhārsi, "Shāyista Khān, a commander of 5,000, contingent 5,000 cavalry, with two horses, with three horses."
is called duaspa, if he has two horses, and sihaspa, if three, in order to change horses during elghārs or forced marches. But keeping duaspha sihaspa troopers was a distinction, as in the Pādshāhnāma only the senior Manṣabdārs of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhaźāris; 1 Chahārhaźāri; 2 Sihhaźāri; 2 Duhaźāri; 2 Hazār o panṣadī; 1 Hazāri; and 1 Haftṣadī.

The higher Manṣabdārs were mostly governors of Šūbas. The governors were at first called sipahaźārās; towards the end of Akbar’s reign we find them called Hākims, and afterwards Šāhīb Šūboh, or Šūba-dārs, and still later merely Šūbas. The other Manṣabdārs held Jāgūrs, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Manṣabdārs are also called taśnatiyān (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called tabināt (followers); hence tabinbāshi, the Manṣabdār himself, or his Bakhshī (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Manṣabdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general or the local treasuries; vide Ains 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 Shāhbaz Khān (vide pp. 148, 197) was appointed Mīr Bakhshī. The following passage from Badāoni (II, p. 190) is interesting:—

"The whole country, with the exception of the Khāliga lands (domains), was held by the Amīrs as jāgūr; 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 Mogul attendants to the scene of the war; but really useful soldiers there were none. Shāhbaz Khān, the Mīr Bakhshī, introduced the custom and rule of the dāgh o mahallī, which had been the rule of Āla r-Dīn Khilji; and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every Amīr should commence as a commander of twenty (bīsāf), 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 Sādī, or commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Mansabs, 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 Hazūrī, Duhażūrī, and even Panjhażūrī, which is the highest Mansab; 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 Amir did what they liked; for they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers’ clothes (libās-i sipāhī), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their jāpis, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the Manşabdār remained in status 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 (maddāf), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Musalmān, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Manşab, or were made Krovīs (vide p. 13, l. 7 from below), or Aḥadīs, or Dakhilis 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 Divān-khāna-yi khuṣ, 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 Aḥadīs into du-arpa, yaktarpa (having one horse); and nimarpas (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 . . . ; but notwithstanding

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.
all this, His Majesty’s good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amirs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants.

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men and of animals, carts, etc.; the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the A’in; and the heavy fines imposed on negligent servants (pp. 226–7, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (kasrat), in order to understand the whole (mahdat)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success.¹

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar’s army. We may, however, quote a statement in the Pādis-shāhānāma regarding the strength of Shāhjahān’s army: vide Pādisshāhn. 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 Fawjdārs, Krors, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganas. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows:—

8,000 Mansabdārs.
7,000 mounted Ahażī and mounted Bargandāz.
185,000 cavalry, consisting of the contingents (tābinān) of the princes, the chief grandees, and the other Mansabdārs.

"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 sūbas 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 (Shāhjahān). If a Mansabdār holds a jāgīr in the same sūba, in which he holds his maṇṣab, he has to muster one-third of the force indicated by his rank.² Accordingly a Si Hāzār-yi ẓīlt sīk-hāzār aṣṣūr (a commander of 3,000, personal rank; contingent 3,000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another sūba, he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly, a Chahār-hāzār chahār-hāzār aṣṣūr (a commander of 4,000; contingent, 4,000) has only to muster 1,000 cavalry.

¹ Vide p. 11, note.
² The edition of the Pādisshāhnāma has wrongly 3,000.
³ Literally, he has to bring his followers (troopers) to the brand (dāgā) according to the third part.
"At the time the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055]. His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Manṣabdār should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a Panjhasārī panj hazār suvār (a commander of 5,000; contingent, 5,000) mustered only 1,000; viz., 300 sīhaspa troopers, 600 du-aspa troopers, 100 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,200 horses], provided the income (hāsīl) of his ḫāqīr was fixed at 12 months; or 250 sīhaspa troopers, 500 du-aspa troopers, and 250 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,000 horses], provided the income of his ḫāqīr was fixed at 11 months; or 800 du-aspa troopers, and 200 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men and 1,800 horses], if the income of his ḫāqīr was fixed at 10 months; or 600 du-aspa troopers and 400 yak-aspa, if at 9 months; or 450 du-aspa and 550 yak-aspa troopers, if at 8 months; or 250 du-aspa and 750 yak-aspa troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 du-aspa and 900 yak-aspa troopers, if at 6 months; or 1,000 yak-aspa, if at 5 months.

But if the troopers to a mansāb had all been fixed as si-aspa du-aspa [in other words, if the commander was not a Panj hazāri, panj hazār suvār, but a Panj hazāri panj hazār suvār-i du-aspa si-aspa] he musters, as his proportion of du-aspa and sīhaspa troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mansāb had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a Panj hazāri panj hazār tamām du-aspa si-aspa (a commander of 5,000; contingent, only du-aspa and si-aspa) would musteer 600 troopers with three horses, 1,200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [i.e., 2,000 men with 4,400 horses], provided the income of his ḫāqīr 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 Manṣabdār, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shāhjahān. Thus if a commander of 1,000 troopers had the title of Ḥaṣārī hazār suvār, the strength of his contingent was $\frac{1}{4} = 250$ men with 650 horses, viz., 75 si-aspa, 150 du-aspa, and 25 yak-aspa; and if his title was Ḥaṣārī hazār suvār-i du-aspa si-aspa, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1,300 horses, viz., 150 si-aspa, 300 du-aspa, and 50 yak-aspa, if the income of his ḫāqīr was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of si-aspa, and du-aspa, and yak-aspa troopers was for all mansābs as 300: 600: 100, or as 3: 6: 1.

As the author of the Pādshāhkhāna does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Manṣabdārs 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 jagirs.

From an incidental remark (Padishahname, I, p. 113), we see that the pay of a commander of sahaspa du-aspa troopers was double the pay allowed to a commander of yak-aspas. This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter.

The strength also of Awrangzeb'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'sin 30, Abū l-Faṣl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the A'sin.

250 Commanders of 100 (Ýužbashis)
294 " " 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 Mirzā ʿAbd-ʾr-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Akbar's Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In A'sin 6, Abū l-Faṣl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Aḥādīs, of which Shāhjahān had 7,000, 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. Bādā, onī mentions an Aḥādī of the name of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husayn as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Manusbādārs, which under Shāhjahān amounted to 8,000, was also much less. Of the 415 Manusbādārs whose names are given in A'sin 30, about 150 were dead when Abū l-Faṣl wrote it, so that there would be about

\footnote{The list of grandees in A'sin 30 is quoted in Ṣaḥīḥ-i Taḥsīl which do not go beyond A.H. 1003, as the author died in October, 1504; but it may be still older, as Ṣaḥīḥ assigns to several Manusbādārs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abū l-Faṣl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 593, when the three princes (Bādī, II, p. 342) were appointed Commanders of 12,000, 9,000 and 7,000 respectively, whilst in Abū l-Faṣl’s Last, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) is still put down as a Commander of 10,000; Murād as Commander of 8,000, and Dīnīyāl as of 7,000.}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Commanders Of</th>
<th>Hoys</th>
<th>Elephants</th>
<th>Beasts of Burden and Carrs.</th>
<th>Monthly Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mughal</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Yablu</td>
<td>Plush</td>
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<td>68</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<td>500</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 185.
250 higher Mañşābdārs, to which we have to add 1,388 lower Mañşābdārs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1,600 Mañşābdārs.

But Akbar's Mañşābdārs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mañşābdārs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks ( zapār ) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Mañşābdārs had even to furnish men with four horses (chahār-aspa). A Dabbāshī, or Commander of ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (vide A* in 5) the Chahār-aspas were discontinued, and a Dabbāshī furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazāris would have had to bring 1,800 horses, whilst a Hazāri at the time of Shāhjahān only furnished 650.

Of non-commissioned officers a Mirdaha is mentioned; vide note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mirdaha of matchlock-bearers varied from 7½ to 6½ R. per mensem. Common matchlock-bearers received from 6¼ to 2½ R. As they were standing (household) troops, Abū ʾl-Fażl has put them into the first book of this work (A*ins 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 Mañşābdārs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Commanders of</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Elephants</th>
<th>Brants of Burden and Carts</th>
<th>Monthly Salaries</th>
<th>Classes</th>
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<td>1st</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>125</td>
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</table>

|        |               |        |           |                             | 1st  | 2nd  | 3rd  |
|        |               |        |           |                             | Rs.  | Rs.  | Rs.  |
Badã,oni, in the above extract, p. 258, speaks of a ṭibūs-i sipāhī, or soldier’s uniform (armour?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Mangahāsrās consisted in certain flags (vide p. 52, l. 6, from below), and the ghārayāl or gong (vide in the beginning of the fourth book, Āʻin-i Ghārayāl).

\[\text{Āʻin 4.}\]

THE AḤADĪS.

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Manṣāb, 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 Aḥadīs (from aḥad, 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 Aḥadīs, a separate Diwān and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amīrs is their chief. A fit person has also been selected to introduce to His Majesty such as are candidates for Aḥadīshīps. 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 Yād-dāsh, the Taṣḥīḥ, the descriptive roll, and accounts (vide Āʻ in 10). The paymaster then takes security and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths. Many Aḥadīs have indeed more than 500 Rupees per mensem. He then gets the number nine as his brand (vide Āʻ in 7). In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Aḥadīs mustered eight horses; but now the limit is five. On his sar-khāt (vide Āʻ in 11) each receives a farḵāncha (rank and pay certificate), on which after year the treasurer makes payments.

Aḥadīs are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Diwān and the Bāḵāshī, which is called nowadays Ṭaškirā, the

\[\text{1 Or, as we would say, by 75 or even 85 per cent. Vide note 4, p. 88.}\]
\[\text{2 This agrees with a statement which I have seen in some historian of Akbar’s reign that a senior Aḥadī was promoted to a Taškirkhābī as the next step. Vide p. 20, note 1.}\]
\[\text{3 The Taškirā corresponds, therefore, to a “life certificate”. Arabic Infinitives II take in modern Persian a final +; thus taḵīya (vide below, Āʻ in 10), ṣaḥīfa (vide p. 101, note 1), etc.}\]
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 Aḥadi generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqatnāma*, 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 *Saqatnāma* to show, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster. Those who are in want of horses are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one-half being reckoned as *irmās* money, and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or if the Aḥadi be in debt, in eight instalments.

\[\text{A}^5\text{in. 5.}\]

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Mansabdārs and the Aḥadis, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers.

The horse-dealer fixes the quality of the horses, which are carefully inspected by the Bakshis. 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 *Yuk-arp* trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his horse be an *Irāqi*, he gets 30 *R.* per mensëm; if *mujannas*, 25 *R.*; if *Turkī*, 20 *R.*; if a *Yābū*, 18 *R.*; if a *Tūzī*, 15 *R.*; if a *Jungla*, 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.

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1. From *saqat*, he fell.
2. Or arminas money. The word *irmās* may be Inf. IV, or plural of *rasas*, a grave. Baidā, omi evidently reads *irmās*, because in II, p. 202, he explains *irmās* by *sumil-i dashmār* the burying or destruction of the toes, *‘which word the grandees used instead of *salāb-i ajāz*, requesting stores, etc.’* Hence *irmās*, a request made for military supplies or for salary.
Every Dah-bāshī had to muster 2 chahār-aspa, 3 si-aspa, 3 du-aspa, and 2 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Manṣabdārs in the same proportion. But now a Dah-bāshī’s contingent consists of 3 si-aspa, 4 du-aspa, and 3 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses].

**6. THE INFANTRY.**

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers. They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

The writer of these . . . is the Āvāra-navīs. Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry. There are several classes of them. The first class gets 500 dāms; the second, 400 d.; the third, 300 d.; the fourth, 240 d.

The Bandūg-chīs, or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced Bītikchī, an honest treasurer, and an active Daroqha. A few Bandūg-chīs 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.

Common Bandūg-chīs 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 Darbāns, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the Mirdahs is five fold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 d. Common Darbāns have from 100 to 120 d.

The Khidmatiyyas.

The Khidmatiyyas also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. Panjābīs

*The text has a word which does not suit.*
to Bistā have 200 d.; and a Dabh-dāshī 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 Mōvīs. Their chief has received the title of Khidmat Rāźī. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khidmatīyyas.†

The Mewāras.‡

They are natives of Mewāt, and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with ease 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 Shamsīsherbāz, or Gladiators.

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they show 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 Lakrāźī. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called yūk-kāthā. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call chirīva. Those who come from the southern districts make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call tīkva.

Another class goes by the name of Pharāītūs. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a gaz broad.

Some again are called Bānūztūs. They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a gaz long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of Bānūztīs is 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. They perform 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

† They are called in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī Pilgrākhī-yi Khidmatīyya. The name of their chief under Jahāngīr was Rai Majān. He once picked up the young Shāh Shuja'r who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 303.
‡ Among the innovations made by Akbar are the Dabh-Mewāras, of whom some were stationed at every place." Khāfī Khāna, I, p. 243. Hence the Mewāras were chiefly postmen.
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 Şadî (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Abadi, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 d.

The Pahlwâns, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Tûrâni wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers; athletes of Hindûstân, clever Mâls from Gujarât, 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—Mirzâ Khân of Gilân; Muhammed Quli of Tabriz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of Sher-hamla, or Lion-attacker; Şâdiq of Bushâr; Şâli of Tabriz; Murâd of Turkistan; Muhammed Şâli of Tûrân; Fâlât of Tabriz; Qâsim of Tabriz; Mirzâ Kuhna-suwar of Tabriz; Shâh Quli of Kûردistan; Hilât of Abyssinia; Sadhu Davâl; Şâli; Sû Rûm; Kanhayâ; Mangol; Ganesh; Šâbâ; Nânkâ; Balâhadr; Bajrânâth.

The Chelas, or Slaves.¹

His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name banda, or slave; for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men Chelas, which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple.² Through His Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.³

Various meanings attach to the term slave.⁴ 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.³ Thirdly, one's

¹ Chela, H., disciple, etc.—P.
² The word Chela is the same as the Arab., mawrid, a disciple who places implicit belief in his murshid or pir, the head of the sect. "And many of His Majesty's special disciples, in 994, called themselves chelas in imitation of the use of this term among Joge."—Bahlolul II, p. 323.
³ The author of the pretty Tarkura, entitled Kalâmât 'Ak-SaKârâ, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called Chela. His real name is Mirzâ Muhammad Afsâl; as a poet he is known as Sarînâs.
⁴ By joining the Divine Faith.
⁵ Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his pir.
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 Chelas 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, honours 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 Kuhārs, or Pālkī-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 pālkīs, singhāsana, chauḍola, and ḍūla, 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 Dakhin and Bengal. At Court, several thousand of them are kept. The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 d. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 d.

Dākhīli troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Mansabdārs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as nīna aṣvārān, or halt troopers.

The fourth part of Dākhīli 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 Mirdahs of the archers get from 120 to 180 d.; common archers from 100 to 120 d.

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.
REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS.

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright Bākhsha 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 Dārogha 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 Taṣḥīqa [vide A* in 10].

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the Manṣabdārs.

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 Dārogha. He takes them in the manner described above [vide A* in 4] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay. He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge'..

When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the Wāqf-i Naqīs (A* in 10), the Mīr-i Arz, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Dārogha of the dīgh (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter șin (i.e. like this, ḡ), 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 ٤, and put on the right thigh. For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which plan 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 Manṣābdārs, 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 (rule next A*in), 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 Bakhshi, 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.

A*in 8.

ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK.

The servants (Manṣābdārs) 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 Manṣābdār delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his jāgir (aqtān) 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 had a particular mark, the mark is merely repeated at the subsequent musters. In the case of Ahadis, the former custom was retained. Some Bitikhās, and near servants of His Majesty, who have no leisure to look after jāgirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and

1 Properly aqtān, Inl. IV, of qaṣṣā; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as aqtān. The king is therefore called masqīs, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. masqīs, the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Mogul historians accuse Sher Shāh. Vide end of A*in 10, third book. Masqīs, past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the Tārikh e Fārūn Shāhī. From the times of Akbar the words masqīs, and jāgir are used as synonyms; before his time we only find aqtān used; but jāgir occurs, or jāgir, in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word aqtān is but rarely met with.
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 Manṣabdar has been promoted to a higher Manṣab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (زادت) 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.

A* in 9.

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD.

Mounting guard is called in Hindi chaukī. 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 Manṣabdar. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mīr 5 Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mīr 5 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 (side p. 116) 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.

Article 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WĀQĪṢA-NAWĪS.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 exercises⁴ which he imposes on himself; appointments to mansabs; contingents of troops; salaries; jāgis; Irmās money (vide above, p. 260, note 2); surāqghâls (rent-free land); the increase or decrease of

¹ From wāqīṣa an event and nawīs a writer. Instead of wāqīṣa-nawīs we also find māqīṣa-nawīs.

² There was a wāqīṣa-nawīs, or recorder, in each Sāla. From several places in the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngir, we see that the Bakhshâls of the Sābas often held the posts of Wāqīṣa-nawīs at the same time. Vide Tuzuk, p. 121, l. 2; p. 157, l. 1; p. 171, l. 5.

³ 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.

⁴ Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals. Vide above, p. 200, l. 9.

⁵ Especially fasts.
taxes; contracts; sales, money transfers; pañahā'a (tribute receipt);
dispatch; the issue of orders; the papers which are signed by His
Majesty; the arrival of reports; the minutes thereon; the arrivals of
couriers; 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; chaugān games (vide
Ā'in 29); chaupar nard, chess, card games, etc.; 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 Parwānārī, by the
Mīr Ārūz, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report
in this state is called yād-dā'i, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid
style. They receive yād-dā'i when completed, keep it with themselves,
and make a proper abridgement of it. After signing it, they return
this instead of the yād-dā'i, when the abridgement is signed and sealed
by the Waqqās-nawis, and the Rūzula-ul-dār, the Mīr Ārūz, and the Dārogha.
The abridgement, thus completed, is called Taṣūqa, and the writer
is called Taṣulq-nawis.

The Taṣūqa is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers
of state.

His Majesty's object is, that every duty be properly performed;
that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department; that
dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem;
and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and
forgetful men be held in check.

Ā'in 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

1. Taṣūqa mustāfat, the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. be taṣūqa sanads to come at time not appointed beforehand, unexpectedly.

2. The text has riāla, which stands for riśāla-dār, as, in later times, Sāhe for Ṣabī-dār.

For Mīr Ārūz we find in the early historians Ārūz.
statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a *sanad*. All classes of men adopt such a practice.

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*.

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 *Aboob* *'t-miil* 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, etc.).

2. The *Aboob* *'t-tahawil*. 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, etc., for things bought or sold.

3. The *Tawjih*. 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 *Farmān-i Sabti*.

*Farmān-i sabti* are issued for three purposes:

1. For appointments to a *Mansab*; to the Vakīshī; to the post of *Sipah-sālār* (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief); to the

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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 in the Eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word *daftar* is the Greek *δευτερα*, a second hide, parchment, *mukh-i daftar*. Minister of Finance, the same as *Imām-i Daftar* and *Vizir*. *Daftar* means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, etc.

2 Or, *the giving of way* (pay) to the army; hence *tawjih*, military accounts. For *tawjih*, some MSS. read *tawjihah*. 
tutorship of the princes; to the rank of Aṣīr-i-umārā (vide p. 250); to a Nāḥiyat-i, or districtship; to the post of Vazir, or Finance Minister; to the Bakshiship (Paymaster and Adjutant-General); to the post of a pādr-i, or a judge.

2. For appointments to jāgārā, without military service; for taking charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes .

3. For conferring Sāgāρiḥās (vide #1 in 19); for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the Taṣliqua has been made out, the Diwān-i Jāgīr (who keeps the Jāgīr accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jāgīr is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the Bakshis for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—khāsa, o mardum barāwūrd numāyand; kānvar-i in shighl cihrā-nawisā kumand (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 Bakshis general takes the Taṣliqua, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the Bakshis grants instead of the Taṣliqua, is called Sarkhat.

The Sarkhats are entered in the daftars of all Sub-Bakshis, and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwān 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 jāgīr on the person specified in the Sarkhat, the following words are entered on the top of the report: Taṣliqua-yi tan gālānī numāyand (they are to write out a Taṣliqua-yi tan (certificate of salary)). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwān, who verifies it by writing on it the words sobt numāyand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the daftar, and the seal of the Diwān, the Bakshis, and the Accountant the Diwān, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is

1 Jāgīrā, to which no military service attaches, appear to be called bādakh-i mohāllā. i.e., the holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the Munsībārs drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of the taxes of the several Mahalls or Parganas. Thus Fateh Bāgh of Shirāz (vide p. 203) received Bādakh as his jāgīr. bādakh-i mohāllā, Bādakshān, p. 315. Bādakshān also had a jāgīr of 1,000 Bighas at which he seldom grumbled, calling himself by way of joke Harārī, or Commander of One Thousand.

2 The text has jāṣ (sometimes jāṣ-s) bādakh-i mohākh (milk !) dādān—which I do not understand.
written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwān.

The Sāhīb-i Taṣūqa, or military accountant, keeps the former Taṣūqa with himself, writes its details on the Farmān, and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the Mustaṣuf, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nāźir and the Bakhsheš do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwān, his accountant, and the Vakil 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 barāt (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the Nāźir, the Diwān-i Buyūtāt signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhsheš 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 barāts. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two barāts, one for the six months from Fīrwardīn (February–March) to Shahrīvar, and the other from Mīhr (September) to Isfandiyārmuz. He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, etc., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement. The Diwān-i Buyūtāt inspects them, passes the order for payment, inquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin az tahsil-i fidāni barāt navīnand, 'Let a barāt be made out showing the amount to be deposited with such and such a Mushrif.' The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it. In all cash payments, one-fourth is deducted, as another sanad is given for this amount. The Diwān-i Buyūtāt then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the barāt and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the military accountant, the Nāźir, the Diwān-i Buyūtāt, the Diwān-i Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Diwān, and the Vakil, 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 Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several daftars. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz., one-fourth is to be paid in gold (ashrafis), one-half in silver (rupias), and one part in copper (dāmas), according to the fixed values of the coins.
The Farmāns in favour of Mansabdārs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of Sayyāryāhs (vide A* in 19), the farmāns, after having been signed by the Mustawfi, are entered in the daftars of the Divān-i Sa‘ādat (vide A* in 19); they are then signed and sealed by the Sadr, and the Divān-i Kul.

Farmāns are sometimes written in Tughra character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmān is called a Parwāncha.

Parwānchas are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the Divān-i Sa‘ādat (vide A* in 19); the salaries of the Ahadis, Chehas, and of some officers in the workshops, and for the allowances on account of the food of Bārgār horses (vide p. 147, A* in 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new savad, 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 Divān for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustawfi, the Na‘ṣir-i buyūtāt, the Divān-i kul, the Khān-Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Divān. In the Parwānches given to Ahadis, the signature, seal, and orders of the Ahadibāshī, or Commander of the Ahadis, are required after those of the Mustawfi, the Divān, and the Baghāsh; because His Majesty from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Parwānchas need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign sarkhats, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, sar-nāmchas (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains), garāt-nāmchas (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the muqāsāt (statements of account which Takbrildārs take from the Mustawfi, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

A* in 12.

THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmāns, Parwānchas, and Barāts, are made into several folds, beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Divān 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 Sadr. But when Shaykh
Abdu'l-Nabî and Sultan Khwâja were Ṣadrs (vide note to A* in 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vâkil. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vâkil, as Atka Khan did at the time of Munfar Khan and Adham Khan. The Mir Mâl, the Khân Sâman, the Parwânchî, etc., 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 Divân, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Divân-i juz, the Bakhshî-yi juz, and the Divân-i bayât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustawfi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Ṣâhib-i Tawâlih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Taqâri lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in Taqâris.


THE FARMÂN-I BAYÂZI.

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.¹ The farmân is folded up, and two edges are made to meet, when a knot of paper is put over them, which is sealed up in such manner that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum ² 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 farmâns are carried by Mansâb-dârs, Aḥadis, 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 sijda, 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.

¹ That is, a blank farmân.

² Lak. The author probably means "gum." It is from the exudations from slits made overnight in the bark of the bar seed, the pipal tree that the best bird-line is made.—P.]
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_supplies_ without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in_åmar_; but at the time of making out the estimate he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight_åmar_1 each. Half of the remainder is paid in muhurs at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in_åmar_for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty_åmar_, the soldiers, through His Majesty's kindness, received_åmar_at the same rate. Every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is raised fifty per cent. above prime cost, and for accoutrements; but, as much care is shown in buying horses, this increase is not productive of any loss for the soldier. Besides, Ähâdis 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 Ähâdis 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 Ähâdi loses fifteen days' pay, and other soldiers one week's.

The Commander of every contingent (Tâbîbânâhâ) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

MUSĀFADAT, 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_Mîs_Ary, 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.

1 The MSS. have forty-eight.
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.

\textit{A*in 16.}

\textbf{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.

\textit{A*in 17.}

\textbf{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.\footnote{Fide p. 210, l. 10.}

There is a treasurer always waiting \footnote{Fide p. 15, l. 1.} at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees is sure to find relief.

\textit{A*in 18.}

\textbf{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.

\footnote{It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law. But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.}
On the first day of the month of Abān [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, rūk-i tāliga, drugs, ghū, 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, against eight articles, viz., silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables. On both occasions the festival of Sālgirih (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 The lunar birthday of the emperor. As this was the Muharram in the day, the articles were, of course, fewer and less valuable.

2 According to the Tuzuk-i Jahangir (p. 163) and Firdosīhānī (I. p. 243), the weighing of the royal person was introduced by Akbar. It is an old Hindu custom. At first the weighing took place once a year, on the birthday of the Emperor; but with the introduction of Akbar’s Divine (solar) Era, we find in the history of every year the record of a suz-i shamāl, or solar weighing, and a suz-i qamar, or lunar weighing. There was of course, a jāhān, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers on the same day were promoted to high offices, or presented their phatkās. The feast was of special importance for the men.

3 It appears [cite Firdosīhānī (p. 243)] that the articles against which the royal person was weighed were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor. Jahangir, according to several remarks in the Tuzuk (pp. 60, 70, 276, etc.), was even weighed in the palace of his august mother, to whom the Tuzuk gives the title of Mārum Zafrū, the Mary of the age, as Akbar’s mother had been styled Mārum Mahbūl (cite p. 49, note 7). The solar sanz was even retained by Aurangzeb; vide Sāhmīhānī, p. 229.

The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as then the string was kept, which numbered as many knots as the emperor numbered years; hence also aqīrirah (or aqīriqūm, as the word is pronounced all over India) ”the year’s knot,” or birthday.

Tying knots, or bits of string, curvilinear, to the tombs of saints is considered by different women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of Sulaimān Chishti in Pathpur Sikri, in whose house Jahangir was born, is even nowadays visited by Hindu and Mussulman women, who tie bits of strong in the marble trilas surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar’s tomb in Sikandra, near Agra.

Akbar’s regulation, as given in the above text, appears to have been continued under Jahangir. Shāhjahān made some alterations, as also 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
ON SUYURGHALS.

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 inquirers 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 inquiry; fourthly, on honourable 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 Waṣfa; lands conferred are called Milk, or Madad-i maṣāṣh. In this way krore are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be inquired 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 Ṣadr. The Qāṣi and the Mīr Ṣadr are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled Dīvān-i Ṣaṣādat.

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such person from all bodily and mental harm. The gold and the silver against which Jahāngir was once weighed amounted to Rs. 33,000; but according to the Tāzah, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (Tāzah, p. 163), Jahāngir was found to weigh 6,514 tolas. Taking the soles as 186 grains (Urrozep's useful Tables, by J. Thomas, p. 111), Jahāngir at the age of forty-seven would have weighed 210 lbs. Troy.

Akbār, 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 Nigāmhād, 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, etc., which is given as a present to the Brahmins of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems,"

Budāwī, ii. p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahāngir had once his Court doctor Ṣāḥib-i Ḥāsh weighed in silver (Tāzah, p. 283), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as jāḏīr.

1 Vide the note at the end of this Aṭṭār.
as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire.

When His Majesty commenced to inquire into this department, it was discovered that the former Sādes had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaykh Ṣādīq ʿAbdī ʿu-Nābi to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afghāns and Chaudris were taken away, and became domain lands (khalisa), whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaykh who inquired 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 khalisa lands or near the jāgīrs of Manṣabdārs, 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 Sāder [Ṣāder ʿu-Nābi] came to the ears of His Majesty. An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred bighas 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 bighas, 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 Qāżīs 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 Qāżīs], 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 Qāżīs, except those who had been appointed during the Sadrāship of Sultān Khwāja. The Irānī and Tūrānī

1 This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian khalisa.
women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred *bighas* held by them should be inquired into, whether it was correctly held or not.

During the *Sadra* of *Aziz* d-Dawla [Mir Fath] Ilah of Shiraz] the following order was given:—If any one held a *Suyurgah* together with a partner, and the farmán contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the *Sadr* should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further inquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the Crown, and remaining domain land till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty. The new *Sadr* was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen *bighas*.

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 *Suyurgah* 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 *bighas* and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir *Sadre* Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the *Sadre* with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed is this, that all *Suyurgah* 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 *bigha* 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 *Sadres* of districts and *Sadrs* of the realm.

*Note by the Translator on the Sadres of Akbar's reign.*

In this *A*—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chaghatai word *suyurgah* is translated by the Arabic *madad* *i ma'sah*, in Persian *madad-i ma'sah*, for which we often find in MSS. *madad o ma'sah*. The latter term signifies "assistance of livelihood", and, like its equivalent *milk*, or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes, as specified by Abû 'l-Faţl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for
this reason from jāgūr or tuyūf lands, which were conferred for a specified time on Mughal barons in lieu of salaries.

This Ā*in proves that Akbar considerably interfered with sugūrgūl lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or ḫāibre, lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghan) family. He also completely broke the power of the Šadr, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the Šadr, or as he was generally styled, Šadr-i Jahān, whose edict legalized the julūs, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (vide end of Ā*in 30). Their power was immense. They were the highest law-officers, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in 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 ʿAbdul-Nabi, during his Šadrihip, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (vide p. 186, l. 7, from below).

In the times before the Moghul, the terms idrāūd, waṣūf, ṣilk, inšām-i dekhā, inšām-i zamīnāh, etc., occur for the word sugūrgūl (or sugūrūgūl, or sugurghūl, as some dictionaries spell it).

Among the former kings, ʿAlāasp ʿd-Dīn-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 maṣūsh tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Šadr by appointing his keybearer to this high office (Ṭārīḵ-i Firūzshāh, p. 353). Quṭbasp ʿd-Dīn Mūbārakshāh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom ʿAlasp ʿd-Dīn had deprived (T. F., p. 382). Firūz Shah 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 showed such an unexpected severity towards the grant-holders of his time.

Each Shāh had a Šadr-i jār, or provincial Šadr, who was under the orders of the Chief Šadr (Šadr-i Jahān, or Šadr-i ḫal, or Šadr-i Šudur).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the Šadrs. The land specified in the farmašin of a holder

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1 Regarding the turning out of Altunghā and Madad-i maṣūsh holders, vide Elliot's Glossary, under Altunghā, p. 18.
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 Ê şayṣ and provincial *Sadrs*. Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated inquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers. The religious views of the emperor (*vide* p. 176) and the hatred which he showed to the Ê Ulami, 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 Gumbroon. After the fall of *Saḍhul-Nabī*—a man whom Akbar used once to honour by holding the slippers before his feet—Sultán Khwāja, a member of the *Divine Faith* (*vide* p. 214), was appointed as *Sadr*; and the *Sadrs* after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Bādā,oni to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar's *Sadrs*:

1. Shaykh Gada, a Shi'ah, appointed at the recommendation of Bayram Khán, till 968.
2. Khwāja Muhammad Sālih, till 971.
4. Sultán Khwāja, till his death in 993.
5. Amir Fathu l'lhā of Shirāz; till 997.
6. Šadr Jahān, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abū l-Fażl also mentions a *Sadr* Mawlānā *Abdu l-Baqī*; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Bada,oni.

*Page 29.* Shaykh Gada, cancelled the *Mudād* mašālah lands, and took away the legacies of the Khāṇzādas (Afghāna) and gave a Suyārghāl 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 *jarb* of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaykh an *Alambakhah* (one who gives away a world).

*Page 52.* After Shaykh Gada, Khājāgī Muhammad Sālih was, in 968, appointed Šadr; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as *mudād* mašālah, because he was dependent on the Diwāns.

*Page 71.* In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971. Shaykh *Abdi n-Nabī* was made Šadr. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muzaffar Khān, at that time Vazir and Vakil. But soon after, the Shaykh acquired

1. *Aṣqāf.* The text of Bada,oni has wrongly *awqāf.* For *bār* read *bārah.*
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 Hindustan in one scale, and those of the Shaykh 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 Agimans of the whole empire should not be let off by the krosis of each Pergana, unless they brought the farmans in which their grants, subsistence allowances and pensions were described, to the Sadr for inspection and verification. For this reason, a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts 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 Abdur-Rasul, the Shaykh's head man, or make presents to his farrāšes, darbāns (porters), suces (groom), and miftars (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 Agimans, 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 Shaykh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his massād (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaykh 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 Hidāya (a book on law) and other college books 100 Bighas, more or less; and though such a man might have been for a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaykh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he gave primitive lands as marks of personal favour. Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation. . . . At no time had a Sadr for so long a time exercised more tyrannical powers.

The fate of Abdur-Rasul Nabi 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 982.

1 Badā, anī says that even in the State hall when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spurt water on the grandees standing near him.
2 For basisdīūl in the text (p. 298) one MS. of Badāni reads masculinity ha-inserted as ḍīmād mīṭād.
The next Sadr was Sultân Khwaja. Matters relating to suyûrghâls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Islam, and the new sadr, who had just returned from Makkah,¹ become a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty inquired personally into all grants (vide p. 199, second para.). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Bâdû onî, who had managed to get 1,000 bighas, at first to the great disgust of Qâbdû 'n-Nabî, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fathu Ilâh of Shîrâz (vide p. 34) was appointed Sadr. As the Suwûrghâl duties, and with them the dignity of the Sadr, had dwindled down to nothing, Fathu Ilâh, though Sadr, could be spared for missions to the Dakhin, Bad., p. 343.

His Shîrâz servant Kamâl officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Ayima-dârs,² who had a few spots here and there; for the dignity of the Sadr had approached its kamâl (perfection). Fathu Ilâh had not even the power of conferring five bighas; in fact he was an imaginary Sadr, 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 Ayima-dârs, nor to farmers. However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the Sadr, though of the office of the Sadr the name only is left.

Page 368. Fathu Ilâh [the Sadr 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 Ayima-dâr was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Pargana of Basâwar [which was his jagir] and said "My collectors have this much collected from the Ayima-dârs as a kistiyat (i.e., because the collectors thought the Suyûrghâl holders had more than sufficient to live upon)". But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next Sadr, Sadr Jâhan, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed Sadr immediately after the death of Fathu Ilâh, Bâdû onî continues calling him Mufî-yi manâlik-i mahruza, the Mufî of

1 The same happened afterwards to Mirod Sâz Koka. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned as disappointed and "forsworn" from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Islam. There is a proverb current in the East, Aikh-shayyâr û l-barawanây, "The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madinah."² Mustâqir: a pun reminding of masâq (just part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and masâq (part act. IV), one who confers lands. Observe that Bâdû onî uses the word sâq not only in the plural sense of ayima-dârs, but as an equivalent of those who hold a Suyûrghâl.

Regarding the punishments which grouping Sadrs were subject to, vide Elliot's Index, p. 253, note, of which, however, the first para. ought to be expunged as unhistorical.
the empire, which had been his title before. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the Šadēship. Šadr Jahān continued to serve under Jahāngīr.

A great portion of the Suyūrghal lands is specified by Abū 'l-Faḍl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

\[ \text{A}\text{\textsuperscript{35}}\text{in 20.} \]

ON THE CARRIAGES, ETC., 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.\textsuperscript{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 bâhals; 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.

\[ \text{A}\text{\textsuperscript{35}}\text{in 21.} \]

THE TEN SERS TAX (DAHSE\textsuperscript{2}RĪ).

His Majesty takes from each bâgha of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty. Store-houses have been constructed in every district. They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bâzârs. 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\textsuperscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{1} This was, according to Nīkān's Tahsīl, an invention of Fath-īdī of Shirdā (vide p. 38, note). Nīkān 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 cleansed at once twelve barrels." The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abū 'l-Faḍl to Akbar; vide Book I, A\textsuperscript{35} in 38, p. 122.

\textsuperscript{2} Regarding English carriages (rolk-i angvat) brought to India under Jahāngīr, vide Tunuk, pp. 167, 168.

\textsuperscript{3} Vide pp. 210 and 211.
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 Dárogáhs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

*In 22.

**ON FEASTS.**

His Majesty inquires 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 Jamahêds, and the festivals of the Pârsî 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 (Farwardîn). 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 Farwardîn, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the Šuhrâf. Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pârsîs, 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 Farwardîn; 3rd Urdâ dibîhîh; 6th Khûrdâd; 13th Tîr; 7th Amurdâd; 4th Shahrîvar; 10th Mîhr; 19th Abân; 9th Êzîr; 8th, 15th, 23rd Day; 2nd, Bahman; 5th Ijâfandîrîn. 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 *pîhr* the *nagîrûs* (vide p. 51, 1, 1) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights; on the second for one night, and the joy is general.

I have given a few particulars in the first book (*in 18*).

*In 23.

**THE KHUSHROZ OR DAY OF FANCY BÂZÂRS.**

On the third feast-day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assembly for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things

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1. Badí'uddîn generally calls this day *Nawzâr-e Jâšîli*; vide p. 183, note 2.
2. Thus *Abân* was the name of the eighth month (October–November); but the tenth day also of every month had the same name.
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 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 Ḫusnahrūz, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.

After the fancy bāzārs for women, bāzārs 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. Bāzār 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 bāzār 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

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.

¹ Regarding these fancy bāzārs, vide above Badjouli's remarks on p. 213, 1. 4.
Marriage between near relations His Majesty thinks highly improper. He says: "The fact that, in ancient times (1) even, a girl was not given to her twin brother(1) ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted 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 inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of Ṭūṣi-begi, or masters of marriages. In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mansabdars commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Muhrz; 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 is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 R., and common people 1 dām. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

Regulations Regarding Education.

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may

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1. "The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kōtswal, and were stared at by the kōtswal'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 kōtswal, and the khānā-qi kōtswal (1), and their other low assistants outside." Bād. II, p. 301. Vide also Third Book.

2. Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copybooks (qīqās).
be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practiced 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 that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practiced 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 tabiṣṭi, riṣīṇ, and ḫāh, sciences1 and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayākaran, Nīvā, 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 luster over Madrasa.


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

1 This is the three-fold division of sciences. Ḫāh, or divine, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. Religion sciences treat of quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics, Tabīṣṭi sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences jabeṣṭi, instead of tabiṣṭi.
Majesty's empire ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and Thathah (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 the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Hāhābās and Fāhīr, 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 Malibāh (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 Nākhudā, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of Nākhudā. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The Muṣallim, or Captain. He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers. 3. The Tamālī, or chief of the khalāš, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen's language, are called khalāşīs or khārweas. 4. The Nākhudā-khashob. 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 Muṣallim. 6. The Bhaṇḍārī has the charge of the stores. 7. The Karrānī is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The Sukkāṅjī, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the Muṣallim. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The Panjārī looks out from

[1 Tamālī or tamīlī, H.—P.]
[2 This word is nowadays pronounced Kirānī, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.
[3 There is a modern Anglo-Indian word used in Calcutta, "sea-cunny," derived from sukkānī.—P.]
the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land or a ship, or a coming storm, etc. 10. The Gomes belongs to the class of Khudish. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The Top-undat, or gunner, is required in naval fights; the number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The Khareua or common sailors. They set and furl the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set free the anchor when it sticks fast. The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or kush, as seamen call it. In the harbour of Sältgard (Hüli) a Nakhudah gets 400 R.; besides he is allowed four malik, 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 malik. The Mucollim gets 200 R. and two malik; the Tandil, 120 R.; the Karrani, 50 R. and one malik; the Nakhudah Khushkab, 30 R.; the Surhant, 25 R.; the Sukkangir, Panjarí, and Bhandari, each 15 R.; each Khareua or common sailor, 40 R., and his daily food in addition; the Degundat, or gunner, 12 R.

In Kamthiyat (Cambay), a Nakhudah gets 800 R., and the other men in the same proportion.

In Lahari, a nakhudah gets 300 R., and the rest in proportion.

In Achni 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 Dahuasa, 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 month.

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 lock 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 1,000 sams, 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 ¼ d., which includes the toll due by the river. 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.

A* in 27.

ON 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 inquirers 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 inquire, 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 Sayürghäi lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shows himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active Qarûsâls [men employed by the Mir Shikâr,¹ or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting

¹ Mir Shikâr in India is now applied to any assistant falconer, bird-catcher, etc., etc.—P.]
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 Tānak stands ready for service, and about a kos and one-half behind them stand some of the Khidmatīgga (p. 252) and other servants of His Majesty. The Khidmatīgga 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 blades of grass covered with glue.¹ 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

¹ Shīlām, probably bird-line made from the exhalations from slits made in the bark of the kāy (banyan) or the pāpal tree.—P.
stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him. Or they take 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 catch the tiger on its horns, and toss it violently upwards, so that it dies. It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger. One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo.

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bāri. His Majesty got on the elephant Nāhir Khān, and went into the jungle. The brute was stirred up; and striking its claws into the forehead of the huge animal, it pulled its head close down 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 Toda. 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 qamartha 1 chase, a large tiger was stirred up. The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head and killed it.

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man. All who witnessed it despaired of his life. His Majesty shot the tiger through the body and released the unfortunate man.

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mathurā. Shujāyat Khān (vide A* in 30, No. 51), who had advanced very far, got suddenly timid. His Majesty remained standing where he was, and looked furiously at the tiger. The brute cowered 2 down before that divine glance, and turned right about trembling all over. In a short time it was killed.

The feats of His Majesty are too numerous to be imagined; much less can a Hindustānī, as I am, describe them in a dignified style.

He slays lions, 3 but would not hurt an ant.

He girds himself for the fray; but the lion 4 drops his claws from fear.

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1 Qamartha is a chase for which drivers are employed. [The game is apparently enclosed in a living ring.—P.]

2 This is one of Akbar's miracles.

3 Skr. tiger.—P.

4 These two verses are taken from Fayyāl's Nat Danas: vide p. 113, note 1.
2. Elephant-catching.

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. *Kheda.* 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 pipes, the noise of which makes the elephants quite frightened. They commence to rush about, till from their heaviness and exertion 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 kheda.* 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. *Gāḍ.* 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, 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. *Bār.* 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

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1. Hence our elephant *khōda*.
2. For *gāḍ* or *gāḍ* I, a pit !—P.]
admits of remarkable finesse. In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty. A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open. At it several female elephants are stationed. From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females. The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow. They are now caught as shown above.⁵

3. **Leopard**¹ 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 the trunk. Round about the tree they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindi अंखबार.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called ओटा. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet or legs, 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 ग़रज deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

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 [Jahānār], 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 noses, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the shāhīyak caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gujarat] 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." *Itpālākāna*, p. 112.

² *Pā., the chill or hunting-leopard.—P.*
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 Āgra, especially in the districts of Bārī, Simāwāli, Alāpur, Sunāmān, Bhāṭundā, Bhāṭundūr, Pāran in the Pānīb, Fāthpur Jhīnjhānu, Nāgor, Mīrath, Jodhpūr, Jaisalmīr, Amrānāyīn; 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 oftentravel 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 hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser.

In former times people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained in an excellent manner in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty’s knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.¹

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the khaḍa leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

The Food Allowed to Leopards. The Wages of the Keepers.

First class leopards get 5 s. of meat every day; second class, 4½ s.; third class, 4 s.; fourth class, 3½ s.; fifth class, 3¼ s.; sixth class, 3½ s.;

¹ Two more miracles of Akbar’s.
seventh class, 3 s.; eighth class, 2½ s. The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed, 1 double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four sets of butter and one-tenth of a scr of brimstone are given as muintent, 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 mansum; 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 satlde cloths, 2 chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and Gushkïst 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 Mišî or Taraf (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows. One thousand 4 leopards are kept in His Majesty’s park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are khaṣa; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (miḥaffa) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for 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 Samud-mānīk; he is carried on a chau-fal, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants,

1 According to the order mentioned on p. 209, 2nd para.
2 Jul, a covering for any animal.—P.
3 In my text edition, p. 208, l. 8. تک. This should perhaps be مک. or Gushkïst, Gushkï in Arabic Jashqia, being a town in Irâq, famous for its carpets.
4 Among the curious events which happened during the present [Jahângîr’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 9,000 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.” - Jâmâ'înâma, p. 79.
fully equipped, run at his side; the _sappura_ (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 _chaun-dol_ 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 along 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.¹ The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. _Chapargati_. The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer² was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws. 2. _Rigmai_. The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer³ 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 3. _Muhārī_. The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer, when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language 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 _chatrmandal_. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place as if it was a _qamarpha_ hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shown by His Majesty, a deer² made friendship

¹ The translation of this passage is doubtful.—P.
² Aka, gazelle.—P.
³
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, 1 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 blindfolded, 2 except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But nowadays they are kept without covers for their heads. The grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty khāsa leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his Dorīya 3 gets five rupees from his equals. The grandee in charge of the khāsa leopards, Sayyid Ahmad of Bārha, 4 gets one muhr from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a grandee lays before His Majesty twenty peer of deer horns, 5 he takes an Ashrafi from each of his equals. So also do the Tarsīdārs and Qārūnvals 6 bet; in fact every one shows his zeal in trying to get as many deer 7 as possible. The skins of the deer 8 are often given to poor people as part of money presents.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer 9 belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays. 7

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1. Āhā, gazelle.—P.1
2. i.e. hooded.—P.1
3. The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.
4. He was a Dūhārī; vide A. in 30, No. 91.
5. Akbar required the horns of deer.
6. In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Agra to Ajmir. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (darbā) of Muḥī-All Chishtī at Ajmir; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every inn a tower (masīra), 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 sulā sakhā contain the Tārīkh (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and samūl for travellers instead.” *Bādā, mast.*, ii, p. 173. Vide also Elliot's Index, p. 243, note.
7. Tarsīdārs, the men in charge of a tarsīf, which word Ahbār-Farīd above used in the same sense as said, i.e. set. Tarsīfār means also a Zamindār. A Qārūnval is a driver.
8. It was at this time (1627 a. u. or a. d. 1618) that Shāhāzāda Shujā, son of Shāh Jahān, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the imminence in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a favour. 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
The Siyāh-gosh.  

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 Kâbul, especially from the Hazâra district (north of Rawûl Pindî). 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. Khās dogs get daily 2 s. of meat; others get 1½ s. There is one keeper for every two Tāzî (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 d. per mensem.

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

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 bear an animal with my own hand. Through God’s mercy, the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed. When I was in the womb of my mother, it happened one day that I did not quicken as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father [Ahlâ]. In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view to 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.” Tâzî-i Jahângîrî, p. 350.

Jahângîr’s self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahângîr was fifty years of age.

1 Or book er, the Persian translation of the Turkish qes-qaq, whence our Felix caracal.

2 [The Red Lynx of India, Persia, and Arabia. It is trained to take, besides the quarry mentioned, partridges, pigeons, cats, and Egyptian vultures, etc.—P.]

3 I do not think, a wrong term.—P.

4 This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered unclean animals by Mohammedans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Nowadays we hear occasionally names, as hulâ, bokhâ; or English names as fenn (Fanny), hulby (hull dog), etc.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahângîr once said to Râo. “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 dogsges as hunt in your land.” Regarding European dogs in India, see also Tâzî, p. 198, l. 3, from below.

5 Tâzî is the Arab greyhound.—P.

6 For a note on hunting Dogs and Cheeta see J.L. and P.R., As. Soc. Beng., 1907.—P.

7 Aâr, gazelle.—P.

8 Bim, probably a noise of thick gut.—P.
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.

Ṣultān Firūz-i Khilji 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 nowadays 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 Hāhābād, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjāb, 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 nowadays 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 (?).

Ghansūhāsra 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.

Thañgi. The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer; and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes. The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him. At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it.

Baukāra. 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.

Dadāna. Two good shots, dressed in green, place themselves as before, and have the deer driven towards themselves. Thus manner of hunting yields much amusement, as the deer get quite perplexed.

Ajāra. 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 show 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 the 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.

Thañgi. The hunter ... walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with pāṇa juice, and the man himself acts as if he were wounded. Wild animals and others will soon gather round him, waiting for his death; but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction.

[1] Wākāna. The concave side towards him ?—P.]
[2] The text has der śālu-qi sī, in the hollow of a saddle (?).
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 in their jungle 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 bāzu,1 shālti,2 shangūr,3 and burkot4 falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the bāsha,5 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 inquirers 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 moult ing is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the khīsa falcons (bāzu) which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of jurras1 is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the bāshas,6 the shāhinā,7 the khalas,8 the chappak9 bāshas, the bhāris, the young bhāris,10 the shikaras,11

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1. Bāzu, the female goshawk, the jurras being the male.—P.
2. Shālti, fem., the male being the shālti-chak, is in India the Shahin Falcon, but in Persia the Peregrine is included in this term. Vide Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1907.—P.
3. The Shangūr was a Jer falcon, of which an occasional specimen found its way to India. It is doubtful whether it ever lived in India long enough to be trained. Vide Note in Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Beng., vol. iii, No. 2, 1907.—P.
4. Burkot, burqad, etc., was the Golden Eagle.—P.
5. Bāsha is the female of the Common English Sparrow-hawk, the male being called male.—P.
6. Shāha, word not traceable; evidently the Hindi name of some hawk.—P.
7. Chappak is the Hindi name of the male of the Shikara or Indian Sparrow-hawk. The dictionaries make the former term masculine, and the latter feminine, but Akbar being a falconer knew better.—P.
8. Bāri is the female Peregrine, and bāri-bakcha the tiercel or male, which is a third smaller; bakcha does not mean “young”.—P.
the chappak shikaras, the turmulli, the rehā; the besara, the dhotis, the charga, the charghelā, the logars, and the jhagars, (which His Majesty calls the chappak kind of the logar). The molalin also are inspected—the molalin is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the shaḥin; 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. Odkopāpars also are brought from Kashmir. This bird has a bluish (sala) 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 bodna, and the sārū 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 Mansandārs, Ayādis, and other soldiers are employed. The footmen are mostly Kashmiris or Hindūstānis. 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, 6¼ R.; third, 5¼ R. Third class, first grade, 5¼ R.; second, 5 R.; third, 4¼ R. First class of the latter (Hindūstānī), first grade, 5 R.; second, 4½ R.; third, 4¾ R. Second class, first grade, 4½ R.; second, 4 R.; third, 3¼ R. Third class, first grade, 3½ R.; second, 3¾ 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 bāz falcon.

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[1] Turmulli or vulg. turnelli, is the Red-headed Merlin.—P.
[2] Rehā, the common English Merlin.—P.
[3] The Besara Sparrow-hawk male and female, sexes transposed in the dictionaries.—P.
[4] Charga or charā is the female, and charghār the male of V. Sakar of Jhelum.—P.
[5] Logar is the female, and jhagare the male of V. Jugger.—P.
[7] Molalin, obviously the Falconet. Apparently it was occasionally trained to slight on a crane's head, the startled quarry being then gathered by hand.—P.
[8] Kulang, the common Crane (in the Panjab ḍāsh), the slender of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.
[9] Kulang nē ṣi ṣi ni samitā, "brings down a crane."—P.
[10] The name of this bird is doubtful. It is not to be found among the names of Kashmiri birds given in the Ispānānā, p. 139.
[12] Bodna for bodhāna, the common Quail, which is used for fighting.—P.
[13] Sārū, the common Mains.—P.
[14] Qish-dhiana, means for hawks.—P.
gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 dāms; the jūra, 6 d.; the bāhri, lāchīn, and khela, 5 d.; the bāsha, 3 d.; the chappak bāsha, shikara, chappak shikara, besra, dhosī, etc., 2 d. Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the bāz, jūra, and bāhri, get each seven; the lāchīn, five; the bāsha, three; others, two. Charghs and lugars get at the same time meat. Shunqārs, shāhbāzes, būrkats, 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, khāna-kūrī birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, chāz birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, Tuīnāk birds; they have moulted before they were captured. First class, a superior bāz costs 12 muhrs; 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.

Jūras. First class, 8, 5, 2, 1 M. Second class, 6, 4, 1½, 1 M., 5 R.

Bāshas. First class, 3, 2, 1½ M., 4 R. Second class, 2, 1 M., 5 R.

Shāhins of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 M.

Bāhrīs, 2, 1½, 1 M. Young Bāhrīs 2 a little less.

Khelas, 1½, 1, ½ M.

Charghs, 2½ R., 2, 1½ R.

Chappak bāshas, 1 R.; ½, ½ R.

Shikaras, 1½ R., 1, ½ R.

Besras, 2 R., 1½, 1 R.

Chappak shikaras, lugars, jhagars, turmanis, rekis, 1 R., ½, ½ R. Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the Mîr Shikārs (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 down the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited and to the size of the quarry. 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 peshkash (tribute), the Quashbegi (Superintendent of the Aviary) gets for every bāz 1½ R., and the accountant ½ R. For jurras, the Quashbegi gets 1 R.; the accountant, ½ R.; for bāshas, the former receives ½ R.; the latter, ¼ R.; for every böchina, chagh, churyhela, kheila, bahri-bachcha, the former gets ¼ R.; the latter ¼ R.; for every chhoppak, bāsha, dhati, etc., the former receives ¼ R., the other ¼ R. (sūki).

The minimum number of bāz and shāhin falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of jurras, thirty; of bāshas, one hundred; of bahri, charykas, twenty; of lagars, and shikuras, ten.

Waterfowl.

Hunting waterfowl affords much amusement. A rather curious way of catching them is the following. They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning and fly away.

In Kashmir they teach bāz falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter. Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes].

Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds.

Durrāt catching. 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 snare.

Bednas. The hunter makes a claypot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl's cry. The bednas, 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.

Lagars. They resemble charykas; in body they are as large jurras. 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 prey, and when they get entangled in the nets, they commence to fight, and fall to the ground.

*Ghoughá,*  They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a *ghoughá,* 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 *ghoughá* 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 enemy.

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.

**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.

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[1] *Dîr:* a noise. The noises are attached to the claws. A hawk so prepared is called in the Panjab, a *birah* (serial). For Plate and description, vide *Jours. As. Soc. Bânp.* vol. iii. 1867.—P.

[2] *Ghoughá:* probably the Large Grey Babbler or *sí bábi,* 435 of Jordan.—P.

[3] *Ba-sháktí:* *Cannubul* dîl rendering means "catch their prey."—P.

[4] The Historian may thank Abú 'l-Faqil for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the *A'mín,* Abú 'l-Faqil tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as "higher motives" were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in frog and spider fights, Abú 'l-Faqil 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.
The game of Chaugān (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 maydān (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 show 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 ghārī (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 chaugān stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the šāt. 2 This manner is called in Hindi rol. The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the chaugān stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called bela, 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 the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body; or the rider may spit 3 it when the ball is in front of the horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather 4 of the horse, and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shows in the various

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1 There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game. Bihār says it is played all over Tibet. In the East of India the people of Munsipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey players. Vité Vigné's Travels in Cashmir, p. 288.

Sayyid i ̇Abd-illah Khan, son of Mīr Khwānze, was Akbar's chivalist, or Superintendent of the game of chaugān; vide Bed. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, after 1570, Gharwal, which lies a journey from Agra, was the favourite spot for chaugān playing. Bed. II, p. 70. [Chaugān, polo.—P.]

2 The pillars which mark the end of the playground.

3 Meaning not clear.—P.
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 bāl, they beat the nagaqāna, 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 bāl wine 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 burīl (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 chaugān in dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players. The balls which are used at night, are set on fire. For this purpose, palās 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 chaugān 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.

*Ishqāzī* (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon-flying *išqāzī* (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 one 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 Turān; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

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 Khān-i

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1 "In the beginning of 974 (July, 1566), the emperor returned (from Jum摒or) to Āgra, and passed his time in amusements. He went to Nāgarkūn, a new town which he had built near Āgra, and enjoyed the chaugān game, dog-hunting, and pigeon-flying. He also invented a fire ball with which he could play at chaugān during dark nights." Bad. II, p. 48.

The town of Nāgarkūn was subsequently deserted.
Asam Kokaltash (Aziz, 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 Mohamm. From it descended several excellent pigeons as Aziki (the weeper), Parizud (the fairy), Aimaa (the diamond), and Shahi Pagri (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of Umar Shaykh Mirza (father of Buhar), Sultan Husayn Mirza (see p. 107, note 6) into oblivion. Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Iran and Turan, 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 Mihrin (September–October), and separate in Farvardin (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 falah, 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 hamas (air), i.e., forty flights. At this period the trainers pay no regard to what is called charha and biz (vide below). Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (hawibi等于d). After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong. They are then again let off. This is the best time
for showing their skill. As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the bāzi and the charakh, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. Charakh 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 kitf (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. Bāzi is the same as musallaq zadan (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. kalā). Some thought that the two wings (kitf) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a musallaq; but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the bāzi and charakh, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called galāla, 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 khāsa pigeon sorts will perform fifteen charakhs and seventy bāzis, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but nowadays 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 of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (kahār). 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 khāsa. 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 the 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 marks 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

[1] Bu-kofar-i pī. Can this mean the angle made by the feet?—P.
[2] Dā charakh bāli u pōkīn.—P.]
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 Mohana first pass in review; the young ones of these pigeons having been removed from them, the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four ziri pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hájí 5 All, of Samarqand, which coupled with an 5Udzi hén, 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 brought.

The Colours of Khāṣa Pigeons.

Maqasi (flea-bitten); ziri (steel-blue); umri (a colour between ziri and amri); chini (porcelain blue); nofti (grey like naptha); shafta (violet); mukmuk (dark grey, like powder of antimony); kish (dark brown, like currant); halwa+i (light-brown, like halwa sweets); sandali (light-brown, like sandalwood); jigar (brown); nabati (green); dagh (bluish-white, like sour milk); wushki (of the same colour as the gum called wushki); fultani (chilpuri); kura+i (brown, like a new earthen pot); nilafar (bluish-white); azraq (a colour between yellow and brown); His Majesty applies this name in this sense; ushki (black brown); shafta (greenish); gul-i gaz coloured (?), yellow; kaghazi (yellownish, like native paper); sah (grey like a crow); oghi (a colour between white and brown); mukrani (a dirty black); khizri (a colour between greenish and 5Udzi); ibi (water coloured); 2 surmay (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between surma, and magasi).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as gulbar (whose head resembles a flower); damghasa (stumptail); yakrang (of one colour); halv silica-sufid (white throat); paraufid (white wing); kalta (big head); ghazhaskh (wild chick); māgh 3 (name of an aquatic bird); bāharī (1); ālpar (red wing); kalta par (short wing); māhdūm 4 (mountail);

1 Kishkash, Sultana raisins.—P.
2 Magh, a cormorant.—P.
3 All, blue.—P.
4 Mūdūm, with white on the tail.—P.
tawāldār (ring-bearer); nuwārid-sar (pearl head); mashqala-dum (torch-tail); etc.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours. His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as bukhur (7), qarāpīk (with black eyelids); abārī; palumghāri; vections.

There are also many pigeons which do not perform charkhā and bāzīs, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the Ko khá pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The Baghā, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning to wake up people. 3. The Ėqan, which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The Ėtan. 9 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 Kharnī. 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 down instantly to join her. This is very remarkable. Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one; some close both, or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying. 6. The Raj pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The Nishāwar 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 parpā (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (7) 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 shirāzī, shāstari, kūshāni, jogiya, reza-dahān, magasi, and qumrī. 4 Wild pigeons are called gola. 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 field. The grain is collected and given as food to other pigeons.

People say that pigeons will but rarely live above thirty years.

[1] Can this be for Bukhā, a species of green pigeon which has a call like the human voice, said Jordan No. 778.—P.] 7
[2] Lqāq, bāz, etc., the fantail pigeon.—P.] 9
[3] Ėtān, the ground-tumbler.—P.] 4
[4] Qumrī, a white dove.—P.]
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, dāl¹, mūng dāl² (millet), qarar, ladhara, juvūr (vide p. 66). 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 Qulšt Ali of Bukhāra, Masti of Samarkand, Mullāzāda, Pūr-i Mullā Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khān Chela, Khwāja Sandal Chela, Mūmin of Harat, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf of Bukhāra, Ḥāji Qasim of Balkh, Ḥabīb of Shahrabuz, Sikandar Chela, Māltū, Maqṣūd of Samarkand, Khwāja Phul, Chela Hirānand.

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 R. to 48 R. per mensem.

The game of Chawpar.

From times of old, the people of Hindūstān 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 shown in Pl. XVII, Fig. 17. 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 pukhla (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 rasīda, or arrived.

When a player is pukhla or rasīda, he may commence to play from

¹ Pulse of mūng. — P.]

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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, etc. A throw consisting of a six, a five, and a one, is called khun (raw); and in this case, two pieces, provided they are together on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too. Formerly the custom was that when a piece had come to the last row, and . . . His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as qayim, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are pukhta, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled to double the amount of the bet. Should any of the players leave the game for some reason he may appoint anyone to play for him; but he will have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute. Of all winnings, the substitute is entitled to two per cent; if a player loses a bet, his substitute has to pay one per cent. If a player drops one of his pieces, or any of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee. But a fine of a muhur is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces over too many fields, or tries to get two throws.

Formerly many grandees took part in this game; there were often as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months. If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of wine.

Superficially considered, all this is mere play; but His Majesty has higher aims; he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness.

The game of Chandal Mandal.

This game was invented by His Majesty. The figure, or board, which is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form

¹ The MSS. have a Khunagi hasthum pugga shand, hauyım-i khan shadka shuda yaard, which words are not clear to me.
round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row; vide Pl. XVII, Fig. 18. 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 Chamapar, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways; one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself. Second way, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has 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 side of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who throw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points to 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 vās-d-vās, 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 pukhla, 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.

Cards.

This is a well-known game. His Majesty has made some alternations 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, Ashwacapatī, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Dihli, with the umbrella (chatr), the standard (salam), and other imperial ensigns. The second highest card of the same suit represents a vazīr on horseback; and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten. 2nd, Gajpatī, the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as is the case with the rulers of Bijāpūr. The other eleven cards represent, as before, the vazīr, and elephants from ten to one. 3rd, Narpatī, 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 vazīr sits on a footstool (sandalī), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, Gaḍpata. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazīr sits on a sandalī over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5th, Dhanpatī, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shows a
man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazir sits upon a sandali, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards show jars full of gold and silver, from one to ten. 6th, Daljati, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shows a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors in coats of mail. The vazir sits on a sandali and wears a jayba (breast armur); the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour. 7th, Narapati, the lord of the fleet. The card shows a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazir sits as usual, on a sandali, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten. 8th, Tipati, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shows a woman as vazir on a sandali, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. 9th, Surapati, the king of the divinities (devo) also called Iulur, on a throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10th, Asrapati, the lord of genii (deo). The card represents Sulayman, son of Dastud, on the throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the other ten cards have genii. 11th, Banapati, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (sher) with some other animals. The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (polang) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12th, Ahripati, the king of snakes. The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazir is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten.

The first six of these twelve suits are called biashbar (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 sandali, 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 mehter, the piece-cutter (mutallas-sarz), the weighman, the comer, the muhr counter, the buikhi (writer) of dhan pieces (vide p. 31, No. 17), the buikhi of mon pieces (vide p. 31, No. 20), the dealer, the qurgar (vide p. 24, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects farmans, grants, and the leaves of the daftar (vide p. 270); the vazir sits on a sandali with the daftar before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the mistar maker (vide p. 55, note 1), the clerk who makes the entries in the daftar, the illuminator (munawvar), the naqqash (who ornaments the pages), the jadwale-kash (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the farmans
writer, the muqallid (bookbinder), the rangrez *(who stains the paper with different colours). The Pādishāh-i qamāsh also, or king of manufacturers, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs. The vazir sits near him on a sandali, inquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the Pādishāh-i Chang, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music; the vazir sits before him, inquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards. Next, the Pādishāh-i zar-i safal, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazir sits on a sandali, and makes inquiries regarding donations. On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint. Then comes the Pādishāh-i Shāmasher, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazir sits upon a sandali, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, etc. After him comes the Pādishāh-i Tāj, or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the sandali upon which the vazir sits, is the last of the insignia. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, etc. Lastly, the Pādishāh-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 of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, etc.

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.

In 30.

THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE.

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their

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1 This is the Hindustani corruption of the Persian rang-rez. Rang-rez is the common word in modern Persian. — F.

2 Tāj 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 diadems does not express the meaning of Tāj either. It apparently is also used of a crown as well as the cap worn by dervishes — F.

3 From the fact that Abū Ḥasan Fa'īl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khasraw (vide No. 4) who was born in 968, but not Prince Parwiz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 256, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993, and Abū Ḥasan Fa'īl may have afterward added Khasraw's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parwiz and Shāhjâlih, both of whom were born before the 4th viz was completed.

Again, Mirzâ Shâhrukh (No. 7) and Mirzâ Muqaffar Huayn (No. 8) are mentioned as
qualities; and to say something of their experience. But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise; in fact, it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy, and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of. I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.
1. Shāhzāda Sultan Salim, eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.
2. Shāhzāda Sultan Murād, second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.
3. Shāhzāda Sultan Dānyāl, third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had five sons:
1. Hasan [twins, born 3rd Rabī’ 1, 972. They only lived one month.]
2. Husayn
3. Sultan Salim [Jahangir].
4. Sultan Murād.
5. Sultan Dānyāl.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(a) Shāhzāda Khānum, born three months after Salim, in 977. (b) Shukr *‘in-Nisā Bégum, who in 1001 was married to Mirzā Shahrūkh (No. 7, below, p. 326); and (c) Arūm Bānā Bégum; both born after Sultan Dānyāl. Regarding the death of the last Begum, vide Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar’s wives the following are mentioned 1:—1. Sultan Rughayyih Bégum (a daughter of Mirzā Hindāl), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumāda I, 1035 (Tuzuk, p. 401). She was Akbar’s first wife (zan-i kalūn), but had no child by him. She tended Shāhjahān. Nūr Jahan (Jahangir’s wife), also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Aftan. 2. Sultan Salima Bégum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (J) Bégum 2 (a daughter of Bābar).

Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, i.e., a short time before the Akbar in was completed.

The biographical notices which I have given after the names of the more illustrious grandees are chiefly taken from a MS. copy of the Maqāla-i Umara (No. 37 of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, the Tuzuk-i Akbar, Badshahi, and the Akhbar-i Lari. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a genealogical table of the House of Timur, and would refer the reader to a more detailed article on the Chronology of Timur and his Descendants published by me in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for August, 1869.

1 Vide Additional notes.
2 Regarding her, vide Jour. As. Soc. Bengal for 1869, p. 156, note.
and Mirzā Nur ad-Dīn Muḥammad. Humāyūn had destined her for Bayārān Khaṅ, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign. After the death of Bayārān, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 9th Zīqādā, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name Makhī f (concealed), and must not be confounded with Zeb b. Nisāl (a daughter of Awarangzib's) who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Rāja Bihārī Mal and sister of Rāja Bhagavān Dās. Akbar married her in 968, at Sāābhar, 4. The beautiful wife of Abd al-Wāsī, married in 970 (vide Bad. II, 61). 5. Bibi Dawlat Shād, mother of (b) and (c); vide Tuzuk, p. 16. 6. A daughter of Abd al-Illāh Khān Mūghul (964). 7. A daughter of Mirān Mūharāk Shāh of Khandes; vide p. 13, note 1.

Sūltān Salīm. Title as Emperor, Jāhāngīr. Title after death, Jannahmākān. Born at Fathpur Sikri, on Wednesday, 17th Rabi' I, 997, or 18th Shahrīwar of the 15th year of Akbar's Era. He was called Salīm because he was born in the house of Shāykh Salīm-i Chishti. Akbar used to call him Shāykhā Salīb (vide Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, vide below, No. 4. Jāhāngīr died on the 28th Šafar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Rājor on the Kashmir frontier. Vide my article on Jāhāngīr in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Sultān Murād. Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006, at Jahnāpur in Bābur (Tuzuk, p. 15; Akbariāma II, p. 443; Khāfi Khān, p. 212). He was nicknamed Pahārī (Bad. II, 378). He was sahārang (of a livid complexion), thin, and tall (Tuzuk). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parviz, Jāhāngīr's son (Tuzuk, p. 38).

Sultān Dānyāl was born at Ajmīr, on the 10th Jumāda I, 979, and died of delirium tremens, a.h. 1013. Khāfi Khān, I, p. 232, says the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dānyāl in remembrance of Shāykh Dānyāl, a follower of Musīn-i Chishti, to whose tomb at Ajmīr Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dānyāl married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Quli Khān (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jānān Begum, a daughter of Mirzā abd al-Rahim Khān Khānān (Khāfi Khān, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibrāhīm al-Dīlahāsh of Bīlāpur, but he died before the marriage was consummated. He had three sons:—1. Tahmūra, who was married to Sultān Bahār Begum, a daughter of Jāhāngīr, 2. Bāyūrasanghat (bayasanghat). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand

1 Her charming Divān was lithographed at Lucknow, a.h. 1284. She was the oldest daughter of Awarangzib, and was born in a.h. 1048.

2 Sallāw i—p.
Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusrav. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bułaqi Begum, was married to Mirzā Wāli (Tuz., p. 272). Tahmūras and Hooshang were killed by Āsaf Khān after the death of Jahāṅgīr (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, for August, 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bāyasangahr. Vide Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindūstānī poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. Sultan Khusrav, eldest son of Prince Salīm [Jahāṅgīr].

Jahāṅgīr’s wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sultanānū Nisā Begum [Khāfī Khān, Sultan Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrav. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrav and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfī Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rāy Rāy Singh, son of Rāy Kalyan Mal of Bikānīr, married 19th Rajab 994, Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahāṅgīr’s wives. 3. A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Māldeo, married in 994. The Tuzuk (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosāvīni. She is the mother of Shāhjahan, and died in 1028 (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwāja Hasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka. She is the mother of Prince Parviz. She died 13th Tir, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rāja Keshū Dās Rāthor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīwar 998). 6 and 7. The mothers of Jahāṅdār and Shahrūyar. 8. A daughter of Ali Rāy, ruler of little Thibet (Bad., II, 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh (Tuzuk, p. 68). 10. Mihrānū Nisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afsan. On her marriage with Jahāṅgīr she received the title of Nūr Makhail, and was later called Nūr Jahan (Tuz., p. 156). Jahāṅgīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahan.

Jahāṅgīr’s children. 1. Sultan Khusrav. 2. Sultan Parviz. 3. Sultan Khurram (Shāhjahan). 4. Sultan Jahāṅdār. 5. Sultan Shahrūyar. Two daughters are mentioned: (a) Sultanānū Nisā Begum; (b) Sultan Bahār Bānū Begum. There were “several children” after Parviz; but the Tuzuk (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sultan Khusrav was born on the 24th Amurdād 995 (Tuzuk, Preface); but Khāfī Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of Azam Khān.
Koka. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, Tuzuk, p. 73. 2. Dāwar Baksh (also called Bulāqī), whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshasp.

Khusraw died on the 18th Isandiyārmuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwar Baksh was proclaimed Emperor by Āsaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr; but at an order of Shāhjahān, he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Āsaf Khān.

Sultān Parwiz, born 19th Āhān, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mirzā Rustam-i Šafawī (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (Tuz., p. 282). A daughter of Parwiz was married to Dārā Shikoh. Parwiz died of delirium tremens in 1036.

Sultān Khurram (Shāhjahān) was born at Lāhor on the 30th Rabī‘ I, 1600 A.H. Regarding his family, vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal for August, 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar’s favourite.

Sultān Jahāndār had no children. He and Sultān Shahryār were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar’s death (Tuz., Preface, p. 17). Shahryār was married, in the 16th year of Jahāngīr, to Mihr-n-Nisā, the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Sher Afsan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (Tuzuk, p. 370). The Iqbal-nāma (p. 306) calls her بسم لله. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname Nasbudan (fit for nothing). Khusraw, Parwiz, and Jahāndār died before their father.

Shahryār, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān, proclaimed himself Emperor of Lāhor a few days after the death of Jahāngīr. He was killed either at the order of Dāwar Baksh or of Āsaf Khān; vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal for August, 1869, p. 218.

5. Mirzā Sulaymān, son of Khān Mirzā, son of Sultān Mahmūd, son of Abū Sa‘īd.

6. Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of Mirzā Sulaymān (No. 5).

Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, and died at Lāhor in 997. He is generally called Wali-γi Badakhshān. As grandson of Abū Sa‘īd Mirzā, he is the sixth descendant from Timūr. Abū Sa‘īd killed Sultān Muḥammad of Badakhshān, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshān, which after his death fell to his son, Sultān Mahmūd, who had three sons, Bāyasanghar Mirzā, 5 Ali Mirzā, 6 Khān Mirzā. When Mahmūd died, Amir Khusraw

1 The MSS. spell this name جهان and يار.
2 The Mo‘alla‘ T-Usarā‘ calls the second son, Mirzā Mas‘ūd.
Khān, one of his nobles, blinded Bāyasangbar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bābar in 910. When Bābar took Qandahār, in 912, from Shāh Beg Arghūn, he sent Khān Mirzā as governor to Badakhshān. Mirzā Sulaymān is the son of this Khān Mirzā.

After the death of Khān Mirzā, Badakhshān was governed for Bābar by Prince Humāyūn, Sultān Uways (Mirzā Sulaymān’s father-in-law), Prince Hindāl, and lastly, by Mirzā Sulaymān, who held Badakhshān till 17 Jumāda II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, to Prince Kāmrān. They were released by Humāyūn in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshān. When Humāyūn had taken Kābul, he made war upon and defeated Mirzā Sulaymān who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kāmrān from Sind obliged Humāyūn to go to Kābul, he reinstated the Mirzā, who held Badakhshān till 983. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, was killed in battle.

In the eighth year when Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm’s (Akbar’s brother) mother had been killed by Shāh Abū ‘l-Mašā‘ī, Mirzā S. went to Kābul, and had Abū ‘l-Mašā‘ī hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Ḥakīm, and appointed Umed ‘Ali, a Badakhshān noble, M. M. Ḥakīm’s Vakil (970). But M. M. Ḥakīm did not go on well with Mirzā Sulaymān, who returned next year to Kābul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Ḥakīm fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirzā S., though he had taken Jalālāhād, had to return to Badakhshān. He returned to Kābul in 973, when Akbar’s troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mirzā Sulaymān’s wife was Khurrām Begum, of the Qibchāk tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muḥtaram Khānum, the widow of Prince Kāmrān. M. Sulaymān wanted to marry her; but Khurrām Begum got her married, against her will, to Mirzā Ibrāhīm, by whom she had a son, Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7). When Mirzā Ibrāhīm fell in the war with Balkh, Khurrām Begum wanted to send the Khānum to her father, Shāh Muḥammad of Kāshgār; but she refused to go. As soon as Shāhrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshāni nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaymān. This he did,

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1. The Maṭbāʿi says Khān Mirzā died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, the Tāriḥ of his birth being the word al-珺. al-珺.
2. Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar’s Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.
alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Shāhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshān which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaymān, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshān for Kābul, and crossing the Nilāb went to India (983). Khān Jahān, governor of the Panjāb, received orders to invade Badakhshān, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Mūsīm Khān had died and Mīrzā Sulaymān did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaymān then went to Ismāʿīl II of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he bad just received, he went to Muṣaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (No. 8) at Qandahār, and then to M. M. Ḥakīm at Kābul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kābul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshān, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between Tāqūn and the Hindū Kush. Soon after Muḥtaram Khānum died. Being again pressed by Shāhrukh, M. Sulaymān applied for help to Ḥabīb II Khān Uzbak, king of Tūrān, who had long wished to annex Badakhshān. He invaded and took the country in 992; Shāhrukh fled to Hundūstān, and M. Sulaymān to Kābul. As he could not recover Badakhshān, and being rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Ḥakīm, 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 Lāhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. Mīrzā Shāhrukh, son of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.

Vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukrūn Nīsā Begum, and made him governor of Mālwa, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dakhin. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his Mansūb by Jahāngīr.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Kābulī Begum, was a daughter of Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥakīm. She wanted to take his body to Madīnah, but was robbed by the Badawīs; and after handing over the body to some "scoundrels" she went to Basra, and then to Shīrāz. In 1022, Shāh ʿAbbās married her to Mīrzā Šuṭṭān ʿAlī, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Shāhrukh's Children.—1. Ḥusayn and Ḥusayn, twins. Ḥusayn fled with Khusrāw and was imprisoned by Jahāngīr. 2. Bāḍītūz-Zamān (or Mīrzā Fathūrī), "a bundle of wicked bones," murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrāt). 3. Mīrzā Shukrūn rose to honours under Shāhjahān, who called him Najābāt Khān. 4. Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān. He held
a town in Badakhshan, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mirza Sultan, a favourite 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 into disgrace, and was appointed governor of Ghazipur, where he died. 6. Mirza Mughil, who did not distinguish himself either. The Tahzib (p. 63) says that after the death of Shahrukh, Jahangir took charge of four of his sons and three of his daughters, "whom Akbar had not known." "Shahrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindi."


In 965, Shah Tahmâsp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahâr, which was given, together with Dâwar and Garmâr as far as the river Hirmand, to Sultan Husayn Mirza, his nephew. Sultan Husayn M. died in 984, when Shah Isma'il II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husayn Mirza, Muqaffar Husayn Mirza, Rustam Mirza, Abû Sa'îd Mirza, and Sanjar Mirza. The first was killed by Shah Isma'il Iran. The other four in Qandahâr had also been doomed, but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shah saved their lives. The new Shah Khudâbânda, gave Qandahâr to Muqaffar Husayn Mirza, and Dâwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mirza, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakil being Hamza Beg 'Abdallah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Muqaffar Husayn Mirza to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muqaffar had the Vakil murdering. This led to fights between Muqaffar and Mirza Rustam who, however, returned to Dâwar.

Not long after the invasion of Khurasan by the Uzbaks under Din Muhammad Sultan and Bâqî Sultan (a sister's son of 'Abdul'llah Khan of Tûran) took place, and the Qandahar territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most of the Qizilbash grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shah of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none: Mirza Rustam who had gone to Hindustan, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lahore, and kept Qandahar in anxiety; and Muqaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahar to Akbar, though 'Abdallah Khan of Tûran advised him not to join the Chaghatai kings (the Mughals of India). At that time Qarâ Beg (an old servant of Muqaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Fârâbûbegî
by Akbar) returned to Qandahār, and prevailed upon Muḥaffār’s mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahār to India.

Akbar sent Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn, Governor of Bangash, to take prompt possession of Qandahār, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muḥaffār wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khān in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of Farzand (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhāl as Jāgīr, “which is worth more than all Qandahār.”

But the ryots of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muḥaffār, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muḥaffār repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Muḥaffār 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.

Muḥaffār found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called Qandahār Mahāl, was in 1018 married to Shāhjāhān, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawāb Parhez Bānū Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bārām Mīrzā, Ḥaydar Mīrzā (who rose to dignity under Shāhjāhān, and died in 1041), and Ismā’īl Mīrzā. The Māṣūrī mentions two other sons, Alqās Mīrzā and Tāhmās Mīrzā.

Muḥaffār’s younger brothers, Mīrzā Abū Saʿīd, and Mīrzā Sanjar, died in 1006. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Fide Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mīrzā Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Da‘war was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Māhmūd, ruler of Sīstān. Muḥaffār Ḥusayn assisted him at first, but having married Malik Māhmūd’s daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lalla (guardian) Hāmza Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahār, but without result. During the invasion of the Uzbeks into Khūrāsān, he conquered the town of Farāh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Māhmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him and killed him, when Jalāl al-dīn, Māhmūd’s son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that
his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dāwar, he quickly took the town of Qalāt. Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother, he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar. Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mīrzā, and his four sons Murād, Shāhrukh, Hasan, and Ibrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a Panjkhāzārī, and gave him Multān as jāgīr, "which is more than Qandahār." His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chītor, but recalled him from Sarchind, gave him Pathān as tūyūl, and sent him, together with Āsaf Khān against Rāja Bāsū. But as they did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustom to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustom got Rāysīn as jāgīr. He then served under Prince Dānyāl in the Dakhin. In 1021, Jahāngīr appointed him Governor of Thatbāh, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghūns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahāngīr made him Shashhazārī, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against ʿAbdu llah Khān, whom Shāhjāhān, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced ʿAbdu llah to retire to Jhosi. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjāhān at 120,000 Rs. per annum, and retired to Āgra. In the sixth year, M. Rustom married his daughter to Prince Dāra Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Āgra, 72 years old.

As a poet he is known under the takhallus of Fidā-i. 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 Murād got from Jahāngīr the title of Rāṣīl Khān. He was married to a daughter of ʿAbdu l-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. Murād's son, Mīrzā Mukarram Khān, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son Mīrzā Ḥasan-i Safavī, a Hazār e panṭadī under Jahāngīr, was Governor of Kāk; died 1059. Ḥasan's son, Mīrzā Safshikān, was Fawjdār of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Safshikān's son, Sayf al-Dīn-i Safavī, accepted the title of Khān under Awdangzab.

10. Bayām Khān, the fifth in descent from Mir ʿAlī Shukr Beg Bahārīū.

Bahārīū is the name of a principal clan of the Qaraqulū Turkh. During the time of their ascendency under Qara Yūsuf, and his sons Qara Sikandar and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh, rulers of ʿIrāq-i ʿArab and Āzarbāyjān, ʿAlī Shukr Beg held Daynūr, Hamadān, and Kūrdustān, which tracts are still called
the territory of 'Ali Shukr." His son Pir 'Ali Beg stayed some time with Sultan Mahmud Mirza, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shiraz; but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amirs of Sultan Husayn Mirza. Pir 'Ali Beg's son, in the reign of Shah Isma'il-i Safawi, left Iran, settled in Badakshân, and entered the service of Amir Khusraw Shah (vide p. 324, last line) at Qanduz. He then joined, with his son Sayf 'Ali Beg, Babar's army, as Amir Khusraw had been deposed. Sayf 'Ali Beg is Bayram's father.

Bayram Khan was born at Badakshân. After the death of his father he went to Bakhsh to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humayun's army, fought in the battle of Qanawij (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Raja of Lakhnor (Sambhal). Sher Shah met Bayram in Mâlwa, and tried to win him over. But Bayram fled from Barhampur with Abû'l-Qâsim, governor of Gvâliyâr, to Gujrat. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Shah who had just returned from Gujrat. Abû'l-Qâsim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bayram, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, "I am Bayram." "No," said Abû'l-Qâsim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off." Abû'l-Qâsim was then killed, and Bayram escaped to Sultan Mahmud of Gujrat. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bayram embarked at Surat for Sindh. He joined Humayun on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Raja Maldeo, was pressed by the 'Arghuna at Jum. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khan. On Humayun's return, Bayram was sent on a mission to Prince Kamran. When Humayun marched to Kabul, he took Qandahar by force and treachery from the Qizilbashesh, and making Bayram governor of the district, he informed the Shah that he had done so as Bayram was "a faithful servant of both." Subsequently rumours regarding Bayram's duplicity reached Humayûn; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahar, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bayram. He gained the battle of Mâchhiwâr, and received Sambhal as jagir. In 963, he was appointed atâ'î (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjâb against Sikandar Khân. On Akbar's accession (2nd Rabî'u'll, 963) at Kulânûr, he was appointed Wakî and Khan Khânân, and received the title of Khan Bâbâ. On the second of Shawwâl, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mánkot, when Akbar returned to Lâhor, an imperial elephant ran against Bayram's tent, and Bayram blamed Atgah Khan
(No. 16), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Ahtag, after arrival at Lābor, went with his whole family to Bayrām, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qurʾān. In 965, Bayrām married Salīma Sulṭān Begum (p. 321; note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Bādī′s (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bayrām to the ill-treatment of Pir Muḥammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khān and his mother Māhūm Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Šīndī′ Muhammad Khān, Shāhāb-al-Din Ahmad, etc., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jagirs, and the emptiness of the Tresury, whilst Bayrām Khān's friends lived in affluence. The Taḥqāt-i Akbarī says that no less than twenty-five of Bayrām's friends reached the dignity of Panjhaẓārī—rather a proof of Bayrām's gift of selecting proper men. Bayrām's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sulṭān Abū Sa'id-i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amir Chausbān." (Had.)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bayrām left Agra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewāt and Nāgor, from where he returned his insignia, which reached Akbar at Jujhār; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjāb, which Bayrām, as it was said, wished to invade. The insignia were conferred on Pir Muḥammad Khān, Bayrām's old protégé; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bayrām felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gujrat occupied by Rāja Māldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bīkānīr to his friend Kālīyān Mal

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1 So bad. II, 19. The story in Elphinston (fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbarnama says, Bayrām was on board a ship on the Jamna, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abū 'l-Faṣil, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the Simām-i Akbarī has a fine critical note on Abū 'l-Faṣil's account. I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the Simām-i Akbarī the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Haydar of Belgrām from the Akbarnama, the Taḥqāt, Badī′, Firdaws, the Akbarnāme by Sāmīr Khān of Shāhī, (poetically called Furgi; see Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1855, p. 10) and Abū 'l-Faṣil's letters, of which the compiler had four books. The sources in Arabic have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and conveys 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 Muḥammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the library of the town see the Taḥkira by Ḥujjāh al-Ālam, entitled Surm-i Aḥd. The author of the Simām-i Akbarī states that Abū 'l-Faṣil does not show much friendliness to Bayrām, whilst Erakine (Elphinston, p. 495, note) calls Abū 'l-Faṣil as "Bayrām's warm pungent."

2
(No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son ʿAbduʿr-Rahīm (No. 29) to Sher Muḥammad Dīwānī, his adopted son and jāgīr holder of Tabarhinda, and broke out in open rebellion. At Dīpālpūr, on his way to the Panjāb, he heard that Dīwānī had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muḥaffar ʿAlī (whom Bayrām had dispatched to Dīwānī to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bayrām resolved to take Jālindhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bayrām had been defeated by Atgah Khān (No. 15). Bayrām fled to Fort Tilwārā on the banks of the Biyāh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sultān Ḥusayn Jalāir was killed, and when his head was brought to Bayrām, he was so sorry that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bayrām, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Muḥīm Khān, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (chandugh). Hájj Muḥammad of Sistān (No. 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nāgor to Pātan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrat, where he was hospitably received by Mīra Khān Fūlādī, the governor. On Friday, 14th Junādā I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayrām was stabbed by a Lohānī Afghān of the name of Mūbārak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māchhiwāra. "With an Allāh! Akbar on his lips, he died." The motive of Mūbārak Khān is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmiri wife of Salīm Shāh with her daughter had attached herself to Bayrām's suite, in order to go to Hijāz, and it had been settled that Bayrām's son should be betrothed to her, who annoyed the Afghāns. Some beggars lifted up Bayrām's body, and took it to the tomb of Shāykh Husayn ʿd-Dīn. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mashhad.

Akbar took charge of ʿAbduʿr-Rahīm, Bayrām's son (vide No. 29), and married soon after Salīma Sultān Begum, Bayrām's widow.

For Bayrām, we often find the spelling Bayram. Firishita generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkmān. Bayrām was a Shīʿah, and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Badāʾiʿī, III, p. 190).

2 The mention this fact without giving the source.
11. Mūsīm Khān, son of Bayrām Beg.

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Mūsīm Khān was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court, as was also his brother Fāzīl Beg. When Humāyūn, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Thāthāh, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fāzīl Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humāyūn made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humāyūn to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governership of Qandahār, which was given to Bayrām Khān. In 961, he was appointed atāīq of Prince Akbar; and when Humāyūn invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kābul in charge of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, then about a year old. In Kābul M. remained till Bayrām fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zī Ḩijja, 967, at Lūdhiyāna, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bayrām. M. was then appointed Khān Khānān and Vākīl.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khān (No. 19) killed Atgah Khān (No. 15), Mūsīm who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkār of Qamsūj) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Muḥammad Khān of Bāरha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honours.

Mūsīm Khān's son, Ghānī Khān, whom his father had left in charge of Kābul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Māh Jūjak Begum, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother, advised by Fāzīl Beg and his son ʿAbd al-ʾFath, who hated Ghānī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghānī Khān was once temporarily absent at Fālīz. Ghānī Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Māh Jūjak Begum then appointed Fāzīl Beg as Vākīl and ʿAbd al-ʾFath as Nāʾib; but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Shāh Wali, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kābul. Thinking he could rely on the Kābulis, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalālābād by Māh Jūjak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Shāh Wali and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Ḥaydar Qāsim Koh-bar, whom she had made Fākīl) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghakhars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Āgra.

1 Some MSS. read Mīrus; but Bayrām is the preferable reading.
In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jagārs in Jaunpūr (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymān Kararānī of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutba and strike coins in Akbar’s name.

In 982, Akbar, at M’s request, went with a flotilla from Āgra to Bihār, and took Ḥajjīpur and Paṭna from Dāsūd, Sulaymān’s son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihār, and was ordered to follow Dāsūd into Bengal. M. moved to Tānda (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Toṣar Mal, left Tānda, and followed up Dāsūd, who after his defeat at Ṣaḥāra (where Dāsūd submitted at Katak). In Saḥar 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpūr was built by Sunnīm Khān in 981. Its tārīkh is 839. M.’s son Ghani Khān went to Ādīlshāh of Bijāpūr, where he died.

12. Tārdī Beg Khān, of Turkiestān.

A noble of Humāyūn’s Court. After the conquest of Gujrat, he was made Governor of Chamānīr (Fāwangath). On Mirzā ʿAskari’s defeat by Sultān Bahādur, Tārdī Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humāyūn. During the emperor's flight from India, Tārdī Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless companions. When passing through the territory of Rāja Mālīdeo, he even refused Humāyūn a horse, and at Amarkut, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Rāy Parsād 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 Qandahār, Tārdī Beg left the emperor and joined Mirzā ʿAskari. But Mirzā ʿAskari put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tārdī Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humāyūn’s return from ʿIrāq, Tārdī Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mirzā Ulugh Beg, son of Mirzā Sultān, to Dāwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewāt as

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4 Elphinstone, p. 462, note, says Tārdī Beg was one of the most faithful followers of Humāyūn, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.
jāgīr. In 963, when Humāyūn died (7th Rabi‘ I), T. read the khaufa in Akbar’s name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abū ‘l-Qāsim, son of Prince Kāmīrān, to Akbar in the Panjāb. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dīhil. T. drove away Ḥājī Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, from Narnaul. On Humāū’s approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dīhil, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bayrām Khān, 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. Bayram’s hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghātāi nobles looked upon him. Tārdī Beg was a Sunnī.


His father Ḥaydar Sultān Uzbek-i Shaybānī had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbashīs. When Humāyūn returned from Persia, Haydar joined him, together with his two sons 5 Ali Quli Khān [Khān Zamān] and Bahādur Khān (No. 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahār. On the march to Kābul, an epidemic broke out in Humāyūn’s camp, during which Haydar Sultān died.

5 Ali Quli Khān distinguished himself in Kābul and in the conquest of Hindūstān, was made Amīr and sent to the Dūāb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns. At the time of Akbar’s accession, 5 Ali Quli Khān fought with Shādi Khān, an Afghān noble; but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dīhil, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before 5 Ali Quli arrived at Dīhil, Tārdī Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. 5 Ali Quli was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemū near Pānīpat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bayrām were near, they took no part in this battle. 5 Ali Quli received the title of Khān Zamān.

Next to Bayrām, the restoration of the Mughal Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khān Zamān then got Sambhal again as jāgīr, cleared the whole north of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghāns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpūr as Qa‘īm maqām for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mānkīt. In the third year of Akbar’s reign, Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zamān’s tajāfīs, which led him to rebel. Bayram from generosity did not interfere; but when Pir Muhammad, Khān Zamān’s enemy, had been appointed Vakīl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his
mahalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afghans who threatened the Jaunpûr District. Pir Mūḥammad had also Burj ʿAllī thrown from the walls of Firūzābād, whom Khān Zamān had sent to him to settle matters. Khān Zamān now thought it was high time to send away Shāhām Beg, went to Jaunpûr, and drove away the Afghans. Upon the fall of Bayrām, they appeared again under Sher Shâh, son of ʿAbdî,1 with a large army and 500 elephants. Khān Zamān, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpûr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zī Qaṣīda of the 8th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Kâral (on the Ganges) Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpûr. Soon after, he defeated the Afghans, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khān Zamān rebelled again in concert with the Uzbeks, and attacked the Tuyûldârs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghâzîpûr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpûr sent Munṣîm Khân against him. Being a friend of Khān Zamān, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Muṣīzî Mulk and Rāja Tūḏār Mal, having been defeated by Bahādur 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, Khān Zamān was left in possession of his jagirs, and Akbar returned to Āgra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumāda 1, 974, marched against M. Mūḥammad Ḥakīm, Khān Zamān rebelled again, read the Khutba at Jaunpûr in M. Mūḥammad Ḥakīm's name, and marched against Shergârgh (Qansawj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjâb, 12th Ramazân 974, and Āgra on the 26th Shawwâl. At Sâkit, east of Āgra, Akbar heard that Khān Zamān had fled from Shergârgh to Mānîkpûr where Bahādur was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had bridged the river near the frontier of Singór (Nawâbganj, between Mānîkpûr and Allahâbâd). Akbar sent a detachment of 6,000 troops under Mūḥammad Qulî Khân Barlîs and Ḥudâr Mal to Andh to oppose Iskandar Khân Uzbak, and marched over Rây Bâredi to Mânîkpûr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khān Zamān's camp, who must have gone from Nawâbganj back again on the right side of the river to Kâral. Next morning, 1st Zī

1 Mubâris Khān ʿAdî. – B.
Hijja, 974. Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khan Zamān. Bahādūr was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been dispatched, when Khan Zamān's head was brought in. He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Sannāt, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a muhr for every Mughul's head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place dar *surzi-yi Sukrāwal* (in Badā, onl, Mungāwāl), "which place has since been called Fathpūr." The Trig. S. maps show a small village Fathpūr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Kārah, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Allāhābād.

Khan Zamān as a poet styled himself Sultan (*vide* Proceedings Asiatic Society, September, 1868). Zamānīyā (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbak, Khan Zamān, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shi'ah. Khan Zamān must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. ʿAbdulla Ilah Khan Uzbak.

A noble of Humāyūn's Court. After the defeat of Ḥemū, he received the title of Shujā'at Khan, got Kālpī as tuyūl, and served under Adham Khan (No. 19) in Gujarāt. When Bāz Bahādur, after the death of Pir Muḥammad, had taken possession of Mālwa, ʿAbdulla Ilah was made a Paṇījāhārī, and was sent to Mālwa with almost unlimited authority. He re-conquered the province, and "reigned in Mandū like a king." Akbar found it necessary to move against him. ʿAbdulla Ilah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujarāt, pursued by Qāsim Khan of Nīshāpur (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khan, an officer of Sultan Muḥammad of Gujarāt. Hakim ʿAynī L-Mulk was dispatched to Changiz with the request to deliver up ʿAbdulla Ilah, or to dismiss him. Changiz Khan did the latter. ʿAbdulla Ilah again appeared in Mālwa, and was hotly pursued by Shahābuddin Bahā Din Ahmad Khan (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 Khan Zamān (No. 13).

15. Shamsuddin Muḥammad Atga Khan.

Son of Mir Yar Muḥammad of Ghaznī, a simple farmer. Shamsuddin 'd-Din, 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 'd-Din entered
Prince Kāmrān’s service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanāwī (10th Muḥarram, 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 Shamsu’-d-Dīn. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (amīrā) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Amāga. Shamsu’-d-Dīn remained with the young prince whilst Humāyūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor’s restoration the title of Atga (foster father) Khān. Humāyūn sent him to Hīsār, which Sirkār had been set aside for Prince Akbar’s maintenance.

After Akbar’s accession, Atga Khān was dispatched 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 Bayrām Khān, p. 331. He held Khushāb in the Panjāb as jagir, and received, after Bayrām’s fall, the insignia of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bayrām Khān near Jālindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of Aṣzam Khān. In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as Vakil either in supersession of Munṣim Khān or by “usurpation”, at which Akbar connived. Munṣim Khān and Shahāb Khān (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (vide No. 19) to kill Atga Khān,² 12th Ramaḍān, 969.

For Atga Khān’s brothers vide Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories Atga Khāyil² “the foster father battalion.”


He served under Kāmrān and Humāyūn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjāb, where most of the Atgās (Atga Khāyil) had jagirs, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkar, the extirpation of Sultān Ādam, and in keeping down Kamāl Khān. In the ninth year he assisted Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakim against Mirzā Sulaymān (No. 5), restored him to the throne of Kābul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under

¹ He stabbed at the Atga, and ordered one of his own servants, an U ballo, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. Baddamī (p. 32) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1) say that Adham himself killed Atga.

² Khāyil, troop, tribe, etc.—P.}
his brother Quthānī d-Dīn (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter Atāliq of the Prince. But Khān-i Kalān did not get on well with M. M. Ḥakim, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrān ’b-Nisa Begum (a daughter of Humayūn by Jājak Begum, and widow of Mir Shāh ’Abdu ’l-Mu’āllī) to Khwāja Ḥusain Naṣabbandī in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khān-i Kalān left Kābul one night and returned to Lāhor.

In the 13th year (976) the Atāliq Khayrī was removed from the Panjāb, and ordered to repair to Ágra. Khān-i Kalān received Sambhal as jagīr, whilst Ḥusayn Quli Khān (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjāb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat (Bud. II., 165). On the march, near Sarōhī (Ajmīr), he was wounded by a Ṛajpūt, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patān (Nāhrwāla). He died at Patān in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of “Ghaznavī”, in allusion to his birthplace. Badā’uni (III., 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fāzīl Khān (No. 150), was a Ḥaẓīrī, and was killed when Ṣirāz ’Azm Koka (No. 21) was shot up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khān (No. 232) was a Panṣadī. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mirzā Sharafī d-Dīn Ḥusayn, son of Khwāja Mu’īn.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khāwja Mu’īn, was the son of Khwāwand Māhmūd, second son of Khwāja Kalān (known as Khwāja Kālān Khwāja), eldest son of the renowned sainton Khwāja Naṣirī d-Dīn Ṣibaydī ’llah Aḥrār. Hence Mirzā Sharafī d-Dīn Ḥusayn is generally called Aḥrārī.

His grandfather, Khwāwand Māhmūd, went to India, was honorably received by Humayūn, and died at Kābul.

His father, Khwāja Mu’īn, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land called “Rūḏkhāna-yi Nashīb”, and served under ’Abdu ’llah Khān, ruler of Kāshghar. He was married to Kijjak Begum, daughter of Mir ’Alī ’l-Mulk of Tirmīz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jāhan Begum, daughter of Sultān Abū Sa’īd Ṣirāzī. “Hence the blood of Tīmūr also flowed in the veins of Mirzā Sharafī d-Dīn Ḥusayn.” As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Māhum, Akbar’s nurse, and Adham Khān, her son (No. 19), Mirzā Sharaf was appointed Panṣhadī. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhsht Bānū Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmīr and Nāgor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmīr, Mirzā Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege
of Mārtha, which was defended by Jagmāl and Devīdās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 976, Mīrzā Sharaf’s father came to Āgra, and was received with great honours by Akbar. In the same year, Mīrzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Āgra over the frontier, pursued by Ḥusayn Qull Khan (No. 24), and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son’s behaviour, left for Hijāz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which was his body, foundered. Mīrzā Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khān, a Gujrat noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mīrzās. When Gujrat was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamūnlār of the place, who after the conquest of Sūrat 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 Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jagīr, should be find that the Mīrzā showed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muẓaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mir MaṢṣūm-i Kābulī rebelled in Bihār. Joined by Bābā Khān Qāqāhāl, the rebels besieged Muẓaffar Khān in Tānda and overpowered him. Mīrzā Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muẓaffar. But subsequently he became MaṢṣūm’s enemy. Each was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. MaṢṣūm at last bribed a boy of the name of Mahmūd, whom Mīrzā Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mīrzā Sharaf’s death took place in 988. He is wrongly called Sīefuddīn in Stewart’s History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, eldest son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was Akbar’s foster brother (koka or kūkaltūs). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bayrām (p. 332, 1. 9), and was made Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān (No. 19) Akbar took care of him and his younger brother ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. Bad. II, p. 84.

19. Adham Khān,² son of Māhum Anga.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.

² Generally called in European histories Adam Khān; but his name is مهدی, not مهدی.
His mother Māhum was one of Akbar's nurses (āngā), 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 Mumṣim Khān (No. 11), who after Bayrām's fall had been appointed Vakil, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bayrām's fall. *Ibid.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khān was a Pānjhūzārī, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mānkoṭ.² Bayrām Khān, in the third year, gave him Hatkhānī,³ South-East of Āgra, as jagir, to check the rebels of the Bhadauriya clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayrām of partiality in bestowing jagirs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyas. After Bayrām's fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pir Muḥammad Khān to Mālwa, defeated Bāz Bahādur near Sārangpūr, and took possession of Bahādur's treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Āgra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Māhum Āngā 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 Māhum's orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Āgra, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pir Muḥammad governor of Mālwa.

At Court, Adham met again Atga Khān, whom both he and Mumṣim Khān envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazon 969, when Mumṣim Khān, Atga Khān, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khān with some followers, suddenly

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¹ This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghātal Dictionary. Miled by the printed editions of Baidā, Firūsta, Khāff Khān, etc., I put on p. 223 of my text edition of the Aṣīn, Māhūs Āthgāh, as if it was the name of a man. Vide Khāff Khān I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

² The Maṭāsīr gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbarnāma.

³ Hatkhānī was held by Rājpūts of the Bhadauriya clan. Vide Beames's edition of Elliot's Glosary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word ḍerā is doubtful, though it is certainly not Lakhā. For the old spelling "Lahāvar" for "Lāhor" had ceased when the author of the Maṭāsīr, Afghān, wrote. Besides, a place in Gujālūr is meant, not far from the Sindū river. For ḍerā the two editions of Baidā, Baidā have ḍe; Dorn has ḍe; Beair; Briggs has Yekar; the Lucknow edition of Firūsta has ḍe. There is a town and Pargana of the name of ḍe in Sirkār Rantānībār.

The passage in the Akbarnāma regarding Adham Khān quoted by Elliot may be found among the events of the third year.

Another nest of robbers was the eight villages, called Āthgāh, near Sakīt, in the Sirkār of Qanawīj.
entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atga with his dagger, and told one of his companions (vide p. 338) 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 (daya) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch!" (bachea-ye jada), 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. "Why are you standing here gaping?" said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khan; "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham Khan was twice thrown down from the dais (suffa) of the Aga near to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihil.

Muhum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihil to Agra. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Muhum, turning pale, and left the hall. Forty days after, she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihil in a tomb which Akbar had built for them. For Adham's brother, vide No. 60.

20. Pir Muhammad Khan of Shirwan.1

Nothing is known of his father. Pir Muhammad was a Mullâ, and attached himself to Bayram in Qandahar. Through Bayram's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amir on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Himm, and received subsequently the title of Nasiri'i Mulk. His pride offended the Chaghata'i nobles, and, at last, Bayram himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick. Bayram subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaykh Gadar (vide p. 282) to the Fort of Bijnur and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujerat, Pir Muhammad received letters from Adham Khan (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantambhur; but being pursued by Bayram's men, he continued his journey to Gujerat. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar and accelerated Bayram's fall. Whilst in Gujerat, P. M. heard of

1 In my text edition, p. 232, No. 20, dal each. Shirwan is also the birth-place of Khaiqani. The spelling Stheros given in the Musjam does not seem to be usual.
Bayram's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khan. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khan to conquer Malwa, of which he was made sole governor after Adham's recall. In 969, he defeated Baz Bahadur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bijargarh from Ktimad Khan, Baz Bahadur's general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Miran Muhammad Shah, sacked the capital Burhanpur, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Baz Bahadur 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 Anaga (vide p. 338). 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 Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

On the removal of the Atga Khilaf (p. 338) from the Panjab, he retained Dipalpur, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Farid-i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pak Patan, or Patan-i Panjab).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmadabad, Mirza Aziz was appointed governor of Gujrat as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Surat. Muhammad Husayn Mirza and Shah Mirza, joined by Sher Khan Fuladi, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mirza Aziz and Quibd-Dim. Aziz then returned to Ahmadabad. When Akbar, on the 2nd Safar 981, returned to Fatehpur Sikri, Ikhtyar 1-Mulk, a Gujrat noble, occupied Idar, and then moved against Aziz in Ahmadabad. Muhammad Husayn Mirza also came from the Dakhin, and after attacking Kamhaviit (Cambay), they besieged Ahmadabad. Aziz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels near Patan. During the fight Muhammad Husayn Mirza and Ikhtyar 1-Mulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. Aziz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhriyar 1-Mulk.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the Dugh (Á¼ in 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amirs. Mirza Aziz especially

1 Akbar left Agra on the 4th Rabi'il, and attacked the Mirzas on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Agra and Patan being 400 Jos, Akbar's forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II. p. 241. [This differs from the Akbar-nama.—B.]
showed himself so disobedient that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. Aziz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (vide Muṣaffar Khān, No. 37). Aziz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aṣ̄am Khān, and was dispatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Fathpūr Sīkri. During Aziz’s absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hājpūr, opposite Patna, and Aziz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyūldārs of Hāhābād, Audh, and Bihār, he occupied Garhī, the “key” of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī, and Majnūn Khān Qāṣhāl, Aziz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maṣṣūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qtulū, a Lohāni Afghān, who during these disturbances had occupied Orūsī and a portion of Bengal. Aziz, however, took this ill, and handing over the command to Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū, returned to his lauds in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Hāhābād, and was transferred to Garhā and Rāisān. (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. Aziz was appointed to the Dakhīn; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shāhābū d-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) and other grandees, Aziz withdrew, plundered Ilīchpūr in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrāt, where the Khān Khānān was (Briggs, II, 297).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married a daughter of M. Aziz. Towards the end of the 34th year, Aziz was appointed Governor of Gujrāt in succession to the Khān Khānān. In the 36th year, he moved against Sultān Muṣaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamīndārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Sūmāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgār also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (5th Zī Qaṣda 999), and Mīyān Khān and Tāj Khān, sons of Dawlat Khān ibn-i Amīn Khān-i Ghori, joined the Mughuls. Aziz gave both of them jāgīrs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultān Muṣaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamīndār of Dwārkā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muṣaffar fled to Kachh, followed by Aziz. There also the Zamīndār submitted, and soon after delivered Sultān Muṣaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought
to the Mirzā 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. ʿAzīz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mirzā dreading the religious innovations at Court, marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the “Farangi” and embarked for Hijāz at Balāwāl, a harbour town near Somnāt, accompanied by his six younger sons (Khwāram, Anwar, ʿAbd al Ilāh, ʿAbd al-ʿUlaṣīf, Murtāzā, ʿAbd al-ʿUlaṣīf), 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 Mirzā (M. Shamsi and M. Shādmān).

M. ʿAzīz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so “fleeced”, that his attachment to Islām was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar’s good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balāwāl, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the “Divine Faith” (side p. 217, l. 33), was appointed Governor of Bihār, was made Vakīl in 1004, and received Multān as Jāgīr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Āsur. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzā, Bahādur Khān, ruler of Khandes, ceded Āsur to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusraw married one of ʿAzīz’s daughters.

At Akbar’s death, Mān Singh and M. ʿAzīz were anxious to proclaim Khusraw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farād-ʿi Bukhārī and others had proclaimed Jahāngīr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mān Singh left the Fort of Āgra with Khusraw, in order to go to Bengal. ʿAzīz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rāja, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusraw’s rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salīma Sulṭān Begum and other princesses of Akbar’s harem. Not long after, Khwāja Abū ʿl-Ḥasan laid before Jahāngīr a letter written some years ago by ʿAzīz to Rāja ʿAli Khān of Khandes, in which ʿAzīz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahāngīr gave ʿAzīz the letter and asked him to read it before

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1 M. ʿAzīz ridiculed Akbar’s tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the “Divine Faith”. He used to call Fāyāl and Abū ʿl-Ḥassān, ʿUṣmān and ʿAlī. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahāngīr, as related below.
the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahangir deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign (1017), M. Asiz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrat, his eldest son, Jahangir Quli Khan, being his aadil. In the 5th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dakhin, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahangir went to Ajmir, and appointed, at the request of Asiz, Shahjahan to the command of the Dakhin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shahjahan did not like M. Asiz on account of his partiality for Khusraw, and Mahabat Khan was dispatched from Court to accompany Asiz from Udaipur to Agra. In the 9th year, Asiz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Asaf Khan in the Fort of Gwalior (Tuzuk, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed Haidar to Prince Daulat Baksh, who had been made Governor of Gujrat.

M. Asiz died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmadabad.

Asiz 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 Khurasani woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Mawarannahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three." Vide Ibqulnama, p. 230.

Koka means "foster brother", and is the same as the Turkish Kukaldash or Kukultash.

Mirza Asiz's sons. 1. Mirza Shamsi (No. 183). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahangir he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahangir Quli Khan.


3. Mirza Khurram (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Junaigarh in Gujrat, received the title of Kamal Khan under Jahangir, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) to the Dakhin.

4. Mirza Asifullah (No. 257) received under Jahangir the title of Sardar Khan. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwalior.

5. Mirza Ansar (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khan Koka (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commandships of Five and Two Thousands. Asiz's other sons have been mentioned above.
A sister of M. ʿAzīz, Māh Bānū, was married to ʿAbdullāh-ʿr-Rahīm Khān Khānān. (No. 29).


His real name is Muhammad Saʿīd. Humāyūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahār, which was commanded by Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qalāt (No. 95). The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humāyūn to send him assistance. A party of Qizilbāshes attacked Bahādur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mānkot, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khān, was pardoned, and received Multān as jagīr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Mālwa. After Bayrām's fall, through the influence of Māhūm Angā (vidē p. 310), he was made Fakīl, and was soon after appointed to Itāwa (Sirkār of Āgra).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (vidē p. 336). After his capture, Shāhbāz Khān i-Kambū (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad: III, 239).


In some historical MSS. he is called Bihārī Mal. There were two kinds of Kachhwāhā, Rājāwat and Shaykhwāwat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Ṣūba of Ajūnīr. Though not so extensive as Mārwār, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājpūt that joined Akbar's Court. The flight of Humāyūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Ḥājī Khān, a servant of Sher Khān, had attacked Nārnaul, the jagīr of Majnūn Khān Qāqāshāl (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rāja. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnūn Khān, after the defeat of Hemū (963), brought Bihārī Mal's services to the notice of the emperor. The Rāja 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 (mast)² elephant.

¹ The "flight" of Humāyūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughal historians. Abū ʿl-Futūh generally uses euphemisms, as ʿaṣāṣa, ʿaṣūṣa, etc. "that unavoidable event," or ṭabād (departure); or ṭazānā-ī Sher Khān, the coming of Sher Khān (not Sher Shāh), etc.

² Mast, in rut.; furious.—P.
and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihāri Mal’s Rājpūt attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm.

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mūsān-i-Chishti at Ajmīr, and at Kalālī, Chaghīā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafūd-Dīn Husayn (No. 17), Governor of Mālwa, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojā, son of Pūran Mal, elder brother of the Rāja. Sharafūd-Dīn had also got hold of Jagnāth (No. 69), son of the Rāja, Rāj Singh (No. 174), son of Askaran, and Kangūr, son of Jagmal (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Deosa, 40 miles east of Jaipur, Jaima, son of Rūpsi (No. 118), Bihāri Mal’s brother, who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rūpsi. At Sangānir, at last, Bihāri Mal with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter Akbar’s service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance, was granted. On his return from Ajmīr, Akbar received the Rāja’s daughter at Sambar, and was joined, at Ratān, by the Rāja himself, and his son Bhagawant Dās, and his grandson Kūwar Mān Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Āgra, where Bihāri Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after Bihāri Mal returned to Amber. He died at Āgra (Tabaqāt).

Amber is said to have been founded a.d. 967 by Dhulā Rāy, son of Sora, of whom Bihāri Mal was the 18th descendant.

The Akbernāma mentions the names of four brothers of Bihāri Mal.
1. Pūran Mal; 2. Rūpsi (No. 118); 3. Askaran (vide No. 174); 4. Jagmal (No. 134). Bihāri Mal is said to have been younger than Pūran Mal, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihāri Mal were in Akbar’s service—1. Bhagwān Dās (No. 27); 2. Jagannāth (No. 69); and 3. Salhādī (No. 267).

24. Khān Jahān Husayn Quli Khān, son of Wali Beg Zā ʿl-Quṭr.
He is the son of Bayrām Khān’s sister. His father Wali Beg Zā ʿl-Quṭr was much attached to Bayrām, and was captured in the fight in the Pargana of lā (Jālimdar, vide p. 332, l. 5), but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bayrām’s rebellion, and ordered his head to
be cut off, which was sent all over Hindustán. When it was brought to Itāwa, Bahādur Khān (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (tawāshās) that carried it. Khān Jahān had brought Bayrām’s insignia from Mewāt to Aklār, and as he was a near relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Āṣaf Khān ʿAbd al-Majīd, Commander of Dihli. When Bayrām had been pardoned, Khān Jahān was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971) he was made a Khān and received orders to follow up Sharaf ad-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17). Ajmir and Nāgor were given him as tumāl. He took the Fort of Jodhpūr from Chandar Sen, son of Rāy Māldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udai Singh during the siege of Chītor.

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjāb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantambhūr.

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkot, which had belonged to Rāja Jāi Chand. Bādāni says (II, p. 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bīr Bār with a jagir. Akbar had Jāi Chand imprisoned, and Būdi Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khān Jahān, on his way, conquered Fort Kotla, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rājab 980, and took the famous Bhawān temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrahim Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Masūd Mīrzā had invaded the Panjāb. Khān Jahān therefore accepted a payment of five masūs of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Mājūd in front of Jāi Chand’s palace in the Fort, and to have read the Khqāba in Akbar’s name (Friday, middle of Shawwāl 980).

Accompanied by Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān-i Rūzawi (No. 35), Khān Jahān marched against the Mīrzās, surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 kos from Multān, and defeated them. Ibrahim Ḥusayn Mīrzā escaped to Multān, but Masūd Ḥusayn and several other Mīrzās of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Agra after the conquest of Gujrat, he invited his Amirs to meet him, and Khān Jahān also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelids sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious

[1] General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidhi (Sansk. Vṛddhi), not Būdī, vide Index.—R.]
general received the title of Khan Jahân, "a title in reputation next to that of Khan Khânân." About the same time Sulaymân, ruler of Badakhshân (p. 326) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Shâhrûgh (No. 7), and Khan Jahân was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Muncim Khan Khânân died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khan Jahân was recalled from the Panjâb, before he had moved into Badakhshân, and was appointed to Bengal, Râja Todar Mal being second in command. At Bhâgalpûr, Khan Jahân was met by the Amirs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghûtâ'î nobles, he had, as Qizilbash, to contend with the same difficulties as Bayrâm Khan had had. He repulsed the Afghâns who had come up as far as Garhi and Tândâ; but he met with more decided opposition at Âg Mahal, where Dâ'ûd Khan had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghâns. Khan Jahân complained of the willful neglect of his Amirs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwâja 'Abdu'llâh Naqqâhbandi, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Bihâr (No. 37) to collect his Jâgûrdârs and join Khan Jahân (984). The fights near Âg Mahal were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd-i Karâraini, Dâ'ûd's uncle,1 which led to a general battle (15th Rabi' II, 984). The right wing of the Afghâns, commanded by Kâlî Pâhâr, gave way when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dâ'ûd was defeated by Khan Jahân. Dâ'ûd himself was captured and brought to Khan Jahân, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khan Jahân dispatched Todar Mal to Court, and moved to Sâtgâw (Hûglî) where Dâ'ûd's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dâ'ûd's adherents under Jamshed and Mîtti, and reannexed Sâtgâw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghâkshân,2 to the Mughul empire. Dâ'ûd's mother came to Khan Jahân as a suppliant.

Soon after Malik Sâjî,3 Râja of Kûch Bihâr, sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khan Jahân dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dâ'ûd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhâût,4 where the Afghâns had

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1 The Ed. Bibl. Indexes of Badakhshân (II, 236) has by mistake 'uncle'. Badakhshân says that the battle took place near Colâgân (Khâlgâw).
2 This nickname of Sâtgâw is evidently old. Even the word bulghak (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the Tûrîh-i Firdos Shâhî, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.
3 Bât Gosh, 2.
4 For Bhâût, vide below under No. 32.
collected under Karim Dād, Ibrāhīm, and the rich Zamīndār Ṭāsā (تاس). With great difficulties Khān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghāns who had joined him together with Dāsūd’s mother at Goās; and returned to Shihhatpūr, a town which he had founded near Ṭanda. Soon after, he felt ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (10th Shawwāl, 956).

Abū ʿl-Fażl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khān Jahān in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion.

Khān Jahān’s son, Rizā Qulī (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, Rahīm Qulī, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No. 333). For Khān Jahān’s brother, vide No. 46.

25. Saṣīd Khān, son of Yaṣqūb Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Jāḥūq.

He is also called Saṣīd Khān-i Chaghtāʾī. His family had long been serving under the Timūrids. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Beg was an Amīr of Humāyūn’s, and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His son, Yūsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaumpūr by Jalāl Khān (i.e., Salīm Shāh), and killed. His other son also, Yaṣqūb, Saṣīd’s father, distinguished himself under Humāyūn. According to the Ṭabaqāt, he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Qulī Beg, governor of Bengal under Humāyūn.

Saṣīd rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Mūltān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, atāliq of Prince Dānūf. Some time after, he was made Shāhshir of the Panjāb, in succession to Shāh Qulī Muḥrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained. Saṣīd again was succeeded in the governorship by Raḥījm Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), and received Sambhāl as tuyūl. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Ḥajīpūr (Patna) as successor to Mīrza ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Saṣīd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of Panjāhar. 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 (1001), when Mīrza Ghāzī rebelled in Ṭathta after the death of his father, Mīrza Jānī Beg (No. 47), Saṣīd was appointed to Mulūṭān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of
the Panjáb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (Tuzuk, p. 6, l. 2.) He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried "in the garden of Sarhind".

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindū of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Sa'īd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200.¹ One of these Khwājasarās, Hilāl, joined afterwards Jahānghir’s service; he built Hilālabād, six kos N.W. from Āgra, near Rāngātān,² regarding which the Ma'āsur tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ihtiyār Khān, was his Vakīl, and another, Ištībār Khān, the Fawjdār of his jāgīr. For Sa’īd’s brother, vide No. 70.

29. Shihāb Khān, a Sayyid of Nishāpūr.

His full name is Shihāb ʿd-Dīn Ahmad Khān. He was a relation and friend of Māhum Anga (p. 341), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayrām’s fall. From the beginning of Akbar’s reign, he was Commander of Dīhlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhum, turned from Sikandarābād to Dīhlī to see his sick mother, Shihāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayrām Khān, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bayrām’s friends; and the Chaghtā’ī nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayrām’s disgrace.

As remarked on p. 337, Shihāb served in Mālwhā against ʿAbdūllāh Khān.

In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Mālwhā, and was ordered to drive the Mirzās from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Mughal 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 Mālwhā; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrat, as Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Ištīmād 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 Mughal. The events of the Gujrat rebellion are known from the histories. When Mīrzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihāb was attached to Qullīj

¹ If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Sīlahāt were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book, Sīlah of Bengal, and Tuzuk-i Jahānghir, pp. 72, 328.
² Sikandra (or Bihishtābād), where Akbar’s tomb is, lies halfway between Āgra and Rāngātān.
Khān (Mālwa Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as tayūl. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwa, in succession to M. 5 Azīr Kolč (No. 21).

Shihāb died in Mālwa (Ujain, Ṭabaqūṭ) in 999. His wife, Bābā Aghā, was related to Akbar's mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dīhlī, he repaired the canal which Frāχ Shāh had cut from the Barganah of Khizrābād to Sāfdūn; and called it Naḥr-i Shihāb. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shahjahān, by the renowned Makramat-Khān, and called Nīqṭe Bahr. Fayż Naḥr, (20th year of Shāhjahān). During the reign of Awrangzēb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (Anār-i samānadīd.)

27. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal.

In the histories we find the spellings Bhagunc, Bhagwānt, and Bhagwān. He joined Akbar's service with his father (No. 25). In 980, in the fight with Ibrahim Husayn Mirza near Sarnāl (Briggs, Sartāl), he saved Akbar's life. He also distinguished himself against the Rānā of Idar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwāhas had their tayūls transferred to the Panjāb, Rāja Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.'s daughter was married to Prince Salim, of which marriage Prince Khustwāw was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander-of Five Thousand and Governor of Zābulistān, as Mān Singh was sent against the Yāsufzāis. But Akbar, for some reason, detained him. In Khavrābād, 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 jagirs of the Rāja and his family were transferred to Bihār, Mān Singh taking the command of the province.

Rāja Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Lāhore, a short time after Rāja Tūdar Mal (No. 39). People say that on returning from Tūdar Mal's funeral, he had an attack of strangury, of which he died. He had the title of Anār-i 'Umarā.

The Jāmi' Masjid of Lāhore was built by him.

Regarding his sons, vide Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. Quṭb 'd-Dīn Khān, youngest brother of Atga Khān (15).

As he belonged to the Atga Khāyal (vide p. 338), his tayūl was in the Panjāb. He founded several mosques, etc., at Lāhore.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kābul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Giḥznīn, his birth-place. On the transfer of the
Atgā Khayl " from the Panjāb, Q. was appointed to Mālwa. After the conquest of Gujrat, he received as jāgīr the Sirkār of Bahroch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadābād, and has a fort on the bank of the Nār budsā near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a Commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed atālig to Prince Salīm, received a dāiyā,1 and the title of Beşlar Beşī. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salīm on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahroch "as far as Nazrbār". In the 28th year (991), Muṣaffār of Gujrat tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity he was attacked and defeated by Muṣaffār near Baroda. Q.'s servants even joined Muṣaffār, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muṣaffār, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamīndār, Muṣaffār went to Bahroch, occupied the fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 krores of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muṣaffār had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khān, served under Mīrzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) in Gujrat (992), received a jāgīr in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrat. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the Tabaqat, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Junāghar.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a Haftṣaḍī (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. Aẓam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a tugūl in Gujrat.


His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.4 In 961, when Humāyūn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamīndārs of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, he asked Bayrām Khān to marry the younger one.

M. ʿAbdūr-Rahīm was born at Lāhor, 14th Safar 964. When Bayrām Khān was murdered at Patan in Gujrat (p. 332), his camp was plundered

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1 A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Timūrids.
2 He was the nephew of Ḫasan Khān of Mewāt (Bod. I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the Aʾīn, ʿAbdūr-Rahīm says that the Khānzhādas of Mewāt were chiefly converted Jamāhā Rājpūts.
by some Afghans; but Muhammad Amin Diwana and Baba Zambur
managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder
and bring them to Ahmadabad, fighting on the road with the Afghan
robbers. From Ahmadabad, M. 5Abd 4 r-Rahim was taken to Akbar
(969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers, took
charge of him. He gave him the title of Mirza Khan, and married him
subsequently to Mah Bani, sister of M. 5Aziz Koka (No. 21).

In 981, M. 5Abd 4 r-Rahim accompanied Akbar on his forced march
to Patan (p. 343). In 984 M. 5A. was appointed to Gujar, Vazir Khan
having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made
Mir 5Arz. and three years later, atilq to Prince Salim. Soon after, he
was sent against Sultan Musaffar of Gujarat. Musaffar, during the first
Gujarat war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was
committed to the charge of Musim Khan (No. 11), and after his death,
to the care of Shah Mansur the Diwan (No. 122). But Musaffar managed,
in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kathis of Junaghar,
little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when Istimad Khan
was sent to Gujarat to relieve Shihab 4 d-Din (No. 26), the servants of the
latter joined Musaffar, and the Gujarat rebellion commenced. Musaffar
took Ahmadabad, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his
hands (vide Quh 4 d-Din, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mirza
5Abd 4 r-Rahim had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though
his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij Khan and the
Malwa contingent, Dawlat Khan Lodhi (No. 309), M. 5A.'s Mir Shamsheer,
reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khan Khaniuship.
M. 5A. then attacked Musaffar, and defeated him in the remarkable
battle of Sarkich, three mos from Ahmadabad. On the arrival of the
Malwa contingent, M. 5A. defeated Musaffar a second time near Nadiot.
Musaffar concealed himself in Rajppla.

For these two victories Akbar made M. 5A. a Commander of Five
Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khan Khaniun. For this
reason historians generally call him Mirza Khan Khanan.

When Gujarat was finally conquered, M. Khan Khaniun gave his whole
property to his soldiers, even his inland, which was given to a soldier
who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs
of Gujarat being settled, Qulij Khan was left in the province, and M. 5A.
rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian transla-
tion of Babar's Chaghatai Memoirs (Waqi-4-4 4 Baburi). 1

1 Vide p. 108, last line.
Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed Vākīl and received Jaumpār as tūjāl; but in 999 his jāgīr was transferred to Multān, and he received orders to take Thatha (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwān, he took the Fort of Lakhī, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gadhi is in Bengal and Bārāhmūla in Kashmir." After a great deal of fighting Mirzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M. 5 A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwān was to be handed over to Akbar. Jānī Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mirzā Iīrich, M. 5 A.'s eldest son, was to marry Jānī Beg's daughter. But as M. Jānī Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M. 5 A. moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jānī Beg submitted and accompanied M. 5 A. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sultan Murād assembled at Bahrsch (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakhīn, Akbar dispatched M. 5 A. to his assistance, giving him Bhīsā as jāgīr. After delaying there for some time, M. 5 A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M. 5 A. wrote him that Rāja 5 All Khān of Khāndes was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M. 5 A. at last joined headquarters at Fort Chandor, 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. Shāhrūkh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murād's departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Muṣṭamīd 3 d-Dawla Suḥayl Khān (Briggs II, 274 ; III, 308) threatened Prince Murād, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. 5 A., Rāja 5 All Khān, and M. Shāhrūkh, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumāda II, 1005, from Shāhpūr, M. 5 A. met Suḥayl near the town of Ashī, 12 kos from Pahiri. The fight was unusually severe. Rāja 5 All Khān with five or six of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs IV, 324). The night put an end to the engagement, but each party, believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M. 5 A.'s troopers went to the river [near Sāpā, Firīdūta] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse. Dawlat Khān, who commanded

1 Also called Siwastān, on the right bank of the Indus. Lakhī (Lakke) lies a little south of Sahwān.
2 The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Masnavī by Mullā Shikohī, whom Abū'l-Faqī mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age.
3 Khāfī Khān calls him Rājī 5 All Khān.
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 Dawlat Khan, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihli; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qasim of Barha ¹ and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M. §A.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindustanis, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khan Khânân what he means to do." Dawlat Khan 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 corpse," 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 (1066).

In the same year Mah Bânû, M. §A.'s wife, died.

In the 44th year Prince Dânyâl was appointed to the Dakhin, 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.² M. §A. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahâdur ibn-Ibâhîm, who had been set up as Nizâm Shâh. Dânyâl was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dânâdes,³ and married to Jânâ Begum, M. §A.'s daughter. The Khan Khânân was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shâh 'Ali, uncle of Murâza, Nizâm Shâh.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dakhin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahângîr (1017), M. §A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years if he received a sufficient number of troops. Shâhzâda Parwiz, under the Atâlieşhip of Aṣâf Khan, Mân Singh, Khân Jahân Lodî, and others, were appointed to assist M. §A. He took the Prince in the rains from Bûhrânûr to Bâlâghât; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amîrs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M. §A. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonourable for Jahângîr, who appointed

¹ The Sayyids of Barha considered it their privilege to fight in the Harâm or van. *Vide* No. 74.
² Abû ʿI-Fâzî and the Lucknow edition of Firâshta call the summaq who murdered Châmid Bîbh ʿ communications. Briggs has Hamid Khan. For Nâbra Khab, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akhbarnama and the Maqâmâr have Aḥâmî Khab. The Lucknow E. of Firâshta has Aḥamî Khaba. The differences, moreover, between Abû ʿI-Fâzî and Firâshta in details are very remarkable.
³ A combination of the words Dânâsâ and Kâmâsâ.
Khān Jahān Lodi as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M. ṢA.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M. ṢA., received Kālpī and Qanawj as ṭayūrūl, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (vide p. 341, note). Some time afterwards, M. ṢA. was again sent to the Dakhin, as matters there had not improved; but he did not gain any advantage either.

In the 11th year (1025) Jahāngīr, at last, dispatched Prince Khurrām, to whom he had given the title of Shāh. Jahāngīr himself fixed his residence at Māndū in Mālwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurrām selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān, M. ṢA.'s son. Aḍīl Shāh and Quṭb-ud-Dīn-uz-Zamīn sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngīr bestowed upon Aḍīl Shāh the title of Farand (son); and Aḥmār Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghāt, which he had conquered. Shāh Khurrām then appointed M. ṢA. Sūbahār of Khāndes, Barār, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shāhnawāz Khān was appointed to Bālāghāt. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhin, Shāh Khurrām joined his father at Māndū, where new honours awaited him.2

In the 15th year, Malik Aḥmār "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānādārs of the Mughuls. Darāb Khān, M. ṢA.'s second son, retreated from Bālāghāt to Bālāpūr; and driven from there, he went to Burhānpūr, where he and his father were besieged. On Shāhjahān's approach, the besiegers dispersed.

In the 17th year (1031) Shāh ṢAbbās of Persia attacked Qandahār, and Shāhjahān and Aḥbār-i-Rājām were called to Court to take command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwīz, through Nūr Jahān's influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahābat Khān had been raised to the dignity of Khān Khānān. Shāhjahān rebelled, returned with M. ṢA. to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāhjahān intercepted a letter which M. ṢA. had secretly

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1 Since the time of Tīmūr no Prince had received this title. 2 Mandāl, Shāh Khurrām received subsequently the title of Shāhjahān, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of Sāhib Qirān-i Sāni and Aṭṭā Hazrat (بِن حَرَّة). The last title had also been used by Sulaymān-i Kararānī, King of Bengal. Awrangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of Aṭṭā Khānāqān. 

2 He received the title of Shāhjahān and was made a Sāhid, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (or as described as 10,000, i.e., his former contingent plus an increase in troops). He was also allowed a Sāndal (vide p. 318), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Tīmūr. Jahāngīr even came down from the Jharoka (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palace of Agra and Fathpūr Sīkri), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahān's head, distributing the whole (as sīffī) among the Amirs.
written to Mahābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Darāb Khān, and sent him to Fort Āsir, but released them soon after on parole. Parwīz and Mahābat Khān had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbada to capture Shāhjahān. Bayrām Beg, an officer of Shāhjahān'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. ⁵A.'s advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. ⁵A. swear upon the Qur'ān not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwīz. Mahābat Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M. ⁵A., forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwīz, and did not return to Shāhjahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingāna to Orīsa and Bengal. Mahābat and M. ⁵A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptī. M. ⁵A. wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Daulatshāhī party, to tell Shāhjahān, that he (M. ⁵A.) would do everything in his power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rāja Bhīm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M. ⁵A.'s sons should it come to a fight. Shāhjahān then moved into Bengal and Bihār, of which he made Darāb Khān, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahābat Khān had in the meantime returned to Hāhābād to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M. ⁵A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahānghīr ordered Mahābat Khān to send M. ⁵A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jagār at Lāhor, when Mahābat Khān followed him and sent him back to Dīhilī. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahānghīr's person, and the return of the monarch from Kābul, Mahābat Khān had to fly. Nūr Jahān now appointed M. ⁵A. to follow up Mahābat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M. ⁵A. fell ill at Lāhor, and on his arrival at Dīhilī, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahānghīr's 21st year (1036). The words Khāna Sipahshāhī-lū (where is the Khān Commander?) are the āriā of his death.

M. ⁵A.'s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrat and Sind and the defeat of Sahayl Khān of Bījāpūr. During Jahānghīr'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 Dakhin.
Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dakhín, and 5Abd 'l-Faḍl, on one occasion, gave his father that M. 5A. was a rebel. Under Jahāngīr, he was the open friend of Malik 5Ambar; and Muḥammad Maṣūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 5Ambar's correspondence in the possession of 5Abd 5r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M. 5A. Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this; but 5Abd 5r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. 5A.'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 Mūṣṣir-i Raḥīm is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shows that he was the Mecenas of Akbar's age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir 5Ali Sher (vide p. 107, note 6). M. 5A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of Raḥīm.

Though his father had been a Shī'ah, M. 5A. was a Sunnī; but people said he was a Shī'ah, but practised taqiyya.2

M. 5A.'s most faithful servant was Mīvān Fāhīm. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rājpūt. He grew up with M. 5A.'s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Firūz Khān and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahābat Khān, who had imprisoned his master. M. 5A. built him a tomb in Dīhli, which is now called Nīlā Barj, near Ḥumāyūn's tomb. (Asūr 5r-ṣumādid.)

M. 5A. outlived his four sons.

1. Mīrzā Iripp (or Irīj), Shahnawāz Khān Bahādur (No. 255). When young he used to be called Khān Khānān-i jauān. 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 5Ambar who got wounded, he received the title of Bahādur. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was called Shahnawāz Khān (vide Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028, from excessive drinking. (Vide Tuzuk, p. 270.)

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1 Called Maṣūm-i Raḥīmī in allusion to his name M. 5Abd 5r-Raḥīm. Vide Elliot's Index (1st edition), p. 377.
2 Wherever Shi'as are in the minority, they practice, if necessary, taqiyya (i.e., fear, caution), i.e., they do as if they were Sunnis. A Shi'ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.
3 Near Nānūd. — R.
Two of his sons are mentioned in the Pādishāh-nāma. 1. Mīrā Kān. He was Fawjdār of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabī's II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1053 (Pādishāh-nāma II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkārshikān Kān. He got in 1047 a present of 4,000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawāz Kān generally Shahnawāz Kān-i Jahāngirī, to distinguish him from Shahnawāz Kān-i Safawi, a grandee of Shāhjahān.

2. Mīrā Darāb Darāb-Khān. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Shāhjahān made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawāz Kān as hostages (yarqhamāl). When the prince after the fight near the Toms (Benares) had again to go to the Dakhin, he wrote to Darāb Kān to move to Gadhi (N.W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Darāb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zaminārs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parviz and Mahābat Kān, and as Jahāngir had "no objections", Mahābat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M. S.A. as a present of a "melon". A short time before S.Abdul Ilāh Kān had killed Darāb's son and a son of Shahnawāz Kān.

3. Mīrā Rohmān Dād. His mother belonged to the Sandahās of Amarkot. Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father. He died, at Bālāpur, about the same time as his eldest brother. Vide Turak, p. 315. No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous saint Ḥaẓrat Ṣāi of Sindh to M. S.A. on a visit of condolence.

4. Mīrā Ameer Ilāh. He grew up without education, and died when young.

30. Rāja Mān Singh, son of Bhagwān Dās.

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27). European historians say that he was the adopted son of Rāja Bh. D., but Muhammadan historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindus make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of Mīrā Rāja, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Fanzand (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihārī Mal (p. 329). In 984 he was appointed against Rānā Kikā, and gained, in 985, the great battle near Goganda.²

¹ Corrected in No. 100.—R.
² The best account of this battle is to be found in Babār-nām, who was an eye-witness. Bab. II, 230 to 257. The whole is left out in Briggs.
Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwāliyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the mêlée was wounded by Mān Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and so recalled him.

When Bhagwán Dās was appointed governor of the Panjāb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince M. Muḥammad Hakim died, and M. S. was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muḥammad Hakim’s sons (M. Afrāsayyāb and M. Kārqubād) but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Raushānis who, like other Afghan tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rāja Bir Bar, in the war with the Yūsufzāis, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kābul, in succession of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34) and Hakim Abū l-Fath. He was also put in charge of Zābulistān, as Bhagwán Dās had a fit of madness (p. 358). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rājpūts and M. S.’s indifference to the Kābulis, and was appointed Governor of Bihār, to which province the tāyūls of the Kachhwāhas had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwán Dās in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of Kūsvar, received from Akbar the title of Rāja and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihār he punished several refractory Zamindārs, as Pūrān Mal and Rāja Sangrām, and received their tribute.

The principal events in Mān 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 Jhārkhand (Chuttīā Nāgpūr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūrī. In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja Osmān attacked Pūrī, M. S. again invaded Orissa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihlī empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bhāṭī (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagar, or Rājmahall, at a place which Sher Shāh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salimnagar, the Fort of Sherpūr Murehā (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 Lachmī Naraśīn, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, who had
declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. fell dangerously ill at Ghuraghat, when the Afghanfs 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 Hijaz Khan into Kuck Bihar for the protection of Lachmi Narain. In the 44th year M. S., at Akbar's request, joined the Dakhin war. Thinking that the Afghanfs, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich Isma of Ghuraghat, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmir. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahu Singh, a grandson of M. S. The Afghanfs under Usman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperial forces near Bhdrak in Orissa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtas, and defeated the Afghanfs near Sherpur Atai, a town of the Sirkar of Shariffabad, which extended from Bardwan to Fath Singh, S. of Murshibabad. After this victory, which obliged Usman 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 Hindu above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shahrush (vide p. 326) and M. Asiz Koka (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. Jahangir thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Raja had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rohrtas (Bihar), after which he joined the Emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. Abdur-Rahim (No. 29) in the Dakhin war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign, whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bhao Singh, regarding whose succession to the title, vide Turuk-i Jahangiri, p. 130.

The ground on which the Taj at Agra stands, belonged to Man Singh.

1 He died in 1005.
31. Muhammad Quli Khán Barlás, a descendant of the Barmaqs (†). He served under Humáyún, and held Multán as jāgīr. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he conveyed, together with Shams-ul-Dīn Atqā (No. 15) the princesses from Kābul to India. His tayjūl was subsequently transferred to Nāgor. For a short time he was also Governor of Mālwa.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khán Uzbek (vide No. 48) in Andh. After the death of Khán Zamān, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Andh was given to Muhammad Quli Khán as jāgīr.

He subsequently served under Munṣim Khán in Bihār and Bengal. In the 16th year when Dā'ud had withdrawn to Sātgāw (Hūgli) Munṣim Khán dispatched M. Q. Khán to follow up the Afghāns, whilst he remained with Rāja Tōdar Mal in Tānda to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khán arrived at Sātgāw Dā'ud withdrew to Orissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khán nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sātgāw M. Q. Khán invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), where Sārmadi, a friend of Dā'ud's, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sātgāw. Munṣim Khán at last ordered Tōdar Mal to join M. G. Khán, and subsequently both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier M. Q. Khán died at Mednapore (Midnapore), Ramāzān, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play.

His son, Mirzā Forōdān Barlás (No. 227). He served under M. 'Abdūr-Raḥīm (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jānī Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a Commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahāngīr, he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rānā Amr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mihr ŚAli Barlás was made by Jahāngīr a Commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson Khán, sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Sayfūl-Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muḥammad Khán. Sayfūl-Mulk had been an independent ruler in Ghārjistān (a part of Khurāsān); but he had to submit to Tahmasp (a.h. 940).

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1 So in the MSS, but the name Barānās is very doubtful. Being a "Barlás", he belonged to that Chaghā tribal which traced its descent to Ḍūnī and or Ṭūnī—the MSS. have various forms for this name—who is the 8th ancestor of Timūr. If Šarīf be the correct form, the substitution of Šarīf for Ṭūnī, a renowned name in Muhammadan history, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the Muṣḥaf have Barānās. 1-Fulānī says that this 8th ancestor of Timūr was the first that held the title of Šarīf, which means the same as Ṭūnī, brave. Another Barlás had been mentioned above on p. 216. An Amīr Chākū Barlás served with distinction under Timūr.
Tarsun Khan was in the service of Bayram Khan (No. 10), and joined Akbar when Bayram fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him, together with Hajji Muhammad Sattani (No. 55), to see Bayram on his way to Makkah, as far as Nogur, 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 (vide No. 107), and then of Patan in Gujrat. In the 21st year he served in Rajputana, vide No. 44. In the 23rd year he was made Fawjdar of Jaunpur, at the same time that Mullâ Muhammad Yazdi (vide p. 198) was appointed Qâzy or Qâzy of Jâzû and Sadr of the Sirkâr. When the Jaunpur Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amirs moved to Bihâr against Bahâdur Khân and Arab Khân, who were joined by Maâ’um Khân Farnakhdâd (No. 157). In the 27th year he served under M. Azaiz Koka in Bihâr. When the Qâqshâla (No. 50) left Maâ’um Khân and joined the Imperialists, M. Azaiz sent T. Kh. to Ghorâghât, where most of the Qâqshâla had jâgrâs. T. Kh. stayed at Taipur (Dinagapore), settling matters, when Maâ’um Khân came with a large army from Bâthi (vide p. 197), and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tanda; he also sent a detachment against T. Kh., who was besieged in the fort of Taipur. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shâhâb Khân-i Kambû (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shâhâb and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal. Maâ’um fled again to Bâthi, and Shâhâb and T. Kh. planned an expedition against Islâmah, who had afforded Maâ’um shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrâpur, which stands on the frontier of Bâthi, took Sunnârgâw, plundered Baktarâpur (?), where Islâmah used to live, and nearly caught Maâ’um. At this juncture, Islâmah returned from an expedition to Kich Bihâr, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowâl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

1 Abû ’l-Fazl gives this spelling in the Akbar-nâma, and says it means lowland (from the Hindustanî چو من, down the river), and extends nearly 400 lâs from east to west, and 300 lâs from N.S. to Thibet to the ocean. It would thus include the Sundarbans and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 260, notes, defines Bhâtî as comprising the Sunderbans and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hîlî, overflowed by the tide.

2 Islâm’s father, according to Abû ’l-Fazl, was a Râjpît of the Bala clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salim Khân and Tâj Khân of Bengal, was killed; and his two sons, Islâm and Ismail, were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Qutb-’l-Din Khân. Islâm’s uncle, to Thibet, and brought back. Islâm soon became the chief of Bâthi, and had twelve great zamindârs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abû ’l-Fazl, Mardâs-i Bâthi, ruler of Bâthi. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with Islâm, the Vakil of Qutb Khân of Orlâk, who ceased Pûrî to Mûn Singh.
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 Mas'ud Khan and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Mas'ud (992). For a relation of his, vide No. 400.

33. Qiyā Khān Gung.

Qiyā is a Turkish word and means zeb, ornament. Gung, if it is the Persian word, means "dumb": He served under Humāyūn, and held Kol Jalāli. On the approach of Hemū, he joined Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dihlí, and retreated with him. After Hemū's defeat, Qiyā was sent to Ágra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand. Several parganas in Gwalír having been given to him as tayyīl, Qiyā Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwalíyār, which was held by Bhill Khān, a general of Salim Shāh, during whose reign Gwalíyār had been the capital of the empire. Bhill Khān, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished to hand it over for a consideration to Raja Rámsáh, whose ancestors had held Gwalír, when Qiyā Khān arrived, and after defeating the Raja, prepared himself to besiege Bhill Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Ágra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyā, and Bhill Khān submitted.

He was a friend of Bayrām, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyā Khān joined Khān Zamān's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Muntīm Khān.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Orissa, to settle matters. He remained in Orissa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutül Khān seized upon Orissa, and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989).1

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1 So the Mā'āst. The Samsiāk says that Raja Rámsáh with a large force of Rájpúta, had come to besiege Gwalíyār. Firehāta instead of Bhill Khān (Akbarñāma, Sawándh, Bādā, and) has Subayl Khān (7), and Iqbal Khān (1) for Qiyā Khān, vide Briggs, II, p. 194. The change from ژا to ژ in is not remarkable: but the alteration of ꙛ to ꙛ is more violent, as we have an additional ꙛ and ꙛ.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are may be seen from Khāfī Khān'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.:

P. 237, last line, for Ahir Khán Koh, read Zayu Khán Koh (No. 34).

P. 238, l. 1, for Shaik Khán, read Shaikzat Khán (No. 11).

P. 238, l. 2, for Rais Khán, read Tūmra Khán (No. 32).

Moreover Khāfī Khān's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjbarāris given in the Tādṣīf.2

2 Several copies of the Tādṣīf which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died in 984 (1).
Tārīkh Khān (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dāvūd to the Daḵhin, 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. Zayn Khān, son of Khwāja Maqṣūd of Harāt.

His father, Khwāja Maqṣūd ʿAlī, was a servant of Akbar’s mother. The name of his mother was Fīcha Jān Anāqā; she was one of Akbar’s nurses. On Humāyūn’s flight to Persia, Maqṣūd was always near the howdah of Akbar’s mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwāja Ḥasan (Zayn Khān’s uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salīm. She is the mother of Prince Parvīz.

In 993, Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zābulistān. Zayn Khān was at that time a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yūsufzāis. This tribe, says ʿAbū l-Fazl, had formerly been in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kābul, where a great number of them were killed by M. ʿUlūgh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghānāt, and subsequently at Iṣhtaghar. For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor, and were notorious robbers. In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sulṭānī, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sulṭān Sikandar. The Yūsufzāis deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sulṭānīdes, however, remained in Bājor from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muhammad Ḥakīm, the chiefs of the Yūsufzāis submitted, and one of them, Kālī, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsa ʿd-Dīn Khāfī (No. 159) near Atāk; and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zayn Khān moved into the District of Bajor (north of Pashāwar), and punished the Yūsufzāis. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdara, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask

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¹ As he was Akbar’s foster-brother; he is generally called in histories, Zayn Khān Koka.
² Or Bijār (7).—P.
for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bir Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath with some troops. Zayn Khān asked them to attack the Afghāns whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district. But Bir Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath, who were no friends of Zayn Khān, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzāis 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 ڑک). 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 Afghāns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewa Balandri (گہرہ بلالدیر), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear (chandāwal), 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 Afghāns seeking death, when Jānīsh Bahādur (No. 235) 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 Afghāns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghāns. Their enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bir Bar with 500 officers fell (vide p. 214).

In the 31st year (994), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmads and Ghuris near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rawshānī had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zābulistān vice Mān Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzāis. 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 Pājkora (پنجکورہ), where their district commences. During the festival of the Ǫd-i Qurbān (Baqr Ǫld, in Zī Hijjah), he surprised the Afghāns and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

1 Girewa means a hill.
2 Or Pājkora.
he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers 1 (Vide No. 46.)

In the 35th year he was sent to punish several rebellious zamindârs in the Himâlayas. Most of them, as Râja Budi (Badi) Chand of Nagarkot (vide p. 349), Rây Perâb of Mânko, Râja Parisrâm of Mount Jamû, Râja Bâsuî of Mau, Rây Bâlhdhr of Lakhinpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 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 salâm and a naqqâra (vide p. 52), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindâkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and governor of Kâbul, vice Qulîj Khân. In the same year, Prince Salim fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (vide p. 288, l. 1, from below). With the death of Jalâl Khân Rawshâhî the disturbances in Zâbulistân came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Lâhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhânpur, called him to Agra.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Sa'îd Khân (No. 25) for his eunuchs, and Qulîj Khân (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

A son of his, Shukrâ 'Ullah (No. 373), vide below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The Mu'âzir mentions another son, Mughil Khân, who served under Jahângîr and Shâbjahân (vide Pâdishâhîn. II, p. 641) and died 19th Ramadân, 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Ogdîr in the Dakhân, where the author of the Mu'âzir later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, vide p. 346.

For Zayn Khân's brother, vide No. 38.

35. Mirzâ 'Ustîf Khân, son of Mir 'A'îmad-i Razâî.

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.

1 Such forts were called Thânas, now the common word for a police station.

"Thâna 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 Thâna, and to dispatch provisions (rassa) to the next Thâna." Padishâhîn. I, p. 107.

How old the use of the word Thâna is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequenly on Tribeni and Siâgîn inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.
When Shâhâbâz Khân left Bihâr for Bengal, M. Yûsuf Khân was sent from Aúdh to keep Bihâr. In the 32nd year (995), when Qâsim Khân (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 to 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 Mararâj and Kamrâj, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat 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 Bigha, 1 Biswa (Ilâhi) of Akbar. Two and a half pattas and a little more are equal to 1 Kashmiri Bigha. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some kharsârs of shâli. A kharwâr is equal to 3 mans, 8 sers of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmir is the tark, which is equal to 8 sers of Akbar (vide p. 90, note 2). At the time of the Rabi’ crop, they take 2 tarks from each patta of wheat and vetches (mâsh). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs kharwârs, which was 2 lacs more than before, the kharwâr being reckoned at 16 dâms. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmir to M. Y. Kh.

In the 36th year, one of M. Y. Kh’s Muta’addis (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 per cent (dah-pa’izdah) higher, and the kharwâr should be valued at 29 dâms. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qâzi Nur’u’l-lah and Qâzi cÂlî to Kashmir to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Kh.’s people assumed a threatening attitude, Nur’u’l-lah returned, and Akbar sent Hasan Beg Shaykh ‘Umari (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 Yâdgâr, the son of M. Y. Kh.’s uncle. The disturbances became so serious that Qâzi cÂlî and Hasan Beg returned to Hindûstân; but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qâzi cÂlî. Hasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yâdgâr then read the khutba 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 Abû ‘l-Fa‘l. Yâdgâr in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hirâpur, where some of M. Y. Kh.’s men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived. In the confusion which ensued, Yâdgâr fled outside of the camp,
accompanied by a servant of the name of Yusuf. His camp was plundered and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yusuf, who had returned to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yâdgûr 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 khâliq, and Shamsu'd-Din Khâfi (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salîm's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dârogâ of the Topkhâna, and received Jaumâpur as tuyûl, vice Qulî Khân (1002); but in the 41st year his jâqîr was transferred to Gujrat, to enable him to serve in the Dakhin. In the following year, when Sâdiq of Harât (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed atâq to Prince Murâd, whom he joined in Bâlûpûr (Barâr). After the death of Prince Murâd (p. 322), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself, together with Abû 'l-Fazl, in the Dakhin wars, and later, under Prince Dânyâl, in the conquest of Aâhmadâbâd, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhânûpur, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dânyâl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abû 'l-Fazl and the Khân-Khânân at Bâlûghât. But soon after, he died of an abscess at Jâlûpûr, in Jumâda II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sulthanpur, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohillas, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. Mirzâ Lashkârî Safshikan Khân (No. 375). He was under Akbar Thânadâr of Bir (East of Aähmadnagar), and got from Jahângîr the title of Safdar Khân, and a tuyûl in Bihâr. In the 5th year (of Jahângîr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Sûbadâr of Kashmir. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahâbat Khân had fled, he was sent towards Dihlî to intercept Mahâbat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Shâh Juhân's reign, he was made a Commander of 2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Safshikan Khân, and was

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1 My copy of the Tabaqât, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—"At the time he was appointed to operate against Bâjû, he died at Jumâthaîtâd in the Dakhân, which is generally called Jâlûpûr." It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabaqât, which was finished in a.H. 1001, or nine years before M. Y. Khân's death.
again sent to Bür, 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 Lahor. He died in 1055.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Maṇṣabdar of Kābul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahāngīr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Mīrzā Ḥasan (حاسن). He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled Chaman.

3. Mīrzā Asfāḥān. "He lived with his brother." He was subsequently made Mutawalli of Sikandra (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mir ʿAbdullāh, was under Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharūr, E. of Bür, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shāhjahān.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdī Qāṣim Khān.

The Taḥqīq mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served under M. ʿAskari, Bābur's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghāzānfar Koka4 (غزائفر). Humāyūn, after the conquest of Gujarāt, had appointed ʿAskari to Aḥmadābād. One night, when half drunk, M. ʿAskari said, "I am king and the shadow of God"; when Ghāzānfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. ʿAskari got enraged, and imprisoned Ghāzānfar; but he escaped, went to Sultan Bāḥādur, king of Gujarāt, who had retreated to Fort Dūr, and betrayed the plans of ʿAskari. Bāḥādur thereupon collected an army, marched to Aḥmadābād and drove the Prince away (vide No. 12).

Mahdī Qāṣim Khān joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, ʿAbdu ʿl-Majīd Aṣaf Khān (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khān Zamān (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jahālpūr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpūr to Agra, and was ordered to capture ʿAbdu ʿl-Majīd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived

at Garha, ʻAbd-i-Majid 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 Garha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahār, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantamhār (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 Lakhnau as tujūl.

“Nothing else is known of him” (Maṣāṣir). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the ʻIṣṭaṣābī was completed. Ḥusayn Khán Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lāhor, which was called Bāgh-i Mahāl Qāsim Khán, vide Badāoni II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahāngir’s Death).

37. Muzaffar Khán-i Turbatī.

Turbat is the name of a tribe (ʻulūs) in Khurāsān. His full name is Khwāja Muzaffar ʻAli Khán-i Turbatī. He was Bayrām’s Diwān. Bayrām delegated him from Dīpālpur to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna (p. 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muzaffar, he pardoned him, and made him ʻAmīl (Collector) of the Pargana of Pārsarūr. Subsequently Akbar made him Diwān-i Buγīār (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last Diwān of the Empire, with the title of Muzaffar Khán (971). Rāja Tūjār Mal was then under him. According to Badāoni, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rāja was a better financier than Muzaffar, whose accession to office was honoured by the shārt tāriḵh, ۶۰۱ ḫaṭā (=971), or “Tyrant”.

In the 11th year he abolished the Jumā-i Raqmī. This is the name of the assessment of the Dihlī empire, which had existed since the time of Bayrām; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things: “for, on account of the number of men (kayrat-i mardum, i.e. Jāghir-holders) and the unsettled state (qalb-i vilāyat) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (ba-naments afzūda) for the sake of mere show (barā-ye mardī-i șībār).” This Jumā-i Raqmī was now abolished (vide Third Book, Aʿīn-i Dahāli, and Muzaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Cəməngos. The new rent roll was called Jumā-i Hazīl-i Hāl, or the roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352). As the Doṣq law (pp. 265, 266, and p. 252) did not then exist, Muzaffar Khán fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the Amīrs and the Mulāzīms (friends
of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes.\footnote{The \textit{Ma'ār} says, he allowed the first class 48,000 dāmān, the second 22,000  
\textit{d.,} and the third 24,000 \textit{d., per annum.} These numbers appear to be very large, on comparison with
p. 241. But what was the value of a dāman in those days? In the 46th year of Akbar's reign, the following pay regulation was introduced:
\begin{tabular}{l c}
\textbf{Mughal, Afghan, or Hindi} & \textbf{Dāman} \\
\textit{Sikh-nāvas} & 1,000  
\textit{d., per annum.} \\
\textit{Dām-nāvas} & 800  \\
\textit{Yāk-nāvas} & 600  \\
1st Class Rājputs & 800  \\
2nd ditto ditto & 600  \\
\end{tabular}

(Akbarnāma). But at that time 40 dāman were equal to 1 Akbarshāhī Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.}

In the 12th year it was reported that Mu'āffar loved a boy of the name of Quṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Mu'āffar assumed the garb of a Faqīr, 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. 315) had seized Akbar's Court. Mu'āffar lost not only his gold mohurs, but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much that he was told to go to Makkah. But he was recalled, and joined the Court at Sūrat, which Akbar then besieged. In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Sārangpūr in Mālwa, he was appointed \textit{Vakil of the Empire}, with the title of \textit{Jumlat al-}
\textit{Mulk}. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from Patna, from where he had dispatched a corps to take Rahtās in South Bihār, he ordered Mu'āffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (\textit{vide} Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, \textit{Khwāja Shams al-Din Khāfi} (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Hājipūr, of which the Afghāns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bihār, from Chaussā to Garhī. Soon after the taking of Hājipūr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afghāns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghandak.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Shāh Mansūr (No. 122) and Rājā Tōdar Mal continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms.

On the death of Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal.

In the 25th year (988), Shāh Mansūr subjected the Amirs of Bihār and Bengal to strict inquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his
demands, Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī and several other grandees that held jāgirs in Bihār, rebelled. Mużaffar imitated Shāh Mańṣūr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and other Jāgirdārs of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihār rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Mużaffar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Orīsā, had not Mużaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tānda, which, according to Bādāoni, 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, Shaṟarshīd-Dīn Hūsāyn (No. 17) escaped from Mużaffar's custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.'s miserable condition. They moved, therefore, against Tānda, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabiś I, 988).¹

The Jāmī Masjid in Āgra was built by Mużaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins, which still go by the name of Navāb Mużaffar Khān ki Masjid or Kālī Masjid. The Maʿāṣir says it stood in the Kātra Mīyān Rauqāq, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jāmī Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1558, by Jāhān Ārā Begum, Shāhjāhān's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the Mirzā's Ḥ-5 Aḥom, his youngest daughter was married to Shāh Fathīllah of Shīrāz.

38. Sayf Khān Koka, elder brother of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Sayf Khān, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar's mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; "besides," said he, "it shall be this time a fine boy." The mother looked upon Prince Akbar's words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Sayf Khān was born.

Akbar was very fond of Sayf Khān, 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 Sūrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Āgra to Ahmādābād (p. 343), and was killed bravely fighting with Muḥammad Hūsāyn Mirzā.

¹ According to Bādāoni (II, p. 282), Mużaffar capitulated, left the fort, and was then captured and slain.
How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Sayf Khan was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Agra, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afkhan (355), and Amān-ul-Ilāh (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

39. Rāja Todār Mal, a Khatri.

He was born at Lāhor. The Ma’āṣir ‘l-Umarā does not record his services before the 16th 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 Muzzaffar (Bad. II, 63), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (vide No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrat he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an qalāna and a nāqqāra (Ā in 19), and was ordered to accompany Munīm Khan to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dā‘ūd Khān-i Kararānī, when Khān ‘Alām (vide No. 58) had been killed, and Munīm Khan’s horse had run away, the Rāja held his ground bravely, and “not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory”. “What harm,” said Todar Mal, “if Khān ‘Alām is dead; what fear, if the Khān Khānān has run away, the empire is ours!” After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Orisā, Todar Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Todar Mal was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dā‘ūd. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 300 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrat, vice Vāzir Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Ahmadābād matters with Vazir Khān, Muzzaffar Ḥusayn, at the instigation of Muḥr ʿAli Kolābī, rebelled. Vazir Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Todar Mal was ready to fight, and defeated Muzzaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 kos from Ahmadābād. Vazir Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Todar Mal had not come to his assistance. Muzzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jānāgarh.

In the same year Todar Mal was appointed Vāzir. When Akbar left Ajmīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Rāja were lost, as mentioned on p. 33, note.

When the news of Muzzaffar’s death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todar Mal, Šādiq Khān, Tarson Khān, etc., from Faṭhpūr Sīkri to Bihār. Muḥibb ʿAlī (No. 107), Governor of Rahtūs and Muḥammad Maṣūm
Khān-i Farangāḥūdī (No. 157) were appointed kumākīs, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rāja with 3,000 well-equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Tojar Mal managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī, the Qāqāshā, and Mirzā Shārafaʿ ʿal-Dīn Ḥusayn, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungīr, and Tojar Mal, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungīr, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humāyūn Farmīlī and Tarkhān Dīwānī, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Tojar Mal held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bābā Khān Qāqāshā died, and Jabārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqāshā desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī went to South Bihār, and Arab Bahādur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Pahār Khān (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending Maṣṣūm-i Farangāḥūdī to Patna, to assist Pahār Khān, Tojar Mal, and ʿĀdil Khān followed Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī to Bihār. Maṣṣūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat ʿĀdil Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with ʿĪsā Khān, Zamīndār of Ojīsā. Tojar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Gāhrī, was re-annexed to the Dihlī empire.

In the 37th year (990) Tojar Mal was made Dīvānī, or rather Vakīl. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the Aʿīm contains his new rent-roll, or Aṣl-i Jamāʾ-i Tūmār, which superseded Muẓaffār’s assessment (p. 373). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akhnāmā.

The most important reform introduced by Tojar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindū Muhārrīs. Tojar Mal 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 compare to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Tojar Mal’s order, and Akbar’s generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Mān Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, first, that before

[1 Or Mahā Singh — P.]
the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans: secondly, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the Urdū, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Tōdar Mal’s order or to Akbar’s policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honoured him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khatrī, from private hatred, wounded T. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bir Bar (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yūsufzāīs, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmir, T. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go; but he recalled him from Hardwār, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. T. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (vide No. 27, p. 333).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Tōdar Mal’s fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar’s grandees; together with Abū ’l-Faḍl and Mān Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhārū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name Tōdar Mal is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi Ṭ, ḍ, and ḍ, which explains the spelling “Torel Mall”, which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjāhān also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name “Tōdar Mal”.

The Tafrīḥīḥ ‘īsāmāratī says Tōdar Mal’s father died when T. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. T. M., at an early

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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 Si 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 present an English gentleman is praised, whose Christian names are James Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in goa, and may be Babington or some other similar name. The style is hemistic, and there is no proper arrangement.
age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appoint-
ment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest
honours.

40. Muhammed Qāsim Khān, of Nishāpūr.

The Muṣṣar calls him Qasim Muhammad Khān, and has put his name
under the letter Q; but Abū 'l-Faḍl, Badā, oni, and the Tabaqāt give his
name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nishāpūr, and fled after the invasion of
the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bayrām Khān. He
distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as Harāwal,
or leader of the van, under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the battle with Hennī.
Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was
sent against Hājī Khān, who had defeated Rānā Udai Sing of Maiwār,
and taken possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr. Hājī Khān was an old
servant of Sher Khān, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery.
On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Hājī Khān's army
dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrāt. M. Q. Kh. thus took
possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr, which for a long time remained the
south-western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bayrām's party, and joined the Chaghta'i
nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsu-d-Dīn Atga's corps in
the fight in which Bayrām was defeated (p. 332). After the victory,
he received Multān as jāgīr.

He was next sent to Sārangpūr in Mālwa, 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 ʿAbdu'llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14),
M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the Tabaqāt, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sārangpūr.

41. Vaṣīr Khān, brother of ʿAbdu'll-Majīd-i Āṣaf Khān (I), of
Harāt (No. 49).

When Vaṣīr Khān escaped with his brother (vide below, No. 49)
from Bahādur Khān (No. 21), he fled to Kara, and obtained subsequently,
through the mediation of Muzaffar Khān (No. 37), free pardon for himself
and Āṣaf Khān.

In the 21st year, when ʿAzīz Koka (p. 344) had incurred Akbar's
displeasure. V. Kh. was sent to Gujrāt to govern in ʿAzīz's name, and
when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor
(sipahsālār) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and
Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent ʿOdār Mal (No. 39) to Gujrāt, to take
the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the
same time, Mihr Ṣāliḥ Gulābī, a friend of M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm's young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhīn. As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Ṭoḏar Mal's bravery. When the Bāja left, Mihr Ṣāliḥ appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Aḥmadābād. In one of the assaults, Mihr Ṣāliḥ was killed by a bullet, and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 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 vazīr in the place of Shāh Mansūr of Shirāz (No. 123), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. ṢAzīz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihār, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Ṣāzūm Khān sickness obliged ṢAzīz to return to Bihār, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Shībādār should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlū Khān, ruler of Orīṣā, whom he defeated (vide p. 356). Qutlū, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orīṣā. V. Kh. returned to Tānda, and applied himself, with the assistance of Ṣādīq Khān (No. 43) and Shāhābāz Khān-i Kambū (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each gūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amīrs, and Vazīr Khān was appointed Shībādār of Bengal, with Muḥibb Ṣāliḥ Khān (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shāhābāz Khān, who was Bahshī of Bengal, allowed Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Ṣāliḥ showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mīr Murād (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fathpūr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mīr Murād imprisoned him with the assistance of the jāgīrdārs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Quṭlū Khān.

He is called Andajānī, from Andajān, a province of Farghāna, south of the Sayhūn. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timurides. His grandfather was a noble at Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqara's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sūrāt, the "iron fort", which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abū ʿI-Faqīr
that the Fort had been built in 947 (A.D. 1540-41), by Safar Agha, alias Khudavand Khan, a Turkish slave of Sulthan Mahmood of Gujrat. The tarikh of its construction is characteristic (metre long Roman).

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Furingi." 1

Quilij Khan died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramazan 1022 (end of A.D. 1613), 2 at Peshawar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

The Ma'asir and Badai,oni (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of Jaun Qurbani (1); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as Qurbani Farbani, Farzani, etc.

The Ma'asir copies from the Zakhirat Khawain the following story, which is said to have taken place in A.H. 1000, when Jaunpur was Q.'s jagir. "Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called; and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one man. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Ram Chand's avatari (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sit.; whether Krishna's avatari had taken place at Mathura; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadana. In sleep and

1 The numbers added give 947. The last या, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

2 So according to the Tarz-i Juhaspéri (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 122, 1. 1).

Mished by bad MSS., I mentioned on p. 25, note, the year 1035 as the year of his death. The Ma'asir give for his death the Arabic words, Al mascula yasir al-abla al-abla ("Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the beloved")." But the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the Tarz.

For Husayn in the last line of the note on p. 25, which is given in inferior MSS., better copies have Ulisc Quilij, which is to be substituted for it.

His tah pillus "Ufali" has been mentioned above. The Tahqiqat says that another poet of the same tahpillus was in the service of Zayn Khan Koka (No. 34), and Badai,oni (III, 188, 189) mentions two other poets of the same tahpillus.

Quilij, properly quilij, means in Turkish a sword, and "Quilij Khan" is the same as Shamsheer Khan. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels and a final ए.
eating he differed from other men: he spoke to no one, and died after six months."


43. Šādiq Khān, son of Bāqīr of Hurāt.

Other historians call him Šādiq Muḥammad Khān.¹ His father, Muḥammad Bāqīr, had been evīr to Qarā Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurāsān. Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Taḏmāsp, and fled to India. Šādiq entered Bayrām's service as Rikābdār (spur-holder),² and got soon after a manṣūb, and was made, after Bayrām's death, an Amlī. Bādāwīni (II. 220) alludes to his services under Humayūn in Qandahār, and the Tabāqāt says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service.

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpur. On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished through Š.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jagir, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Ghorū, or Bandā-REW), to get another elephant. After passing over "the heights and the low places" of fortune, Šādiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 100 elephants, and was restored to favour. He was made governor of Garha, vice Rāī Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Š., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rāja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Š. saw that kindness would not do: he therefore took the fort of Karharā (12.5), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthārā, close to which Undchha lay, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rām Sāh. Another son of his, Horal Deo (Marāṣir, Horāl Rāo), and about 200 Rājpūts were killed. Š. remained encamped in the Rāja's territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rām Chand (No. 248), a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahīra, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramaẓān, 986, Šādiq with the penitent Rāja arrived at Court.

Soon after Š.'s aqīf² 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 ʿAzīz Koka

¹ Akbar disliked the names Muḥammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abū Fazi leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Muḥsin Khān (No. 11), Mirzā ʿAzīz (No. 21), for Muḥammad Munṣīr and M. Muḥammad ʿAzīz; or, Shihāb Khān (No. 26), for Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān. More examples will be found below.
² Rikābdār, "spur-holder, one that runs at the stirrup of a great man, retinue." The pointed corner of the plate that forms the foot-rest of the Indian stirrup is used as a spur.—P.}
(No. 21), Sädiq and Mubibb ʿAli Khan (No. 107), defeated Khabīṭa, one of Māʿsum’s officers, on the Ghandak near Ḥājipūr, 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 Mirzā Koka, who had again left for Bihār.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazir Khān (No. 41), who at a place six kos from Bariwān was treating with Qutūlū. Through Ş’s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutūlū in the possession of Orīsā. Ş then returned to his tugūl at Patna.

When Shāh bāz Khān (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bāṭī, the tugūldārs of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him. Ş, however, was no friend of Shāh bāz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ş’s elephant ran against Shāh bāz, who believed the accident premeditated: and Akbar sent Khwāja Sulaymān (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihār; but Ş, in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shāh bāz went from Bihār to Bengal, Ş went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān.

When the Rawshānis in the District of Mount Tersh (١), “which lies west of Pashāwar, and is 32 kos long, and 12 kos broad,” commenced disturbances, Ş, in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zayn Khān (No. 34) from Bījār, Ş was sent there, to subjugate the Yūsafzāis.

In the 36th year, Prince Mūrad was sent from Mālwa to Gūjrat, and as Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as Vākūl, Ş was appointed aṭāʾīq to the Prince, whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakhin. Shāh bāz Khān, being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmād nāgar had been raised, Ş distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Bārār.

In the beginning of the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Sarāwar Khān, and made much

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1 Khabīṭa (خابیتا) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Māʿsum-i Khālu from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In Bāṣkirt (Ed. Ill. Indica, p. 310), he is called Khabīṭa Bahādur (خابیتا بہادر) and Khāna (خانا) in my MS. of the Tāj al-ʿulāmī, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

2 The spelling Qutūlū is perhaps preferable to Qutūl if this name is a shortened form of Qutūlīgh.

3 From several passages in the Akbarnāma it is clear that aṭāʾīq (a tutor) means the same as Vākūl or Vāzir. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their Vażirs, their Dījinān, Bāhibāz, etc. The appointment of the Vākūl, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.
booty. He was then made governor of Shāhpūr, which town Prince Murād had founded six kos from Balāpur.

Ṣādīq died at Shāhpūr in the beginning of 1005. At Dholpūr, which "lies 20 kos from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river," Ṣādīq 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. Zähīd Khān (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year, he was made a Khān, and, on the accession of Jahāngīr, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Dost Muḥammad (No. 287). 3. Yār Muḥammad (No. 288). "Neither of them was alive at the time of Shābjahān." Muṣāṣer.

44. Rāy Rāyāsingh, son of Rāy Kalyān Mal (No. 93).

Rāy Singh belonged to the Rāthors of Bikānīr, and is the fourth descendant from Rāy Mālde. His father, Kalyān Mal, was a friend of Bayrām (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmīr, when he together with his son entered the emperor's service. He also sent his brother's daughter to Akbar's harem. Kalyān Mal was in the 40th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rāy Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gujrat, occupied Jodhpūr, the old seat of Māl Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dīlī territory; but Ibn-rīm, after his defeat at Sarnāl, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nāgor, which at that time was the tāyūl of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), and was defended by his son, Farrukh Khān (p. 339). R. came to his relief, and the Mīrzā 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 Muḥammad Husayn Mīrzā (p. 343).

In the 19th year, R. and Shāh Quṭb Mahram (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Sen, son of Rāja Māl Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwāna, Chandr Sen's stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.'s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shāhbaż Khān (No. 80) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarson Muḥammad Khān (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamīndārs of Jàlor and Sarōhi; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Ḥāshim of Bārha (No. 143) garrisoned Nādot to watch the Rānā of Udaipur, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltān Deoda, the zamīndār of Sarōhi, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarōhi and besieged it. During the siege,
R. called his family to his camp; but Saltan Deoda fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abūgarh. R. in the meantime took Sarohi, and hastened to Abūgarh, which Saltan surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltan to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥākim, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murād. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Āgra, R. and several others were sent as ṭuyūldārs to the Panjāb. In the 28th year he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year R. and Iṣmā'īl Quli Khān (vide No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balūchis. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.'s daughter was married to Prince Salim. In the 35th year he went for some time to Bīkānīr, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindh under M. ʿAbd al-Rahim (No. 29).

In the 38th year Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rāja Rāmchand Baghela of Bāndhū died suddenly on his way to Bāndhū, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rāja 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 Sūrat, with the order to assist in the Dakhin wars. R., however, delayed in Bīkānīr, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Sūrat. 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 Abū l-Faṣl to Nāsīk; but as his son Dalpat (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bīkānīr

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1 Abūgarh is a fort near Sarohi, and not far from the frontier between Gujrat and Ajmīr. Abū l-Faṣl says in the Akbarnāma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abūgarh was Asbadā Asbāl; Asbadā being the name of a spirit, who, disguised as a female, shows wanderers the way, and asbāl meaning scentless. The hat 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 Sinhalī and the Akbarnāma have Saltan Deoda (راجع نص نص صنها) for Saltan Deoda (راجع نص نص صنها) of the Maṭāṣir.

2 For Dalpat, the Tuzuk-i Jahangirī (pp. 96, 106, and 136) has wrongly Dalip. The Tuzuk and the second volume of the Pādshah-namā (Edt. Bibl. Indica, p. 633) have Sūraj Singh, for Sūr Singh. But the Maṭāṣir and the first volume of the Pādshah-namā have Sūr Singh (pp. 297, 298, at the end of the first decade.)
(vide p. 386), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to Court. In the 48th year he served under Prince Sálim against the Rána of Udaipúr.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahángir, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjáb to pursue Khusrú, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bikanír. In the second year, when Jahángir returned from Kábul, R., at the advice of Sharíf Khán, presented himself before the emperor with a júta 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. 252), He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sindh war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dakhin, Muqaffár Husayn Mírzá, in consequence of his differences with Khwájájí Fath 'llah had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bikanír and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court.

In the third year of Jahángir's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khán Jaháín Lodí he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dakhin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of Ráj, although his younger brother (by another mother), Súr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Ráj Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Súr Singh, however, disgusted Jahángír by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam-i Șáíawí (No. 8), the governor of Sindh. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahángír that Súr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hissáár. Hásim, the Fawjdár of the Sarkár, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat's son, Mahes Dáś, and grandson, Ratan, vide Pádisháhánáma, pp. 635, 723; 634, 729.

2. Súr Singh. After the death of his brother he rose to favour. In Histories he is generally called Ráo Súr Singh, a title which he received from Sháhjáhán. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sál, the former of whom inherited the title of Ráo (vide Pádisháhánáma II, p. 727).
VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Shâh Quli Mahram-i Bahârî.

He was in Bayrâm's service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemû. It was Shâh Quli that attacked Hemû's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemû, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar. Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh. Q. served with Muhammad Qâsim Khân (No. 40) against IJâji Khân in Nâgor and Ajmûr.

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 Qâbûl Khân; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed, Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogi, and went into the forests. Bayrâm traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bâbâ Zambûr, he remained faithful to Bayrâm to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwârâ (p. 332).

After Bayrâm's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amîr. In the 20th year, when Khân Jahân (No. 24) was sent from the Panjâb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjâb, 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 (majôbûb). From the circumstances, he was everywhere called Mahram, i.e., one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zâbulustân, crossed the Bahât (Jhelum) near Rasûlpûr, and encamped at Hailân. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a maste 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 Râjpûta of Shâykhâvat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewât to Rewârû; and in the

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1 Before the end of the first year, Pir Muhammad was dispatched against IJâji Khân in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sarhâr of Alwar as far as Deoli Sijâr (or Sijkhâr), the birth-place of Hemû, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemû'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 spoil, Pir M. returned to Akbar. "Sandah from the Jâhâban.

2 For similar examples, see p. 333, which also happened in the third year, and No. 27, p. 374.

3 Or Mahram.
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 Tabaqāt says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Agra in 1010. At Narnaul, 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. Ismā'īl Quli Khān, brother of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jālinādh (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 favourably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balūchis (vide No. 44). On his arrival in Balūchistān the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajhiya and Ibrāhim Khān, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zābulistān, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah. He begged hard to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yūsufzā'is.

At that time epidemics were raging in Bījor, and the chiefs of the Yūsufzā'is came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zayn Khān (No. 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalāla Rawshāni, who had left Terah and entered Bījor. Zayn Khān therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Šādiq Khān (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalāla, amoved I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Thānādār of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalāla to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrat. In the 36th year, when Prince Murād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I. Q. was appointed his Šādiq or Vakil; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Šādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead.
In the 39th year, he was sent to Kâlpî, to look after his jâgîr. 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, etc. He kept 1,200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night-drawers. The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him.

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1. Ibrâhîm Quli (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred: 2. Salîm Quli (No. 357), and 3. Khâlîl Quli (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.

47. Mirzâ Jâni Beg, ruler of Thatha.

He belonged to the Arghûn clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khân. Abû'l-Faṣl in the Akbarnâma gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khân

Tâli Khân.

Hulâgû Khân (the brother of Mangû [Qâan].

Abâgh (or, Abâghâ) Khân, [d. 663].

Arghûn Khân, d. 690.

Four generations intervening.

Atkû Timûr

Shankal Beg Tarkhân

Several generations not known.

<Abû] Khâliq Tarkhân

Mirzâ 'Abû 'l-'Ali [Tarkhân. Of his ancestors Atkû Timûr had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khân, and the Emperor Timûr took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a Tarkhân (vide the note at the end of this biography). Mirzâ <Abû]l <Ali, fourth ancestor of M. Jâni Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sulţân Mahmûd; son of M. Abû Sâ'îd, and received the government of Bûkhrâ. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaybânî Khân Uzbak; only his sixth son, M. Muḥâzîmad 6Isâ escaped. The Arghûn clan in Bûkhrâ, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurasân, where they attached themselves to Mir Žû l-Nûn Beg Arghûn, who was the Amîr d-Umarâ and Sipahsâlar of Sulţân Husîn Myrza. He also was atâ'îq and father-in-law to Prince Bâdî' z-Zamân Mirzâ, and held Qandahâr as
M. Muḥammad Ṭārkhān, "jāgīr. When the prince's career ended, his two sons, Ṣadīq and Zāmān, proclaimed themselves kings of Khurāsān.

Mirzā Pāyanda Muḥammad Tārkhān, when Shaybān Khān invaded the country, fled to the vicinity of Date Beg. Zu 'l-Nūn Beg fell in battle against him.

Mirzā Ḥādī Beg Tārkhān.

Mirzā Ḥādī Beg Tārkhān.

Shuṣā Beg, better known as Shāh Beg, Šūa's son, held Qandahār during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Šāḥ Nizām ad-Dīn (generally called in Histories Šāh Nandā), king of Sind. He continued to interfere, as related by Abū 'l-Faḍl below in the Third Book, (Ṣūba of Sind), and managed, at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahār, which had been occupied by Bābur. A short time before his death, which took place in 930, he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the Langūhs.

Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mirzā Shāh Muslim Arghūn, who took Multān from Sultān Ḥusayn Langūh (vide Third Book, Sūba of Multān). M. Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus. He therefore used to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards for the remaining portion. On one occasion, he went towards Bhakkar, when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣaṣ, third ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, as their chief. M. Shāh Ḥusayn, assisted by his foster brother, Sultān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bakkar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sind to M. Ṣaṣ. On Shāh Ḥusayn's death, in 963, the whole country fell to Ṣaṣ.

In this manner the elder branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of Thatha.

Ṣaṣ died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muḥammad Baqqī, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Jān Bāḥa. M. Baqqī, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as his son, M. Pāyanda Muḥammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M. Jānī Beg, son of M. Pāyanda.
Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjab, M. Jami Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khan Khânân was ordered to invade Qandahâr, 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. Multân and Bhakkar being the tâyûl of the Khan Khânân, he did not move into Qandahâr by way of Ghaznî and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jagir. In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khan Khânân set out at once for Sindh (vide p. 356, and Brig's Firishta). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khan Khânân, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lahor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Sâba of Multân as tâyûl, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Shâhrûkh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghûn clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new tâyûl, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Laharî Bandar, however, became khâlija, and the Sarkâr of Siwistan which had formerly paid pîshkash, 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. 218–9), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abû 'l-Faqî has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (sarsâna), of which he died, in 1608, at Bûrhanpur in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Asîr.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Asîr, 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 takhâlluq of Hâlimî.¹

¹ Here follows a description of Shinde taken from the Third Book of the Azîn, concluding with the following remark:—

"At present (when the author of the Ma'âjir wrote), the whole of Sindhi is under Khâdâ Yâr Khân Lati (iated). From a long time he had harnessed tijara bardî the Sâbas of Thatha, and the Sarkârs of Siwistan and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the district on the other side of the Indus was ceded to Nâdir Shâh, Khâdâ Yâr Khân administered them for Nâdir Shâh."
Mirza Ghazi Beg, son of M. Jami 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 Mirza ʿIṣṣā Tarkhan; son of Mirza Jān Bābā (brother of M. Muḥammad Bāqī, grandfather of M. Jānū Beg); but Khusrav Khan Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghūns and ʿAfkū to his father, espoused his cause, and M. ʿIṣṣā Tarkhan fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghāzī Beg and Khusrav Khan had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Saʿīd Khan (No. 25) and his son Saʿīdu ʿllāh to Bhakkar, and M. Ghāzī Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, M. Ghāzī Beg received Multān in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahār (Tuzuk, pp. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Ḥusayn Khan Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Harāt. He also received the title of Farzand (son). Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several ḥaflats.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018, the word Ghāzi being the Tāriḵh of his death. Suspicion attaches to Luṭf-ʿllāh, his ʿAfḵīl and son of Khusrav Khan Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghāzī does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the takhallus of Vagāri, which he had bought of a Qandahār poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Tālib of Amul, Mullā Murshid-i Yazdiḏrī, Mir Niṣ-mat-ʿllāh Vacili, Mullā Asad Qīṣa-khwān, and especially Fughfurī of Gīlān enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for daḵli (vide p. 108, note 8). In his private life, M. Ghāzī was dissolute. Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin; girls from all places were brought to him, and the

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1 Saʿīdu ʿllāh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 351. He received the title of Naṣirīkh Khan in 1020; vide Tuzuk, pp. 34, 96.
2 So the ʿAbās, The Tuzuk (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghāzī in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1021.
3 After M. Ghāzī Beg's death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns, and M. Kustam was appointed Governor (vide p. 314).

Khusrav Chirgis tried to set up some ʿAbīz-ʿAll Tarkhan, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahāngīr bestowed his favours on Mirzā ʿĪsā Tarkhan, son of M. Jān Bābā (uncle of M. Jānū Beg). He rose to the highest honours under Shāhjahān, and died more than a hundred years old, in 1062, at Sambhar. He had four sons—1. Mirzā Khayyat, who died in the 21st year of Shāhjahān; 2. Mirzā Muḥammad Sāliḥ, who played some part during Awrangzib's war with Dārā Shikoh; 3. Fath-ʿllāh, 4. M. ʿAqīl, Mirzā Būrūz; M. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Shāhjahān.
women of the town of Thata are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzā.

Note on the meaning of the title of "Tarkhān".

Abū 'l-Faḍl, in the Akbarnāma (38th year) has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingiz Khān conferred it on Qishliq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court taklīf-i bār). A Chingiz Khān, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timūr, a Tarkhān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number nine.

Some say, a Tarkhān had seven distinctions and privileges—1. a tabl; 2. a tāmāntoghl; 3. a naqqāra; 4. he can confer on two of his men a qishān togh, or chapar togh; 5. his Qur (p. 116) was carried (qūr-i ʿū niz bardārīnd). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (qurq) 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 belonged. In the state hall the Amirs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (kamānnwār).

When Tughrulq Timūr conferred this title upon an Amir, he put all financial matters (dād o sitad) as far as a Hazāri (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarkhān had to answer for blood shed by him (pādāsh-i khān), he was placed on a silver-white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Bartās clan (vide p. 364 note), and the

[1] Taklīf duty.—P.J.
[2] Nine was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received nine presents, or the present consisted of nine pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghāsi tugh (or tāqūz or tughā), nine came to mean a present in which sense it occurs in the Phālikkhusuṣ and the S Adamsir-nama, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as haft tughā pācha, "a present of seven pieces of cloth."
sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkīwat (اُركیوت) 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 Khwāja in making Mīr Khudādād a Tarkhān, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (tābī), when all granlees have to walk on foot, and only the yasīwat (chief mace-bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarkhān also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhān from the left. 3. The Tarkhān’s seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abū l-Fāżl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough; he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes; but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations.

48. Iskandar Khān, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humāyūn, who on his return to India made him a Khān. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Āgra. On Hemū’s approach, he left Āgra, and joined Tardi Beg at Dīhilī. Both opposed Hemū, Iskandar commanding the left wing (jūranāghār). His wing defeated the right wing (buruṇgāhār) and the van (harāneul) of Hemū, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists, when Hemū with his whole force broke upon Tardi Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū, and received after the battle for his bravery, the title of Khān ʿAlam.

As Khizr Khwāja Khān, the Governor of the Panjāb, had retreated

1 Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulstān; but according to the Tabaqat from the kings of Kishkābār. He was a grandee of Humāyūn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. Āsīrī in Qandahār, when Humāyūn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwāja threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humāyūn’s tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favour, was made Amīr ʿUmar, and married Gullabadan Begān, H.’s sister. When Akbar marched against Hemū, Khizr Khān was made Governor of the Panjāb and ordered to operate against Sīkandar. Šir, who during Humāyūn’s lifetime had retreated to the Sīkandar. Šir, who during Humāyūn’s lifetime had retreated to the Sawāllīs. Leaving Háj Khān Saiūdī in Lāhūr, Khizr Khān moved against Sīkandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. Jāmī. 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 Lāhūr. 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 Māzākot. After a siege of six months, Sīkandar bribed Shams Ḥalīn Aṭāgāh (No. 15) and Pir Muhammad (No. 20) who prevailed.
before Sikandar Khan Sür, and fortified himself in Lāhār, leaving the country to the Afgānās, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkot and assist Khizr Khwāja.

Afterwards he received Audh as tugūl. “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 Zamān (No. 13). Together with Bahādur Khān (No. 22), he occupied Khāyrabād (Audh), and attacked Mir Muṣīza ʿl-Mulk (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 Zamān and Bahādur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khān Zamān 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 Sūlaymān, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bāyazīd, Sūlaymān’s son, over Jhārkand to Orīsā. After Sūlaymān’s return from the conquest of Orīsā, Isk.’s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sūlaymān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afgānās waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Munṣīm Khān, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sarkār of Lakshnau as tugūl, and died there in the following year (980).

49. ʿĀṣaf Khān ʿAbd al-Maṣūm. (of Hirāt), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī.

His brother Vazir Khān has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaykh Zayn ʿd-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī was a saint (ṣāḥib kunāl) at the time of Timūr. When Timūr, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirāt, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiyās ʿd-Dīn, he sent, on his arrival at

upon Akbar to parley with him. Sikandar sent his son ʿAbd al-Bahmān with some elephants as ṣāḥib khwās, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihār as tugūl (vide p. 333). Mānakōt surrendered on the 27th Ramaḍān 964. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abī ʿJaʿfār had not entered Khizr Khān in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the Tābqah. Similarly Khwāja Muṣīza and Mir Shāh ʿAbd al-Maṣūm are left out. For Kh.ʼs son, vide No. 153.

On Sūlaymān’s return from Orīsā, he appointed Khān Jāhān Lashī, his Amīr-ul-Umārā, Governor of Orīsā. Qutb Khān, who subsequently made himself king of Orīsā, was then Governor of Pārī (Jagannath) Bād. II. 174.

He died a.m. 791. His biography is given in Jāmī’s Nafḥat al-Uṣūl. Tāybād belongs to Jām-i Khurāsān.
Tāybad, a messenger to the Shaykh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. "What have I," replied the Shaykh, "to do with Timūr?" Timūr, struck with this answer, went himself to the Shaykh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghīyās. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaykh, "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." Timūr afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaykh Abū Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwaja ʿAbdāl ʾl-Majīd was a Grandee of Humayun, whom he served as Divān. On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjāb, to crush Bayram's rebellion, ʿAbdāl ʾl-Majīd received the title of ʿAṣaf Khān, regarding which vide the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently ʿAṣaf was appointed Governor of Dihlī, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattū, a servant of ʿAdli, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanādh (Chunar), Ā., in concert with Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kara-Mānikpur on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghāzi Khān Tannūrī, an Afghān noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamindārs against Akbar. Ā., in the 7th year, sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhath, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rāja prepared for resistance. Ā. marched against the Rāja, defeated him, and executed Ghāzi Khān. The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū, but obtained Abbar's pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rāja's at Court. Ā. then left the Rāja in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (vide p. 251, l. 29), made him desirous of further warfare and he planned the famous expedition against Gadha-Katangah. 2

1 Abū ʾl-Fazl in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarānāma, says that ʿAlī ʾn-ʾdī Dī-i-Khijj besieged Bāndhū in vain. 2 Gadha (Gurh, Gurhāb, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpur in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jabalpur below lat. 22°, on the map in Journal A. S. B.; Decr. 1837, pl. 1, 11; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpur and Gadha, about lat. 22° 30', on the map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm's Malwa; but both are called on the maps Katang. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gadha-Katangah. Abū ʾl-Fazl says, it had an extent of 150 lacs by 80 lacs, and there were in ancient times 80,000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindūs as very low.

The Rājas of Gadha-Katangah are generally called the Gadha-Mandilā Rājas. Mandilā lies S.E. of Jabalpur, on the right side of the Narhaddah.
or Gondwânah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgâwati,¹ the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bîr Sâh, at the conquest of Chaurâgâdh (about 70 miles west of Jabalpûr) are well-known. The immense spoils which A. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1,000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khán Zamân (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnûn Qâqshâl (No. 50) in Mânîkpur, A. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khán Zamân, and handed over the remainder of the Gaḏhâa spoils. He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture the imperial Mutasâddâs, 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 Gaḏhâ (Safar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdî Qâsim Khân (No. 36) to Gaḏhâ. A. then left Central India "with a sorrowful heart ", and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khán Zamân at Jaumpûr. But he soon saw that Khán Zamân only wanted his wealth and watched for a favourable moment to kill him. A. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khán Zamân had sent his brother Bahâdur (No. 22) against the Afghâns, and A. was to accompany him. Vazîr Khân, whom Khán Zamân had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mânîkpur, which A. had appointed as place of rendezvous. No sooner had A. escaped than Bahâdur followed him up, defeated his men, and took A. prisoner. Bahâdur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazîr Khân fell over Bahâdur. Bahâdur made some one a sign to kill A., who sat fettered on an elephant, and A. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazîr in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Karâh, and asked Muţaffâr Khân (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muţaffâr, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjâb, he took Vazîr with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. A. was ordered to join Majnûn Qâqshâl at Kara-Mânîkpur. His bravery in the last struggle with Khán Zamân induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyâg as tâjîl, vice Hâjî Muḥammad Sîstânî (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against

Rānā Udai Singh. Ā, was sent in advance (mangalā). In the middle of Rabī‘ I, 975, Akbar left Āgra for Chitor. The Rānā had commissioned Jay Mal, who had formerly been in Mirths, to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains. During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days, Ā, distinguished himself, and when, on the 25th Shābān 975, the fort fell Ā, was made Governor of Chitor.

Neither the Mu‘āṣir, nor the Tabaqūṭ, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āṣaf Khān was bestowed upon another noble. ¹

*Note on the Title of "Āṣaf Khān".*

Āṣaf was the name of the Vazir of Sulaymān (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badā,oni, to avoid confusion, numbers them Āṣaf Khān I, II, and III. They are:—

1. Abd al-Majīd, Āṣaf Khān I, d. before 981 (No. 49).
2. Khwāja Mīrzā Ghiyāṣu’d-Dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān II, d. 989 (No. 126).
3. Mīrzā Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98).

The three Āṣafs were Divāns or Mir Bakhshis. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will show:—

Āghā Mulla Dāwāṭdār.


Mīrzā Nūr ʿAlī d-Dīn. A daughter Mirza Ja‘far Beg, Āṣaf Khān III.

Mumtāz Maḥālī,
(Shāhjahān’s wife).

Jahāngīr conferred the title of "Āṣaf Khān" (IV) on Abū ʿl-Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and father of Mumtāz Maḥālī (or Tāj Bihī, Shāhjahān’s wife), whose mother was a daughter of Āṣaf Khān II. During the reign of Shāhjahān when titles containing the word Dawla ² were

¹ Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, ʿAbd al-Majīd Āṣaf Khān officiated in 1013 for Mān Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farid ʿd-Dīn Bakhshī (No. 99) is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahāngīr.
² They had been in use among the Khalīfahs and the Ghaznawīs. Thus Tājīb ʿAlī ʿd-Dawla which title Shāhjahān bestowed on Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān IV, had also been the title of Māmūd of Ghaznī when prince. The kings of the Dakhin occasionally conferred titles
revived, Asaf Khan was changed to Asaf 'd-Dawla, and this title was conferred on Asaf 'd-Dawla Jumlat, 'l-Mulk Asadjang (Shahjahah-Awrang-zeb), a relation of Asaf Khan IV. Under Ahmad Shah, lastly, we find Asaf 'd-Dawla Amur 'l-Mamallik, whose name like that of his father, Nizam 'l-Mulk Asaf Jah, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. Majnun Khan-i Qaqshal.1

He was a grandee of Humayun, and held Narnaul as jagir. When Humayun fled to Persia, Haji Khan besieged Narnaul, but allowed Majnun Khan to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Raja Bihari Mal, who, at that time, was with Haji Khan (vide p. 347).

On Akbar's accession, he was made Jagirdar of Manikpur, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khan Zamun (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kalinjar. This fort was in the hands of Raja Ram Chand, ruler of Bhath, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bihli Khan, the adopted son of Pahar Khan. When, during the siege, the Raja heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantambhur, he surrendered Kalinjar to M. (29th Safar, 997). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Munisim Khan (No. 11) on his expedition to Gorakhpur. At the same time the Gujrat war had commenced, and as Bahadur Khan Qaqshal 2 had words with Shabzuz Khan (No. 80), the Mir Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Munisim's army that Bahadur Khan Jabari (Majnun's son), Mirza Muhammad, and other Qaqshals, had killed Shabhuz Khan, and joined the rebellion of the Mirzah in Gujrat; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Munisim to imprison Majnun. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Munisim, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but

with Dawla. This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Asaf 'd-Dawla on Mir Fath' Allah of Shiraz, who had come from the Dakhin.

1 The title Malik, so common among the Pathans, was never conferred by the Muqul (Chaghtai) Kings of Delhi.

2 Titles with Jang, as Feragang, Naragang, etc., came into fashion with Jahangir.

3 Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbek, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnun Khan was certainly the best of them.

4 Bahadur Khan Qaqshal also was a grandee of Akbar, but Bahadur Fazl has left him out in this list. Like Majnun he distinguished himself in the war with Khan Zamun and the Mirzah. During Munisim's expedition to Bengal, the Qaqshals received excessive jagirs in Gorakhpur. Bahadur Khan was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnun's death. He rebelled with Munisim Khan-i Kabil, partly in consequence of Mughal Khan's (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khan Khanun. He died in the same year in which Mughal died, of cancer in the face (Khawa), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[Asura chanere?] — P.
when M. soon after heard that Bāhū Khān and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujratī war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Munṣim who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpūr.

M. accompanied Munṣim on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dā[u], retired to Orisā, and Kālā Pahār, Sulaymān Mankli and Bāhū Mankli had gone to Ghorāghāt, Munṣim sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaymān Mankli, the acknowledged ruler of Ghorāghāt, a great number of the principal Afghān nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaymān Mankli to his son Jabārī. He also parcellied out the whole country among his clan. But Bāhū Mankli and Kālā Pahār had taken refuge in Kūch Bihār, and when Munṣim was in Kāsak, they were joined by the sons of Jalālu'd-Dīn Sūr, and fell upon the Qāshālā. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tānda, and waited for Munṣim, who, on his return from Orisā, sent them with reinforcements to Ghorāghāt. The Qāshālā re-occupied the district. Majnūn died soon after at Ghorāghāt.

The Ṭabaqāt says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand, and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabārī, distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the Dāgh law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jahārī then assumed the title of Khān Jahān. When the Qāshālās left Maṇṣūm (p. 344), Jabārī went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

51. Shujā'at KHĀN, Muqīm-i ʿArab.

He is the son of Tardi Beg's sister (No. 12). Hūmāyūn made Muqīm-a Khān. On the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mīrzā ʿAskari. When Hūmāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muqīm, like most old nobles,

1. The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Puri in S. Orisā. (See below Third Book; ʿUbras of Bengal and Orisā. A minute description of his conquest is given in the Makānā-i Afghānī and by Stirling in his Account of Orissa, Asiatic Researches, vol. x. But Stirling's account, taken as it is from the Puri Vyasavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Puri) differs considerably from the Akbarnama. Kālā Pahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Maṇṣūm and Qutūl of Orisā, and Āzīt Koka (vide p. 344), which in 900, took place between Khalīgāw (Colgong) and Gābīl (near Rajmahal).

Bāhū Mankli subsequently entered Akbar's service (vide No. 202). European historians generally spell his name Bāhū Mansūlī, so it came from the Hindī mansūlī. Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But mansūlī is perhaps preferable. Two of Timūr's ancestors had the same name. The Turkish manšūlī means ʿasār, šahābī; spotted.

2. The best MSS. of the Akbarnama, Bādāuni, and the Maṣūqir have ʿ Askār. Stewart (p. 109) calls him Jābārī (1).
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 Munṣim Khān (No. 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Munṣim to take Bayrām's place.

In the 9th year, Muqīm distinguished himself in the pursuit of ʿAbdū ʿllāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14), “the king of Mundū,” and received the title of Shujāʿat Khān, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious ʿAbdū ʿllāh.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Aḥmadābād (p. 343). Once he slandered Munṣim, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānān to do with him what he liked; but Munṣim 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 Mālwa.

In 988, when troubles in Bihār and Bengal had broken out, Shujāʿat Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sārangpūr for Fathpūr (Badaʿoni II, 284). At the first stage, ʿIwāz Beg Barlās 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 Shujāʿat's tent, and killed his son Qawīm Khān.1 Shujāʿat himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sārangpūr. 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 Sārangpūr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 294, Akbar once saved Shujāʿat’s life in the jungles.

From Badaʿoni (II, 284), we learn that Qawīm Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqīm Khān (No. 386) is Shujāʿat Khān’s second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qāʿim Khān was the son of Muqīm Khān. Qāʿim’s son, Abd al-Rāḥīm, was under Jahānghīr a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made in the 5th year, Fawjdār of Alwar. Qāʿim’s daughter, ʿSāliha Bānū, was received (3rd year) by Jahānghīr in his harem, and went by the title of Pādīshāh Mahāll. She adopted Miʿyān Joh, son of the above, Abd al-Rāḥīm. Miʿyān Joh was

1 So the Maʿṣūr and the Akbarānīs. Badaʿoni (ii. 284) has Qāʿim Khān; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibil. Indica.
killed by Mahābat Khān when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngīr's person.

No. 52. Shāh Budāgh Khān, a descendant of Uymāqa of Miyānkal, Samarqand.

The Turkish Budāgh means "a branch of a tree". He distinguished himself under Humāyūn and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year he accompanied Mir Mu'izz al-Mulk (No. 61) against Bahādur (No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son ʿAbd al-Maṭīlab (No. 83) ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) against Mīrzā in Mālwa, received Sārangpūr as tuyūl, fought under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramāzān 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandū, where he died. The Tabaqāt says, he had the title of Amīr ʿl-Umārī. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohīnī.

Inside Fort Mandū, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of Nīlkhāth, regarding the inscriptions on which the Maʾṣūrī gives a few interesting particulars.

53. Husayn Khān (Tukriya), sister's son of Mandi Qāsim Khān (No. 36.)

"He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign." In his jihāds he was sans peur, and his private life sans reproche; he surpasses 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 so long to be with the saints that have gone before."

He was the patron of the historian Budāoni, who served Husayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsābād and Patyālī).

1 There were two tribes of the Qara Turka called ʿAmmat al-ʿAmārī. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ʿAmārī as the word is generally spelt by Moghul Historians, means a kind of superior cavalry; vide Turk, p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may be seen from p. 37, l. 1 of the second volume of my A_signup text, where Abū l-Fazīl applies the word to Rājpūts cavalry of the Rāthor clan. The word is pronounced ʿAmmārī in India.

The meaning of Mīyān Kāhl is still unclear to me. To judge from Abū l-Fazīl's phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective Mīyān Kāhl occurs frequently. Several Mīyān Kālās may be found below among the list of learned men (Qāsh ʿAbd al-Ḥāmīd Ṣamīk) and the poets (Qāsh-i Kāhl).

2 Vide my Essay on Budāoni and his Works in J. A. S. Bengāl, for 1869, p. 120.
Husayn Khān was not only sister's son, but also son-in-law to Mahdi Qāsim Khān (No. 36). He was in Bayrām's service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mānkot, Akbar made him Governor of Lāhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar in Šafar 965, marched to Dihlī, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjāb. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunnī. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindūs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. ụkṛā) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of Ṭukriya "Patcher".

Like Shāh Qulī Khān Mahāram (No. 45), he stuck to Bayrām to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhājhar; but after Bayrām had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service. When Mahdi Qāsim Khān, from dislikē to Gādha, went by way of the Dakhin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwās in Mālīwah, when the rebellion of the Mīrzas broke out, and in concert with Muqarrīb Khān, the tuyūlār of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwās. But Muqarrīb lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrahim Husayn Mīrzā for an interview. Though urged to join the Mīrzā, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khān Zamān, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jagīr was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Badāounī had been for about a year, to Kānto Gola. ¹ His exacting behaviour towards Hindūs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihār, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hājipūr, he confiscated H.'s jagīr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jagīr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His mana, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpūr in Kānāū, 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 Śādiq Khān (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Garh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mumūm Khān, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bārha, and was taken to Fāṭhpūr Sikrī, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

¹ Elliot (Index, p. 233, First Edition) has by mistake Lakhaur (on the Rāmpanga) instead of Lakhnau (in Aūdh), and he calls Husayn Khān a Kānāūrī. This must be an oversight.
The Tabaqât says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnâma, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yâsuf Khân, was a grandee of Jahângîr. He served in the Dakhin in the corps of Aziz Kokâ (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwiz, the Khân Khânân, and Mân Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khân Khânân (Tuzuk p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (vide pp. 344 and 357). Yâsuf's son, Izzat Khân, served under Shâhjahân, (Pâdîshâhu. II, 121).

54. Murâd Khân, son of Amir Khân Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Murâd Khân. In the 9th year he served under Aṣaf Khân (No. 48) in Gadha Katanga. In the 12th year, he got a jagir in Mâlwa, and fought under Shihâb al-Dîn Ahmad against the Mirzâs. After the Mirzâs had returned to Gujrât, M. got Ujjain as tâyûl.

In the 13th year, the Mirzâs invaded Mâlwa from Khandesh, and Murâd Khân, together with Mir Azîz 'llah, the Diwân 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 Khân (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mirzâs retreated to Mandi. Followed up by Qulîj and Murâd they retreated at last across the Nerbuddah.

In the 17th year, the Mirzâs broke out in Gujrât, and the jâgirdârs of Mâlwa assembled under the command of M. Azîz Kokâ (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).

In 982, he was attached to Munṣîm's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathâbâd, Sarkâr Boglâ (S.E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellasore) in Orîsâ, after Dâfûd had made peace with Munṣîm.

When in 983, after Munṣîm's death, Dâfûd fell upon Naşar Bahâdur, Akbar's Governor of Bhaîdruk (Orîsâ), and treacherously killed him, Murâd wisely retreated to Tânda.1

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathâbâd, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murâd at Fathâbâd Qiyâ Khân in

1 As Munṣîm left Thâmusdârs in Bhaîdruk and Jalesar. Dâfûd must have been restricted to Kàtak proper. Munṣîm's invasion of Orîsâ was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Kàtak, I may here state that the name "Aṭâk" (Attack, in the Panjâb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because it rhymes with Kàtak. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. Akbarnâma.
Orišā, Mirzá Najāt at Sātgāw, were almost the only officers of Akbar’s Bengal corps that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiyā was killed by Qutlū (p. 366), and Murād died at Fathābād immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988; “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. Háji Muhammed Khān of Sīstān.

He was in the service of Bayrām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bayrām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humāyūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bayrām innocent, he went back, taking Háji Muhammed with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion.

After the conquest of Hindūstān, H. M. at Bayrām’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 Khwāja’n (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tārdī Beg’s (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor’s cause; and Mullī ʿAbdulʿllāh Makhdūm’s ‘I- Mulk who, though in Akbar’s service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afghāns, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sawālik. As related above Khizr Khwāja moved against Sikandar, leaving H. M. in charge at Lāhor. Being convinced of Makhdūm’s treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bayrām fell out with Pir Muhammed (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bayrām fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amīrs to Dhūlī 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 Bayrām. After Bayrām had been pardoned (p. 318) H. M. and Muḥammad Tarsū Khān (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijāz as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bayrām charged H. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

* Háji Muhammed is the same to whom Erskine’s remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470 note.
H. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of Sīk-hazārī. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chītār, he sent H. M. and Shibāb ʿDīn Ahmad (No. 26) from Gābrīn against the sons of Sultan Muḥammad Mirzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Malwā. H. M. then received the Sīkār of Mandū as jāgīr.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Munṣīm Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Orīṣā, and got wounded in the battle of Takarōī (20th Zī Qaṣda, 982). He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Gaur, where soon after Munṣīm’s death he, too, died of malaria (983).

**Note on the Battle of Takarōī, or Mughalmarī, in Orīṣā.**

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar’s generals. It crushed the Afghāns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Orīṣā. The Mss. of the Akbarnāma and the Maṣfīr have Takarōī, and: Takarōī. My copy of the Sawāníh has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnāma have Nakrohī. In Bādānī and the Tabaqāt the battle of Takarōī is called the battle of (vide p. 334) which may be Bajhorah, Bachhorah, Bajhorh, or Bachhorh. Stewart’s account of Munṣīm’s Orīṣā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnāma and the Tabaqāt. He places the battle in the environs of Kātak, which is impossible, and his “Bukhtore” is a blunder for ba-chittō, “in Chittār,” the final alif having assumed the shape of a, “and the that of. The Lucknow lithograph of the Akbarnāma, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has ba-chitor, “in Chitor.”

The Akbarnāma, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mal moved from Bārdwān over Madārān into the Pargana of Chittuā (Chittuā), where he was subsequently joined by Munṣīm. Dāfūd had taken up a strong position at Harpur or Harīpur, “which lies intermediate (barzakhe) between Bengal and Orīṣā.” The same phrase (barzakhe), in other passages of the Akbarnāma, is applied to Chittuā itself. Dāfūd’s object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orīṣā into which led but few other roads; “but Iyās Khān Langāh

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3 Madārān lies in Jahānābād, a Pargana of the Hūgli district, between Bārdwān and Medinipur (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town, see my “Places of Historical Interest in the Hūgli District,” in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal for 1870.
showed the victorious army an easier road," and Munṣim entered the country, and thus turned Dā*fūd’s position. The battle then takes place (20th Zi Qa’dā, 982, or A.D., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Toḍār Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhaḍrak. Not long after, he writes to Munṣim to come and join him, as Dā*fūd had collected his troops near Kaṭāk, and the whole army moves to Kaṭāk, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dā*fūd in the possession of Kaṭāk.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittua, which lies a little E.E.N. of Midnāpore, and that after the victory Rāja Toḍār Mal, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhaḍrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasore), and probably north of it, as Abū ‘l-Faḍl 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 Midnāpore to Jalesar the village of Mughulmarèe (Mughulmārī, i.e., Mughul’s Fight) and about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmārī and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreska river, the village of Tookaroe.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmārī is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the Takaroi, of the Akbarnamā.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badāoni (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of three, four kos, i.e., about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroi from Mughulmārī is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name Jābol, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqāt and Badāoni (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word chaур which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badāoni (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196) and the Ṭabaqāt, it is said that Toḍār Mal in his pursuit reached Kalkalghāṭi (!), not Bhaḍrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orīsā, at Gaur, of malaria.

1. Munṣim Khān, Khān Khāmnān, 2. Ḥājī Khān Sātānī (No. 55), (18th Rājab). Vide p. 334. 3. Ḥaydar Khān (No. 66).

Another Mughulmārī lies in the Kanṣān district between Bārdwān and Jhānākbād (Bābli district) on the old high road from Bārdwān over Mādāran to Midnāpore.
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56. Afsâl Khân, Khâwja Sultân 5 Ali 1 -yi Turbâtî.

Regarding Turbâtî vide No. 37. He was Mushrif (accountant) of Humâyûn's Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of Mushrif-i Bayâd. In 957, when Mirzâ Kâmrân took Kâbul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced him to pay large sums of money. On Humâyûn's return to India, A. Kh. was made Mîr Bakhshî, and got an ʿâlam. He was together with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dîhil, when Humâyûn died. In the battle with Hemû, he held a command in the centre (qol), and his detachment gave way during Hemû's charge. A. Kh., together with Pir Muḥammad (No. 20) and Ashraf Khân (No. 74), fled from the battlefield, partly from hatred towards Tardi Beg—the old hatred of Khurâsânis towards Uzbaks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrûm. As related above, Tardi Beg was executed by Bayrûm for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Ashraf Khân were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bayrûm had lost his power, and were favourably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

"Nothing else is known of him." Maṣârî.

57. Shâhbeg Khân, son of Irbâhim Beg Ḥarîk (!). 2

He is sometimes called Beg Khân (p. 327). He was an Arghûn; hence his full name is Shâh Beg Khân Arghûn. Under Jahângir he got the title of Khân Dowrân.

He was in the service of Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkim of Kâbul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Peshâwar. When after the Prince's death, Mân Singh, in 993, crossed the Nîlâb (p. 362) for Kâbul, Shâh Beg took M. M. Ḥâkim's two sons, Kay Qubâb and Afrâsiyâb, to Akbar, and received a manṣab. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yûsufzâis, and got Khushâb as jâgîr. He then served under the Khân Khánân in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2,500. In the 39th year Akbar sent him to Qandahâr (p. 327), which,

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1 The word ʿAll has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.
2 So the Maṣârî. My MSS. of the ʿAll in have ʿHârîk, which may be Ḥarîk, Ḥarmâk, Ḥarbak, etc. Some MSS. read clearly Ḥarmâk.
Muzaffar Ḥusayn had ceded. During the time of his Governorship Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar ֻ5 tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghaznin was placed in his charge (vide No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahāngīr, Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor at Hirāt, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahār, 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 (Tazkīk, p. 33). One day Ḥusayn Khān 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, Ḥusayn Shāh received a reprimand from Shāh ֻ5 Abbās for having besieged Qandahār "without orders", and Ḥusayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahāngīr in 1016 (18th Ṣafar) visited Kābul,¹ Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of: 5,000, and received the title of Khān Dowrān. He was also made Governor of Kābul (in addition to Qandahār), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afgānīstān. After having held this office till the end of 1027 he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kābul, horse-travelling and the drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,² paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (Tazkīk, p. 257), and was appointed Governor of Thatha.³ He resigned, however, in the same year (Tazkīk, p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of Khushāb assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to Thatha, he called on Āṣaf to take leave and Āṣaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad of Thatha, who had been a friend of Āṣaf. Shāhbehg had heard before that the Mullā's brothers, in consequence of Āṣaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Āṣaf, "Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (sarḥisāh); but if not, I shall flay them." Āṣaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

¹ According to the Tazkīk (p. 33), Sh. B. then held the Pargana of Shor as jāqī, regarding which vide Elliot's Index, first edition, p. 198.
² The text has āqūn, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kābul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.
³ Sayyid Ahmed in his edition of the Tazkīk (p. 266) makes him governor of Pota— a confusion of Āṣ and Āṣā.
Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an ʿalam and a naqqāra (p. 52); 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 mansūb, and a jāyūr, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kābul, he paraded before Jahāngīr his contingent of 1,000 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 kākhnār, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients Chār Būghrā (p. 63, l. 2), which gave rise to his nickname Chār Būghrā Khur.


2. Yaʿqūb Beg, son-in-law to Mīrzā Jaśar Āṣaf Khān (III), (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The Maʿāṣir says, he was a fatalist (azālparazī), and died obscure.

3. Asad Beg (Tur., p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The Maʿāṣir does not mention him.

The Turč, p. 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khān, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shāhbeg Khān Arghān must not be confounded with No 148.

58. Khān ʿAlam Chalma Beg,1 son of Hamdam who was Mīrzā Kāmrān's foster brother.

Chalma Beg was Humāyūn's safarchī, or table attendant. Mīrzā Kāmrān had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah. Before he left, Humāyūn, 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 extemporaneously—

1 For Chalma, the MSS. of the Aṭba have, at this place, Ḥalma. In No. 109, the same name occurs. The Maʿāṣir and good MSS. of the Antarabāna have Chalmah. Turkish dictionaries give chalma (نامن) in the meaning of wild goat's dung and chalma (نامن) in the meaning of dašōr, a turban.

1 In the Editt. Bibl. Indica of Bānā, etc., Khān ʿAlam is wrongly called Ḥalma, instead of ʿAlam.
"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

Humayun felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of 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 Humayun was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the "gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude". The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kâmrân and his companion.

After Kâmrân's death, Chalma Beg returned to India, and was favourably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3,000, bestowing upon him the title of Khân c'Alam. He served under the emperor against the Mírzâs in Gujrât, and was present in the fight at Sarnâl (p. 353, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dâ'ûd in Patna, Khân c'Alam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the Ghandak, 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'sim's corps. In the battle of Takarol (p. 406), he commanded the karawl (van). He charged the Afghâns, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed and gave way, when Mun'sim sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gújar Khân, Dâ'ûd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black Yak tails (qu'as) 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. c'j'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 Afghâns who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Zi Qa'da, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends, not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. c'j was a poet and wrote under the Takhallus of Hamdami (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Mu'azzafar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for حسن, in my Text edition, p. 229, read حسن.
59. Qāsim Khān, Mir Bahr Chamanārāī (†) Khurāsān.1

He is the son of Mirzā Dost’s sister, who was an old servant of the Timūrides. When Mirzā Kāmrān was, in 954, besieged in Kābul, Humāyūn had occupied Mount Aqābīn, which lies opposite the Fort of Kābul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qāsim Khān and his younger brother, Khwājagi Muḥammad Ḩusayn (No. 241) threw themselves down from a turret between the Aḥanīn Darwāza and the Qāsim Barlās bastion, and went over to Humāyūn, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar’s accession, Q. Kh. was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Āgra, which he completed after eight years at a cost of 7 kros of tankas, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamna river, N. of the town of Āgra, 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 gar. 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 Āgra. In the beginning of Shaʿbān 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmir, “a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dīlī.” 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 Yaṣqūb Khān, son of Ȳañi Khān 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, Yaṣqūb 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;

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1 I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title chamanārāī Khurāsān. "Ruler of Khurāsān." The Maṣākur, not knowing what to do with it, left it out. Mir Bahr means "admiral." If chamanārāī Khān be a genitive, the words mean "Admiral of the ruler of Khurāsān," which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled Mir Bahr, an officer whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, etc.

2 The old Fort of Āgra was called Badalgarh (Bud. I, 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Safar), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 902. The Fort Budalgarh ﻻرات, not رات, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Āgra, cannot be the old Fort of Āgra, because Badlāgarh (I, 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwalār, not "one of the Forts dependent on Gwalār." For Ūstāqūr, on the same page in Elliot, read Ūagar (اگر). It was a Fort in the Sarāj of Mānīlār, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have Ūagar or Deogarh. The word Ūagar means "a mountain," or "a mountain-place." [Bud. II, 553, 554—R.]
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 Kābul. At that time a young man from Andajān (Farghāna) gave out that he was a son of Shāhruz. He met with some success in Badakhshān, but was defeated by the Tūrán Shāh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zābuli Hazāras, 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 Hāshim Beg. Q.'s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazāras. But Hāshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kābul. Q., on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender, in the meantime, rearranged 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). Hāshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the mêlée, the murderer was killed.

For Qāsim's brother, vide No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Bāqī Khān (older), brother of Adham Khān (No. 19).

His mother is the same Māhum Anaga, mentioned on p. 340. "From Badā,oni (II, 340) we learn that Bāqī Khān died in the 30th year as Governor of Gadhna-Katanga." This is all the Mu'āṣir says of him.

His full name is Muhammad Bāqī Khān Koka. From Badā,oni II, 81, we see that Bāqī Khān took part in the war against Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān (972–3), and fought under Muṣī'ull-Mulk (No. 61)

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6 In 1015 another false son of Mirzā Shāhruz (p. 326) created disturbances and asked Jahāngir for assistance against the Tūrán.

The fate of Mirzā Shāhruz's second son, Mirzā Husayn, is involved in obscurity. He ran away from Burhānpūr, went to sea and to Persia, from where he went to Badakhshān. People say that he is still alive (1016); but no one knows whether this new pretender is Shāhruz's son or not. Shāhruz left Badakhshān about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshis have set up several false Mirzās, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbeks. This pretender collected a large number of Uymāns (p. 371, note 2) and Badakhshī Mountainers, who go by the name of Chorjas (χρ.), whence Chorjāstān, and took from the Uzbeks a part of the country. But the enemies pressed upon him, caught him, and cut off his head, which was carried on a spear all over Badakhshān. Several false Mirzās have since been killed; but I really think their race will continue as long as a trace of Badakhshī remain on earth." Turāt-i Jahāngirī, p. 57.
in the battle of Khayrābād, in which Budāgh Khān (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Bāقī Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36), and Hsuyin Khān Tukriya (No. 53) had personal grievances—their Uzbak hatred—against Muṣīzū l-Mulk and Rāja Todār Mal.

61. Mir Muṣīzū l-Mulk i Mūsawī of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to ʿAlī Mūsā Raṣā, the 8th Imām of the Shiʿahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called Rażāī.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaumpūr to punish Khān Zamān (No. 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahādur and Iskandar Khān Uzbak (No. 48) to the district of Surwār. Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (vide No. 60) under Muṣīzū l-Mulk. Bahādur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants. M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahādur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lushkar Khān (No. 90) and Rāja Todār Mal to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahādur, if he was satisfied with his good intentions. But here also the rancour of the Khurāsānīs towards the Uzbaks decided matters, and Todār Mal only confirmed M. M. in his resolution. Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khān Zamān, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahādur near Khayrābād. Muhammad Yār, son of Iskandar Khān’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 Bahādur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.’s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budāgh Khān (No. 52) taken prisoner but many soldiers went over to Bahādur. Flushed with victory, he attacked the

1 Most MSS. have سانته. The Edit. Bibl. Indices of Bahlī, 611, p. 78, has سانته, but again مسرور on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the Sarse River (میروداهو، کلمه سدوار).

2 Bāda oni says Todār Mal’s arrival was “ṣubdān on Muṣīzū l-Mulk’s fire”. Throughout his work, Bāda oni shows himself an admirer of Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur. With Muṣīzū l-Mulk a Shiʿah of the Shiʿahs, he has no patience. “Muṣīzū l-Mulk’s idma,” he says, were “I and nobody else”; he behaved as proudly as Firdāsī and Shāddād; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say: “Akh-i Mashhad bā-jus Imām-i shumā, Laṣwat Ḥaṭi ha māmā-i shumā.” “O people of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imām (Mūsā Raṣā), may God’s curse rest upon all of you. And also, “The surface of the earth rejoices in its inhabitants; how fortunate would it be, if a certain Mashhad vanished from the surface of the earth.”
centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (vide No. 60). Toḍar Mal’s firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihār, M. M. got the Pargana of Āra (Arrah) as jāgīr. In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihār under Maṣqūm-ī Kābulī, tuyūldār of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mir ʿAlī Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaumpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, to hasten to Jaumpūr and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khān succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat “foundered”, and M. M. lost his life.

62. Mir ʿAlī 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 Tabaqat with a Mawlūd-nāma, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the handwriting of Qāẓī Ghīyāsh-ʿd-Dīn-i Jāmī, a man of learning, who had served under Humāyūn, and contained an account of the vision which Humāyūn had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jalāl-ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. This Mawlūd-nāma Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mir ʿAlī Akbar with a pargana as inām.

When his brother was sent to Bihār, M. ʿA. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamāniya, which lies 6 kos from Ghāzipur (vide p. 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaumpūr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. ʿA. A., had been appointed to Bihār, to send M. ʿA. A., fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for life.

63. Sharīf Khān, brother of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was born at Ghazni. After Bayrām’s fall, he held a tuyūl in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mir Muḥammad Khān (No. 16).

On the transfer of the Atga Khāyil from the Panjāb, Sh. was appointed to the Sarkār of Qannawī. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohīnī, he sent Sh., together with Qāẓī Khān-i Badaḵshī (No. 144), Mujāhid Khān, Subhān Quli Turk, against the Rānā. He afterwards distinguished

1 Called in the Maṣaʿir (though it cannot be Nuddea in Bengal); in my copy of the Sambhal, but Nadīnah in Sambhal appears to be meant.
himself in the conquest of Kōbhahmūr. In the 25th year, he was made atāliq to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālwah as Governor, Shujā'at Khān (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrat. In the 28th year, he served against Muṣaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahrōch, which was held for Muṣaffar by Chirkis-i Rūmī and Naṣīrā, brother of Muṣaffar's wife. The former having been killed, Naṣīrā escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharif, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihāb al-Dīn (No. 26) to the Dakhin, to assist Mīrzā ʿAẓīz (No. 21).

In the 35th year he went from Mālwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznī, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Shāh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

"Nothing else is known of him." Maʿāṣir.

His son, Bāz Bahādur (No. 188), held a jāyār in Gujrat, and was transferred to Mālwah as related above. He served in the siege of Āsir, and in the Ahmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingahs, but was released, when Abū ʿl-Faql made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibrāhīm Khān-i Shaybāni (uncle of Khān Zamān, No. 13).

He served under Humāyūn. After the conquest of Hindūstān, Humāyūn sent him with Shāh Abū ʿl-Maṣāli to Lāhor, to oppose Sikandar Sūr, should he leave the Sawālik. After the fall of Mānkot, he received the Pargana of Sarharpūr,1 near Jaunpūr, as jāyār, and remained with Khān Zamān. During Khān Zamān's first rebellion, Ibrāhīm Khān and Khān Zamān's mother repaired at Munṣim Khān's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty. Ibrāhīm 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, Khān Zamān again rebelled, and Ibrāhīm went with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrāhīm, at Munṣim's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khān Khānān.

1 It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badā'ī, vol. II, 23, where Sarharpūr, which "lies 18 kos from Jaunpūr", is mentioned as the jāyār of Abū ʿl-Rahmān, Sikandar Sūr's son, who got it after the surrender of Mānkot.
In the Tabaqūt, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

His son, Ismā'īl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Auh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultān Ḥusayn Khān Jalāl-īr. Ismā'īl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.


The MSS. of the Ax in have Muḥammad, instead of Mahmūd, which other histories have, and have besides a word after Muḥammad which reads like بُجُع and بُجُع. This should be no doubt بُجُع, the scriptio defectiva of the Turkish بُجُع bujiq, "having the nose cut," as given in the copy of the Maqāṣir.

Jalāl-ī d-Dīn was in the service of M. Āsakarī. He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmsir, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of Mir Sāmān, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, Jalāl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznī, the tuyūl 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 Ghaznī. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munīm Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznī so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznī, when Munīm called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munīm imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalāl's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Munīm's men caught him and his son, Jalāl-ī d-Dīn Masūd. Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munīm.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munīm's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he showed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

1 He must not be confounded with the Jalāl-ī d-Dīn Masūd mentioned in Tāzak, p. 97, who "ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother".
Haydar Muhammad Khan, Akhta Begi.

He was an old servant of Humayun, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Balkh, Humayun's horse had been shot. On the march against Kahrân, who had left Kabul for Afghanistân, the imperialists came to the River Surkháb, Haydar, with several other faithful Amirs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyâh-âb, which flows near the Surkháb, before the army could come up. Kahrân suddenly attacked them by night; but Haydar 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 Ghâzi Khan Sur, father of Ibrâhîm Khan. After the siege had lasted some time, Haydar allowed Ghâzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghâzi. Humayun was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haydar do so again.

After Akbar's accession, H. was with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dihli, and fought under Khan Zaman (No. 13) against Hemû. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kabul. At Munîm's request he assisted Ghani Khan (vide p. 333) in Kabul. But they could not agree, and H. was called to India. He accompanied Munîm in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kabul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, H. served with Khan-i Kalân (No. 16) in Gujrat. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mirza Quli, attached to the Bengal Army, under Munîm. Both died of fever, in 933, at Gaur (vide p. 407).

A son of H. is mentioned below (No. 326).

Mirza Quli, or Mirza Quli Khan, Haydar's brother, distinguished himself under Humayun during the expedition to Badakhshan. When Kahrân, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humayun, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, Dost Muhammad, saved him in time.

According to the Tabâqât, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (umara-i kibâr), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the Akbarnâma. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abû l-Fazl in this list.

Istima'd Khan, of Gujrat.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

Istima'd Khan was originally a Hindu servant of Sultan Mahmûd, king of Gujrat. He was "trusted" (Istima'd) 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 favour, and was at last made an Amīr. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhān, who besides killed twelve nobles. Istimād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd having died without issue, Ist. raised Raziya 1 Mulk, under the title of Ahmad Shāh, to the throne. Razi was a son of Sulṭān Ahmad, the founder of Ahmādābād; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in Ist.’s hands. Five years later, the young king left Ahmādābād, and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhārā 2 a principal courtier; but Ist. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sulṭān Ahmad then thought it better to return to Ist., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and Ist. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. Ist. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (ناح) 3 to the throne, “who did not belong to the line of kings”; but on introducing him to the grandees, Ist. swore upon the Qur’ān that Nathū was a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd; his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amīrs had to believe the story, and Nathū was raised to the throne under the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar.

This is the origin of Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who subsequently caused Akbar’s generals so much trouble (vide pp. 344, 354, 355).

Ist. was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amīrs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was that incessant feuds broke out among them. Ist. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khan, son of Istimād Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sulṭān Muẓaffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mirzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, Ist. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sulṭān, and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alī Khan and Jhujhār Khan took Sulṭān Muẓaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Ahmādābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mirzās, seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahlōl and Sūrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sulṭān Muẓaffar fled one day to Sher Khan Fūlādī and

1 Regarding this distinguished Gafrātī noble, vide the biography of his grandson, S. Hāmid (No. 78).
2 Some MSS. read Nakht.
3 Some MSS. read Nakht.
his party, and Ist. retaliated by informing Sher Khan that Nathū was no prince at all. But Sher Khan's party attributed this to Ist.'s malice, and besieged him in Ahmadabad. Ist. then fled to the Mirzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrat.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khan's party had broken up. The Mirzās still held Bahrūch; and Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who had left Sher Khan, fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (vide No. 361). Istimād and other Gujratī 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. Baroda, Champānir, and Sūrat were given to Ist. as tujūl; the other Amīrs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mirzās. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Istimād-i-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Ist. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Ist. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shāh-bāz Khan (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, Ist. 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 Abū Turāb (vide p. 207) went to Makkah. On his return he received Patan as jāgīr.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gujrat, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered Ist.'s former inability to allay the factions in Gujrat. No sooner had Shihāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. Ist. did nothing, alleging that Shihāb was responsible for his men; but as Sulṭān Muẓaffar had been successful in Kathīwār, Ist. left Ahmadabad, and went to Shihāb, who on his way to Court had reached Kari, 20 kos from Ahmadabad. Muẓaffar used the opportunity and took Ahmadabad, Shihāb's men joining his standard.

Shihāb and Ist. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrat, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujratīs who had left Muẓaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. Ist. paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khan, against Sher Khan Fūlādī, who was repulsed. In the meantime, M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (No. 29) arrived. Leaving Ist. at Patan, he marched with Shihāb against Muẓaffar.

Istimād died at Patan in 995. The Ṭabaqāt puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.
In Abú 'l-Fazl's opinion, Gujrātis are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and Ḩātimād was the very type of a Gujrāti.

68. Pāyanda Khān, Muḥṣul, son of Ḩāji Muḥammad Khān Koki's brother.

Ḥāji Muḥammad and Shāh Muḥammad, his brother, had been killed by Humāyūn for treason on his return from Persia. Ḩāji Muḥammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Pāyanda, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Munṣim from Kābul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khān (No. 19) to Mālwa. In the 19th year, he accompanied Munṣim to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwān Dās against Rānā Partāb. In the Gujrāt war, he commanded M. ṢAbdūr-Rahim's (No. 29) harāval.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorāghāt as jāğīr, whither he went.

This is all the Muṣāfir says regarding Pāyanda.

His full name was Muhammad Pāyanda. He had a son Wali Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the Tuzuk, p. 144, we see that Pāyanda died in 1024 A.H., Jahāngir, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. Tuz., p. 68.

69. Jagannāth, son of Rāja Bihāri Mal (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafud-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17; vide p. 339). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mān Singh. In the 21st year, when Rānā Partāb of Maiwār opposed the Imperialists, Jagannāth during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rām Dās, son of Jay Mal. In the 23rd year, he received a jāğīr in the Panjāb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mīrzā Muhammad Hākim from invading the Panjāb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Rānā. Later he accompanied Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) to Kashmir. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Mūrād in Kābul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mālwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakhin, he left Mūrād without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dakhin, J. met the emperor at Rantambhūr, his jāğīr, and was then again sent to the Dakhin.

In the 1st year of Jahāngir, he served under Prince Parwiz against
the Rānā, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusraw had been captured, called Parwiz to Court (Tuzuk, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 386) had raised at Nāgor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse.

Rām Chand, his son. He was under Jahāngīr a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse.

Rāja Manrūp, a son of Rām Chand. He accompanied Prince Shāhjahān on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2,000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Shāhjahān. He had a son Gopāl Singh.

70. Makhṣūs Khan (younger), brother of Saʿīd Khan (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multān. In the 23rd year, he served under Shāhbaz Khan (No. 80) against Gajpatī, and three years later he accompanied Prince Murād to Kābul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

Subsequently, Makhṣūs served under Prince Salīm. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign. The author of the Maʾāṣir has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqsūd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahāngīr would not give him a mansab.

71. The author of the Aʿīn, Abū ’l-Fażl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

Abū ’l-Fażl’s biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismāʿīl Khan Duldaj.

Duldaj, or Duldaj, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlās clan (vide p. 364, note).

The Maʾāṣir calls him Ismāʿīl Qulī Beg Duldaj. A similar difference was observed in the name of Husayn Qulī Khan (No. 24), and we may conclude that Beg, at least in India, was considered a lower title than Khan, just as Beglar Begī was considered inferior to Khan Khanān.

Ismāʿīl Qulī was a grandee of Bābar and Humāyūn, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humāyūn besieged Qandahār, and the grandees one after the other left M. ʿAskarī, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahār, Governor of Dāwar.

1 The Tuzuk, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. Vide also Pādshahānāme, I, b. 318.
When Kābul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwāja (vide p. 394, note) attacked Sher ʿAli, an officer of Mirzā Kāmrān, who at the prince's order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (qāsīa-yinwilāyat) on its way to Chārikān;¹ but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ʿAli could not reach Kābul, and marched towards Ghaznīn, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humāyūn. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qarācha Khān, and followed Mirzā Kāmrān to Badakshān. Humāyūn followed them up and caught them together with Kāmrān, Ism. among them. Ism. was, however, pardoned at Munṣim’s request.

Ism. accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Dihli together with Shāh Abū ʿl-Maʿāli to Lāhor.

"Nothing else is known of him." Maʿṣīr.

73. Mir Babus (?), the Ighur (Uighur ?).

The Ighurs are a well known Chaghtāi tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different lectio; vide my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The Maṣūsir has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Tabaqāt.

74. Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī, Muḥammad Aṣghar, of Sabzwār (?).

He was a Ḥusaynī Sayyid of Mashhad (Maṣūsir, Mirʿāt, ʿl-Ālam). The author of the Tabaqāt says, he belonged to the ʿArabāshī Sayyids: "but people rarely make such fine distinctions." Abū ʿl-Faḍl says, he was of Sabzwār; but in the opinion of the Maṣūsir, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khān was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the Taṣliq and Naṣilq character (pp. 107–8). He also understood jafar, or witchcraft.²

Ashraf was in Humāyūn’s service, and had received from him the post and title of Mir Munshi. After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mir ʿAρz and Mir Mal. At Akbar’s accession, he was in Dihli, and took part in the battle with Hūmūn (p. 394, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bayrām, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Māchhiwāra on his way to the Siwālikis where Bayrām

¹ So the Maṣūsir. Our maps have Charikar (lat. 35°, long. 69), which lies north of Kābul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istāfīl (لاطیف), or Ṭarāq, lies half-way between Kābul and Charikar. [Dowson, v., 285, has Charthiān—B.]

² Jafir divination, etc.—P.
was. He was well received and got a manṣab. In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Malwa, he bestowed upon him the title of Ashraf Khān.

In the 19th year, he went with Munṣim to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takarol, and died in the twentieth year (983) at Gaur (vide p. 407).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mīr Abū Ḥāfiz Muẓaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf's grandsons, Ḥusaynī and Būḥānī held inferior commands under Shāhjahān.

75. Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha (Kūndliwāl).

"Sayyid Mahmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Timūrids." He was with Sikandar Sūr (Badāulā II, 18) in Mānkot, but seeing that the cause of the Afghāns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bayrām, and served in the first year under Ṭālimūḥammad Šāh (No. 13) against Hājī Khān in Ajnāfī (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shāh Ṭālimūḥammad (No. 45) Fort Jaitāran, and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadaurīyāhs of Hatkānth (vide p. 341, l. 8).

After Bayrām's fall, Sayyid Mahmūd got a jagir near Dīhlī. In the 7th year, he brought Munṣim Khān to Court (vide p. 333). In the 17th year, he served under the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrat, was present in the battle of Sarnāl, and followed up Mīrāzā Ḫirdāl Ḥusayn. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bārha, and Sayyid Muḥammad of Amroha (No. 140) against Rājā Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyār. S. Mahmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Mahmūd 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 favour with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his

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1 The Mīr'sāt says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the Mīr'sāt. 因此 clearly a mistake of the author of the Mīr'sāt.

2 The best MSS. have Ṭālimūḥammad. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajnāfī over Pālī to Jāliar.
"I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amir's. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Ashf Khan, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (iqbal-i pa'dishahi) accompanied you." Mistaking the word "Iqbal" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Mahmud, "Iqbal-i Padeshahi did not accompany me: I was there, and my brothers; we licked them with our sabres." The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favours.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amir's regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahangir (Tuzuk, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bahr family to be Sayyids. Once Mahmud was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bahr traced their descent. Accidentally, a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Mahmud 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-slippers showed, indeed, no trace of being singed."

For Sayyid Mahmud's brother and sons, vide Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

**Note on the Sayyids of Bahr (Sudat-i Bahrha).**

In MSS. we find the spelling بارها, and باره. The lexicographer Bahar-i Ajam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled Jawahir, says that the names of Indian towns ending in form adjectives in تاتا, Thatha, forms an adjective تاته تائی: but of اد, no adjective is formed, and you say sudat-i bahrha instead of sudat-i barharni.

The name Bahrha has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral bahr, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahangir; for both the Tabaqat and the Tuzuk derive the name from 12 villages in the Dnh, (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgram, the Bahr family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abul-Farah of Wasis; but their nasabnama, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahangir, in the above-quoted passage from the Tuzuk, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bahrha—but

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1. "From him are descended the most renowned Muslim families in Northern India, the Bahr, and Bilgram Sayyids, and in Khurābād, Fáttehpore Husain, and many other places, branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Ouse*, Allahabad, 1882, p. 93.
nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they
chung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed
the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul
emperors, as Sayyid Khān Jahān (Sayyid Abū l-Mu`azzafar) and several
others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their
bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the
van (barōwal); 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 Hindūstānis
(eide p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background
the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mānīkpur, the Khā.nzādas
of Mewāt, and even families of royal blood as the Safawis.

The Sayyids of Bārha are divided into four branches, whose names are
The chief town of the first branch was Jānsāt; of the second,
Sambhalha; of the third, Majharā; of the fourth Bidaulī on the
Jamma. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps
accidentally, only mention two, viz., the Kāndīsīl to which
Sayyid Maḥmūd (No. 75) belonged; and the Tīhanpurī, of
which Sayyid Khān Jahān was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids
of Bārha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of
some importance under the Sūrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Maḥmūd
in Akbar's camp (p. 424) is recorded by all historians as an event of
importance. He and other Sayyids, were moreover, at once appointed to
high mansabs. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered
to Humāyūn; but this is at variance with Abū l-Faḍl's statement that
Sayyid Maḥmūd was the first that served under a Timurīde.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of
Muḥammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid
Ṣādūq l-lah Khān and Sayyid Ḥusayn Ṣāli Muhammad, in whom the family
reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between
the rustic and loyal Sayyid Maḥmūd and Akbar, and the above two

the Glossary read: Sayyid Mahmūd twice for Sayyid Muḥammad; Sayyid Ṣāli Minhār
for Sayyid Ṣāli Anq DīlīKhān for Debi Khān. Instead of Chatbanūrī (or Chatraurī),
which Mr. R. J. Lacee, C.S., gives in his valuable Report on the Castes and Races of the
Mogulnagar District (Glossary, p. 297 E.), Sir H. Elliot has Chatraurī.
brothers, who made four Timurid emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three.\footnote{They made Farrukh Siyar, Rafīq al-Dāmājī, Rafīq al-Dawla and Muhammad Shāh emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Prince Agaicol 'd-Dīn, ʿAll Tabār, and Humāyūn Bakht.}

The Sayyids of Bārka are even nowadays numerous and "form the characteristic element in the population of the Mughalnagar district." (Leeds' Report).

Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, viz.:—
1. Sayyid Māhmūd (No. 75).
2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother (No. 91).
3. Sayyid Qāsim (No. 105).  
4. Sayyid Hāshim (No. 143).  
5. Sayyid Rājū (No. 165).
7. Sayyid Chajhū (No. 221).

The Akbarnāma mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamālu 'd-Dīn, a grandson of S. Māhmūd (vide under 91); S. Sālim; S. Fāṭh Khān (Bad. II, 180); etc.

The following trees are compiled from the Tuzuk, Pādīshāhnāma, and Mu'āṣir.

(a) Sayyid Māhmūd of Bārka, Kānūnīwal.  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80, 102 (twice).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. S. Qutb, (Pād. II, 740)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Sayyid Dīlūr Khān (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb), ʿd. 1042.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. ʿAlī, (Pād. I, 822)</th>
<th>2. S. Khālīṣ ʿIlah, (Pād. I, 822)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(c) Sayyid Hizāb Khān, ʿd. 1947.

\footnote{They made Farrukh Siyar, Rafīq al-Dāmājī, Rafīq al-Dawla and Muhammad Shāh emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Prince Agaicol 'd-Dīn, ʿAll Tabār, and Humāyūn Bakht.}
The Pādīshāhānāma (I. b., 312, 319; II. p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mākhan, d. 9th year of Shāhjāhān; S. Sīkhan; S. ʿAbd al-Ilāh; S. Muḥammad, son of S. Afgāl; S. Khādim; S. Sālār; S. Shihāb.

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 Sūdāt-i Bārha, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves. As Mr. Leeds has submitted together with his Report "a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids," the following extracts from the Urdu MSS. will suffice.

The date of the arrival in India of the above-mentioned Abū ʿl-Farah from Wāsīţ is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Iltimāsh (Altamash), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulāgū’s invasion of Baghādād and the overthrow of the empire of the Khalifas; while the sons of Abū ʿl-Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihāb al-dīn Ghorī—two palpable anachronisms.

Abū ʿl-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 Dāʿūd, who settled in the maqṣā of Tīhanpūr.
2. Sayyid Abū ʿl-Faṭl, who settled in the qaṣba of Chhathānūr.
3. Sayyid Abū 'l-Faḍā'il, who settled in the muṣṣaṣ of Kündli.
4. Sayyid Najmud-Din Husayn, who settled in the muṣṣaṣ of Jhujar. These four places are said to lie near Patiyālā in the Panjāb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of Chattbanīrī, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also Chhatrauli, or Jāgheri (Jāgheri) instead of Jhujari (Jāgheri), although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Patiyālā the four brothers went to the Duāb between the Ganges and Jamna, from where a branch was established at Bīgrām in Audh.

The etymology of bāhrā is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from bāhir, outside, because the Sayyids encamped outside the imperial camp; some from bārah ṣimām, the twelve Imāms of the Shi'i ahs, as the Sayyids were Shi'i ahs; some derive it from twelve (bārah) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Tahsil Anūpshahr, is said to contain a bāhrā of Pathāns, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Pathān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic abrār, pious.

The descendants of S. Dā'sūd settled at Dhāsārī; and form the Tihānpūरī branch, those of S. Abū 'l-Faḍāl at Sambhalāra, and form the Chhatbanīrī or Chhatrauri branch; those of S. Abū 'l-Faḍā'il went to Majhara, and are the Kündliwālās; and those of S. Najmud-Din occupied Bīdalī, and form the Jhujari, or Jāgheri branch.

A. The Tihānpūrīs.

The eighth descendant of S. Dā'sūd was S. Khān Qīr. (?) He had four sons:

1. Sayyid 'Umar Shāhīd, who settled in Jānsath, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 428 (g).

The occurrence of the name 'Umar shows that he, at any rate, was no Shi'ah.

2. Sayyid Chaman, who settled at Chatora (Jām), in the Pargana of Joli-Jānsath. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign

[1] Plural.—P. 1
[2] The word occurs also in the lists of Pathān nobles in the Tūrīg-i Firdawsī. The title of qāūgh, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later qāīr or qāīr, the officer in charge of the qūr (p. 118). But the name Khān Qīr is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him Khān Qīr, or Khāna Qīr (7).
of Shāhjahān ¹ is said to have founded Kharwa Jalālpūr in the ʿIlāqa of Sirdhana, district Mirath. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad ⁵Alī and ⁵Alī Asghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatora and Jalālpūr respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843-44 the bricks of the ruined family dwelling, in Chatora for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatora are ascribed to S. Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ Khān, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. Sayyid Ḥunā (122). He settled at Bihārī, Muẓaffarnagar. He had six sons:—

I. Sayyid Qutf, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspūr in the Muẓaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids.

II. S. Sulṭān, whose descendants hold Sirdhāoli.²

III. S. Yūsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS. reads Dubain).

IV and V. S. Jān and S. Mān, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naṣīr ʿd-Dīn. To his descendants belongs S. Khān Jahāni Shāhjahānī, p. 428 (d). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, S. Manṣūr, built Manṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Manṣūrpūr and Khutauli; his second son Muẓaffar Khān [Sher Zamān] built Muẓaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. Sayyid Ahmad. He settled at Kalī in Jolt-Jānsath, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tāṭār Khān, and Dīwān Yār, Muḥammad Khān as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangzib.

B. The Chhatranūrī or Chhāṭranūrī, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abūʾl-Faḍl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhr ⁶ʿd-Dīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalhara, the rājās of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhār, is said to have had four sons:—

I. Sayyid ⁵Alī.

II. Sayyid Ahmad, a descendant of whom, S. Rawshah ⁵Alī Khān, served under Muḥammad Shāh.

¹ The Pādshāhkhāna, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams. ² A S. Juttā is mentioned Taz., p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaloywāl (vide No. 99). ⁴ Sandhāl, 1st.—P.
III. S. Taj's 'd-Dīn, whose son, S. ʿUmar settled at Kakruäl.

IV. S. Sāḥīr [(perhaps the same on p. 428d, last line of) who had two sons S. Ḥaydar Khān, and S. Muḥammad Khān. The descendants of the former settled at Mīrānpūr, which was founded by Nawab S. Shahāmat Khān, evidently the same as on p. 428. S. Muḥammad Khān settled at Khatora ("a village so called, because it was at first inhabited by Kā.iths"). Among his descendants are S. Nuṣrat Yār Khān (p. 428) and Ruknāʿ 'd-Dawla.

C. The Kūndliwāls.

S. Abū 'l-Faṣāil settled at Mājharā, ¹ which is said to have been so called because the site was formerly a jungle of mūnji ² grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are mafqūd khabar, i.e. it is not known what became of them. The Kūndliwāls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Mājharā ³ being altogether deplorable.

The Kūndliwāls are now scattered over Mājharā, Ḥāshimpūr, Tisang, Tandera, etc.

D. The Jugnerīs.

The son of S. Najm ⁴ 'd-Dīn, S. Qamar ⁵ 'd-Dīn, settled at Bījaulī. A descendant of his, S. Fākhr ⁶ 'd-Dīn, left Bījaulī and settled at ०[missing text] in Jōlī-Jānsath, and had also zamindāris in Chandaurī Chandaura, Tulasīpūr, and Khārī. Nowadays many of this branch are in Bījaulī, Īlāqā Pānipat, and Dīhli.

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bārha still exist are Mīrānpūr, Khatauli, Mūsaflarnagar, Jōlī, Tis-ha, Bakhera, Majhara, Chatana, Sambhalī, Tisang, Bilāspūr, Morna, Sandhā, olf, Kailā, odha, Jānsath.

¹ On maps Munjeraḥ.—B.J.
² As this place is said to have been founded by Ḥizārī Khān [p. 427 (c)], it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kūndliwal. His brother, S. ʿAlam perished with Prince Shujā in Arracan; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, ten were Bārha Sayyids, the remaining twelve being Mughals.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urbā MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sūfīs of Bārha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India—now so accessible—and compiled from inscriptions and samads and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kūndliwāls, who are the very opposite of Mafqūd 'l-khabar.
After the overthrow of the Tihanpūrī brothers (p. 428, (g)), many emigrated. Sayyids of Bārha exist also in Lakhnau, Bareli, Āwla, in Aush; also in Nāginā, Maiman, and Chāndpūr in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Jōli Sayyids is said to exist in Pūrnā (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Kirmānī of Bīrhhūm claim likewise to be related to the Bārha Sayyids.

During the reign of Awrangzīb, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunni tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sādāt-i Bārha under Muḥammad Shāh (vide Elphinstone, Vth edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhaṁsi (بسمی), which lies on the Khatauli road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors, during their palmy days, had collected.

76. ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Khān Mughul

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the Māṣāger or the Tabaqāt. He has been mentioned above, p. 322, l. 10. Akbar’s marriage with his daughter displeased Bayrām, because ʿAbdū ʿIlāh’s sister was married to Kāmrān, of whose party Bayrām believed him to be. When Bayrām, during his rebellion (p. 332) marched from Dīpālpūr to Jālindhar, he passed over Tihāra, where ʿAbdū ʿIlāh defeated a party of his friends under Wali Beg (No. 24).

ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Khān Mughul must not be confounded with ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14).

77. Shaykh Muḥammad-i Būkhārī.

He was a distinguished Hindūstānī Sayyid, and maternal uncle (tughārī(l)) to Shaykh Farīd-i Būkhārī (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattā Khāsa Khayāl Afghān handed over the Fort of Chānār to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a tughāl in Ajmīr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaykh Muṣīn-i Chishti’s tomb, as the khādīma were generally at feud about the emoluments 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, Shaykh M. was attached to the corps under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmadābād. After the Emperor’s victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā joined Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and ʿAqīl Mīrzā, at Patan (Gujrāt); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Āgra. The other
three Mirzās remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fūlādi party (vide No. 67). Mirzā ʿAzīz had been reinforced by the Māliwa contingent under Qutbudd-Din (No. 28), Shāh Budāgh (No. 52), and Matlab Khān (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqa to Sūrat. Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka left Sayyid Ḥāmid (No. 78) in Ahmadābād, and moved against the Mirzās in Patan. The Mirzās and Sher Khān Fūlādi, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khān sent proposals of peace through Shaykh M. to M. ʿAzīz. Shāh Budāgh advised M. ʿAzīz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and ʿAzīz drew up his army. He himself, Shāh Budāgh, Muṣīnudd-Din-i Farangkhādī (No. 128), Maṣūm Khān and his son, and Matlab Khān (No. 83) stood in the centre (qatā); Qutbudd-Din (No. 28), and Jamāludd-Din Injū (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaykh Muḥammād, Murād Khān (No. 54), Shāh Muḥammād (No. 95), Shāh Fakhrudd-Din (No. 88), Muzaffar Mughul, Pāyanda (No. 68), Hājī Khān Afghān, and the son of Khawāj Khān, on the left wing; Dastam Khān (No. 79), Nawrang Khān (vide p. 354), Muḥammad Qutbudd-Din (No. 129), and Mihr ʿAlī Siddozi (No. 130), led the van (harāmel); Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) occupied the Altīmāsh (between the van and the commander); and Mirzā Muqim and Chīrgīs Khān formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fūlādi and Junayd-i Kararānī; the right wing by the three Mirzās; the left wing by Muḥammād Khān (Sher Khān's eldest son) and Sādāt Khān; and their van was led by Badr Khān, younger son of Sher Khān. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramadān, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mirzās. Murād Khān (No. 54) preferred to look on. Shāh Muḥammād (No. 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadābād. Shaykh Muḥammād himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahāʾudd-Din, and Sayyid Jaʾfar, brother of Shaykh Farid (No. 99). The Mirzās also fell upon Shāh Fakhrudd-Din and repulsed him. Qutbudd-Din even was hard pressed, when M. ʿAzīz 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 Khān fled to Jūnāgadh, and the Mirzās to the Dakhīn.

78. Sayyid Ḥāmid-i Būkhārī.

Sayyid Ḥāmid was the son of S. Mirān, son of S. Mubārik. Sayyid Mubārak was a Gujratī Courtier (vide p. 419, note) who, it is said, arrived
from Bukhara 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 Gujrat swore by S. Mubarak’s arrow. He
gradually rose to higher dignities. When Istimad Khan (No. 67) raised
Nath to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Shâh, S. Mubarak got
several Mahalls of the Patan, Dholqa, and Dandoqa (W. of the Peninsula)
Districts. After his death, Dholqa and Dandoqa were given to his son
Sayyid Mirân, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hâmid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrat, arrived on lst Rajab, 980,
at Patan, Sayyid Hâmid went over to him, and was favourably received.
During the war of Mirzâ ‘Aziz Koka with the Mirzâs (vade No. 77), S. H.
was put in charge of Ahamdâbâd. In the 18th year, Dholqa and
Dandoqa were again given him as tugul. Subsequently, he served under
Qutb-ud-Din in Kambhâjî.

In the 22nd year he was appointed to Multan, and served in the
end of the same year with M. Yusuf Khan-i-Razawi (No. 35), against
the Baltuchâs. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammed Hakim invaded
Làhor, S. H. with the other tugûddârs of the Panjâb assembled and joined
the army of Prince Murâd, S. H. commanding the left wing. He also
served under Akbar in Kâbul. On the Emperor’s return he was
permitted to go to from Sirhind to his jàgir.

In the 30th year he served under Mân Singh in Kâbul. On his
arrival at Peshâwar, his jàgir, S. H. sent most of his men to Hindûstân,
and lived securely in Bigrâm (on our Maps, Beghram), leaving his affairs
in the hands of a man of the name of Maşa. This man oppressed the
Mahmand and Gharbâb (!) Khayl tribes, “who have ten thousand homes
near Peshâwar.” The oppressed Afghans, instead of complaining to
Akbar, chose Jalâla-yi Târikî as leader, and attacked S. H. He first
resolved to shut himself up in Bigrâm; but having received an erroneous
report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was
defeated and killed (31st year). The Ma’tâzîr says he was killed in 993.
In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghans
then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamâl, son of S. H. He
held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamâl, during Akbar’s reign, was promoted to a command of Seven
Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahângîr, to a Hazâríship. He was
made Governor of Dihlî, vice Shaykh ‘Abdul-l-Wahhâb, also a Bukhârî
Sayyid (Tur. p. 35, l. 8 from below). Kamâl served under Farid-i Bukhâri
(No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusraw, and commanded
the left wing in the fight near Bhairōwal, rendering timely assistance
to the Sayyids of Bārha, who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyīd Yaqūb, son of S. Kamāl, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred,
1,000 horse, and died in the third year of Shāhjahān’s reign. The Ma‘āṣir
says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shāhjahān’s grandees given in the Pādīshāhānāma
(I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Ḥāmid, of the name
of Sayyid Bāqīr, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khān, son of Rustam-i Turkistānī.

The correct name of this grandee is Dastam, a very unusual name
though most MSS. of the Ā’in and many of the Akbarnāma give Rastam. The Ma‘āṣir 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 Ma‘āṣir and Akbarnāma, which I have seen,
either Nobοa or Bakhyā—was a friend of Māhum Anaga (vide No. 19)
and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-
fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khān in the 9th year, served under Mu‘izz ‘l-Mulk (No. 61)
against ‘Abd ‘l-Lāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year he served
under Mīrzā ‘Azīz Koka in the battle of Patan (vide No. 77), distinguished
himself in the war with Muhammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and got a flag. In
the 22nd year he was appointed to the Sāba of Ajmīr, and got Rantān
būr as tayāl. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the
rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year Uchā, son of Balbhādr, and Mohan, Sūr Dās,
Tilūkī, sons of Rāja Bihārī Mal’s brother, came without permission from
the Panjāb to Lānī (†), their native town, and caused disturbances.
Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwāhas, advised them to
return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more
audacious. Akbar then ordered D. to have recourse to threats, and if this
was not sufficient, to proceed against them. D. had at last to do so; but
he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the
fight, the three nephews of the Rāja were killed. Dastam received a

1 The geographical details given in the Akbarnāma are unsatisfactory.

Abū ‘l-Fazl mentions the Qasba (small town) of Lānī (لا،) as the birth-place of the
Kachhwāha rebels; the fight, he says, took place in a village (νυκταύρ) of the name
of Thori, and Dastam died at Sharghpūr, which is also called a Qasba. But the Akbar-
nāma leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The Toshāqūṭ, in its list
of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khān was killed in the neighbourhood of
Rantān-būr. The only places near Rantān-būr which resemble the above three are
Bunjee, Tokra, and Shergarh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpūr Territory for
1890. The road from Shergarh (about 4 miles S.E. of Rantān-būr) to Bunjee is bisected
wound from Uchhā, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchhā, 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 Sherpūr. 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 Ma'ādir says he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhūr was then given to Mirzā ʿAbdurrahīm (No. 29) as jāgir.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Shāhāz Khān-i Kambū.

Regarding the tribe called Kambū, vide Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistic quoted (Metre Haraḵ):—

[Persian script]

"The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrs the third, set of scoundrels"

must be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Shāhāz was Ḥājī Ismāʿīl, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahāʾu ʿd-Dīn Zakariyā of Mūltān. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an ashrafī, or gold muhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention; but as Bahāʾu ʿd-Dīn could not pay the money, Ḥājī Ismāʿīl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafī for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Ḥājī Ismāʿīl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambūs are proverbial in Hindūstān for sagacity and quickness of apprehension.

Shāhāz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done: but the excellent way in which he performed

by the Banas River. Rantanbhūr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chamāl and the Banas, and Bountee lies about 30 miles N.W. of it. There are two villages of the names of Toke, one about 3 miles S.W. of Bountee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. Bountee, or Baūli, would be بونی or دی, which will be found below as the head of a Pargana in Sārkār Rantanbhūr, and the change of دی to لی is very simple. The greatest difference lies in Sherpūr and Sherpūrā.

The Akbarnāma says the fight took place on the 10th Abīn of the 25th year.
the duties of kotwāl, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amir and appointed Mīr Tozzak (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khān (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mīr Bakhshāī. In the 21st year he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpūr, especially against Kallah, son of Rāy Rām, and grandson of Rāy Māldeo; and was ordered to take Fort Siwānā. Shāhīzāz first took Fort Daigūr (!), where a large number of Rātāhī rebels were killed; after this he took Dūnāra, from where he passed on to Siwānāh, which on his arrival capitulated (934).

In the same year, Shāhīzāz was sent against Rājā Gajpatī. This Rājā was the greatest Zamīndār in Bihār, and had rendered good services during Munīm's expedition to Bengal. But when Dā'udd, king of Orīsā, invaded Bengal after Munīm's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpatī rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihār. Farbat Khān (No. 145) tuğuldār of Āra, his son Farhang Khān, and Qarātaq Khān, opposed the Rājā, but perished in the fight. When Shāhīzāz approached, Gajpatī fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespūr, where the whole family of the Rājā was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergaḍh, which was held by Sri Rām, Gajpatī's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtās. Its Afghān commander, Sayyid Muḥammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Jumayd-i-Kararānī, had been hard pressed by Muẓaffar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shāhīzāz, 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 Köbhalmīr (called on our maps Komalnāīr, on the frontier between Udāipur and Jodhpūr, lat. 25° 10'). The Rānā, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a Samārā when the fort was taken. Goganda and Udāpur submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 thānās in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udāpur to Fūr Mandāl. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Dauḍā, son of Rāy Surjan Hāḍā (No. 90), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmīr, where disturbances frequently occurred.

1 The MSS. have ٥٠٥٠, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S.W. of Jodhpūr, near which it must lie. Dūnāra (most MSS. have ٥٠٥٠) lies on the right bank of the Lānī, S.W. of Jodhpūr. Here Shāhīzāz crossed (GAH) and went to Siwānāh, which lies N.W. S. of Dūnāra, about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lānī.

2 So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him Gajjī, the Lakhman Akhrānāma (III, 140) Kajī, and the Ed. Bibi, Indies, of Barī, om. Kajī (p. 179, 284, 285) and Kajī (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lakhman edition of the Akhrānāma.
When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihār; but he did not agree with M. Āzīz Koka—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated Ārab Bahādur, and marched to Jagdespūr. At that time the report reached him that Maṣūm Khān Faraknudī (No. 157) had rebelled, and Ārab Bahādur and Niyyābat Khān had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sulṭānpūr Bilkari, 25 kos from Awadh (Fayzābād). Maṣūm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaumpūr, a distance of 30 kos. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemy that Maṣūm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.’s right wing attacked the enemy, Maṣūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Fayzābād). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Maṣūm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. again went 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 Bakhshīs had placed the young Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) above him, he gave vent openly to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rāy Sāl Darbārī (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.’s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. Āzīz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh. with other Amīrs was sent there. He followed up Maṣūm Khān Kābulī to Ghorāghāt, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhāṭī (p. 365), plundered Baktarāpūr, the residence of ‘Īsā, took Sunnārgāw, and encamped on the Brahmāputra. ‘Īsā afforded Maṣūm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgāw; Maṣūm 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 enemy did nothing; and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Tānda, all advantage being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the tuyullārs of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Maṣūm. In the 30th year, he and Šādiq Khān (cīde No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhāṭī, and even sent a detachment to Kokra (ක්‍රී), which lies between Orisā and the Dakhin”. Mādhū Singh, the Zamīndār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sā‘īd (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 Afghans of Sawad; but he left his duties without orders, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made atalq to M. Shahrulkh, who had been appointed to Malwa, and was on his way to Prince Murad in the Dakhin. During the siege of Akmadnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr-i Naw, "which is called Burhanabad," asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shi'as, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called Langar-i-Duwada Inam, the very name of which must have stank 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 Sadiq Khan (No. 43) was appointed his atalq, Sh. left without permission for Malwa. Akbar gave his jagir to Shahrulkh, and transferred Shabhaz.

In the 43rd year Sh. was sent to Ajmir as Commander of the mangal of Prince Salim (Jahangir), whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilahabat against the Rana. But Sh. was now about 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 Ajmir another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salim took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Ilahabat without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shabhaz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmir 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 Shabhaz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shabhaz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. His opposition to Akbar's "Divine Faith" had been mentioned above (p. 197). He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word murid (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 a rosary in his hand. One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fatipur and seized Shabhaz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the sagr, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun,
not to miss the proper time. Ḥakim Abū ʾl-Fath (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Ḥakim ʿAlī who stood near him, "I shall indeed call Shāhīd 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 prayer but also his vīrā (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, "Get up!" Abū ʾl-Faḍl stepped up and interceded for Shāhīd, whose persistency he admired.

Abū ʾl-Fath says that Shāhīd 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 Pārās stone (vide Book III, Šūba of Mālwa). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputr he had 9,000 horse. Every Thursday evening he distributed 100 Ashrafis to the memory of the renowned Ghauzī ʿr-ḡiqlayn (?). (ʿAbdū ʾl-Qādu-i Jilānī). To the Kambūs he gave so much, that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mir Bakhshi he introduced the Dīgh law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (vide pp. 252, 265, 266). Shāhīd's brother, Karamū ʾl-lāh, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Saronj (Maṭāqir). The Maṭāqir mentions a son of Shāhīd, Ilhāmū ʾl-lāh. He was Wāqiʿa-nauķis (p. 268) of the Sarkār of Baghāna, where he died.

The Tuzuk (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbāz Khān, who during the reign of Shāhjāhan was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, Bakhshi and Wāqiʿa-nauķis of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shāhjāhan's reign.1

31. Darwish Muhammad Uzbak.

The Maṭāqir says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Tabaqāt merely say that he was dead in 1001.

1 Ranbāz Khān is wrongly called Niẓām Khān in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Pālishāb, I. b., p. 314; but in II, p. 740, of the same work, Ranbāz Khān as in the Tuzuk.

Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 159, says that Ranbāz's name was Khānū ʾl-lāh; but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should perhaps, be Ḥabībū ʾl-lāh.

In the list of Akbar's grandees in the Tabaqāt, Niẓām says, "At present (in 1001) Shāhīd is Mir Bakhshi of Mālwa."
From the *Akhbarna* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayrām. He was sent by Bayrām together with Muzafrar ʿAlī (No. 37, and p. 332, l. 6) to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna, who dispatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the *Akhbarna* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 250 —where for Darwīsẖ Uzbaḵ Khwāja, read Darwīsẖ Uzbaḵ o Muzafrar Khwāja). From the fact that Abū ʿl-Fazl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayrām's submission.

82. **Shaykẖ Ibrāhim**, son of Shaykẖ Muṣa, elder brother of Shaykẖ Salīm of Fathpūr Siksī.

His father, Shaykẖ Muṣa, lived a retired life in Siksī. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Siksī Shaykẖs to pray for him, which they did; and as at that time one of Akbar’s wives became pregnant (with Salīm), Akbar looked upon the Shaykẖs with particular favour. To this lucky circumstance, the Siksī family owes its elevation.

Shaykẖ Ibrāhim lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year he was made Thānahdār of Lāḍlā, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year he was made Governor of Fathpūr Siksī. In the 28th year he served with distinction under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār and Bengal, and was with Vazīr Khān (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutlū of Orisā. When Akbar, in the 30th year, went to Kābul, he was made Governor of Āgra, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the *Tubaqūt*, he was not only the brother but also the son-in-law of Shaykẖ Salīm-i Siksīwāl.

83. ʿAbdul-ʿl-Maṭlāb Khān, son of Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52).

The Maṭāṣir makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

ʿAbdul-ʿl-Maṭlāb accompanied Sharaḵwād-Din Ḥusayn (No. 17) on his expedition to Mirtha. In the 10th year he served together with his father under Muʿīzza-ʿl-Mulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahādūr Khān, and fled from the battlefield of Khayrābād. In the 12th year he served under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barīsā (No. 31) against Iskandar Khān in Audh. He then retired to his *tugāl* in Mālwa.

In the 17th year he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. ʿAzīz Koka and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). In the 23rd year, when Ḥusayn-ʿd-Din’s men (No. 28) brought Muzafrar Husayn Mirzā from the Dakhin to Court, ʿAbdul-ʿl-Maṭlāb attached himself as convoy and saw the Mirzā safely to Court. In the 25th year he accompanied ʿIsnā-ʿil Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyaḥab Khān ʿArab. In the
following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Fatḥ Dowlah, son of ʿAli Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kābul. In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kālpī, his jagir.

In the 30th year he accompanied M. ʿAzīz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalāl Taṭikī, the Afghān rebel. One day, Jalālī fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nūrīn Khān (No. 212), Salīm Khān (No. 132), and Sheroyā Khān (No. 168). They were in time, and, assisted by Muhammad Quli Beg, routed Jalālī, who escaped to the mountains. ʿAbdu ḫ-Matřab “had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight” . He seems to have taken this to heart: for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzād, was under Jahāngīr, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. ʿĪṣībār Khān, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was ʿAmbar. He was one of Bābār’s Eunuchs. When Humāyūn left Qandahār for ʿIrāq, he despatched ʿĪṣībār and others to conduct Maryam Makānī (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 Begams from Kābul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dūhli, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Rāja Bir Bal [Bīr Bar], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dās (Maʿāṣir; the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā,oni, II, p. 161, calls him Brahman Dās) and was a Bhāt, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call bāḏfarūḵ, “dealers in encomiums.” He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badā,oni, he came soon after Akbar’s accession from Kālpī 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 Rāy, or (Hindi) Poet Laureate,1 and had him constantly near himself.

1 Just as Jetik Rāy, the (Hindū) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayā] had the title of Malīk ʿāb-Sāṉur, or “King of Poets.”
In the 18th year Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot, who was at Court happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nargakot was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rāja Bīr Bar. But Jai Chand’s son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch., or Bādi Ch.—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā, as related above, forced Ḥusayn Qulī to raise the siege, and Bīr Bar, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 24th Rabi’ II, 981. (Vide note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year he was sent with Rāy Lon Karan to Dūngarpūr, the Rāy of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar’s Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zayn Koka (No. 34) conducted Rāja Rām Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bīr Bar spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year Zayn Khān Koka marched against the Yūsufzā, is in Bījūr and Sawād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bīr Bar was sent there together with Ḥakīm Abū ‘l-Fath (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abū ‘l-Fażl or Bīr Bar should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar’s wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 214, 367). Bīr Bar and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar’s army ever suffered.¹

How Akbar felt Bīr Bar’s loss has been mentioned on p. 214. There is also a letter on this subject in Abū ‘l-Fażl’s Maktābāt.

The following passages from Badā’ī (Ed. Bibl. Ind., pp. 357, 358) are of interest—"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year (995) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bīr Bar, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindūs by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr Bar’s loss, and invented the story that Bīr Bar had been seen in the hills of Nagarkot, walking about with Jogis and Sannāsīa. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Bar was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzā, is; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogis,

¹ A similar catastrophe befell ‘Awrangzīb, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amin Khān were killed in the Khaibar Faw, on the 3rd Muharram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. Ma‘barat-e Ahmēafīr, p. 117. - Vide Journal A. S. Bengal for 1862, p. 261.
inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Āḥadī was therefore 
sent to Nagarkot to inquire 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 Ābir Bār had been 
seen at Kālinjar (which was the jāgūr of this dog), and the collector 
of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks 
on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Ābir Bār 
had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, 
Ābir Bār had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to 
come to Court; and the Hindu Krorī (collector) got hold of some poor 
innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in conceal-
ment, giving out that he was Ābir Bār. The Krorī could, of course, send 
no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid 
detection, and reported that it was Ābir Bār in reality, but he had since 
died. His Majesty actually went 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."

Ābir Bār 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 Hindūstān.

The hatred which Badaou Shāh Bāz Khān (No. 80) and other pious 
Muslims showed towards Ābir Bār (vide pp. 192, 198, 202, 209, 214) arose 
from the belief that Ābir Bār had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām.

Bād Bār's eldest son, Lāīa, 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 faqūr, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th 
year).

86. Ikhlās Khān Istibār, the Eunuch.

The Māâṣir does not give his name. The list of Akbar's grandees in 
the Tabaqāt has the short remark that Ikhlās Khān was a Eunuch, and 
held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahār Khān (Muḥammad) Asgāhr, a servant of Humayūn.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read 
Babādur Khān. The Māâṣir does not give his name. The list of the 
Tabaqāt mentions a "Bahār Khān, a Khāsa Khayl Afgān, who held 
a command of Two Thousand". Bahār Khān Khāsa Khayl is also 
mentioned in several places in the Akbarnāma. He is therefore most 
probably the same as given by Abū 'l-Faḍl in this list. Perhaps we have
to read Pahār Khān, instead of Bahār Khān: vide No. 407. The notice in the Tabaqāt implies that he was dead in 1001.

88. Shāh Fakhru'd-Din, son of Mir Qasim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhru'd-Din came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India. In the 9th year of Akbar’s reign he served in the army which was sent against ʻAbdullāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year he was in the mangalā, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. amīr Hākīm Sāyid-ul-Mulk to Mir Abū Turāb and Istimād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to Istimād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. Sāyid Koka (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 453). He was also among the grantees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrat (p. 343, note, where according to the Akbarsāna we have to read 24th Rabī'ī I, for 4th Rabī'ī I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqībat Khān. In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrat), vice Tarsā Muhammad Khān (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, Tabaqāt).

89. Rāja Ram Chand Baghela.

A few MSS. read Bhagela, which form Tod says is the correct one. Baghela, however, is the usual spelling.

Rāma Chand was Rāja of Bhath (or Bhattah, as the Maṭāirī Spells it). Among the three great Rājas of Hindustān whom Bābar mentions in his Memoirs, the Rājas of Bahth are the third.

Rāma Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsīn, 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 Jalālād-Dīn Qūṛehi (No. 213) to Bhath, to induce Tānsīn to come to Agra. Rāma Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar’s request, sent his favourite, with his musical instruments and many presents to Agra, and the first time that Tānsīn performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhis of rupees. Tānsīn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar’s name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindustān.

When ʻAṣaf Khān (I) led his expedition to Gādha (p. 396) he came in

2. On p. 396, Rāma Chand is by mistake called Rāma Chander.
contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rāja became "a servant" of Akbar. In the 14th year Yām Chand lost Fort Kālinjār, as related on p. 399. He sent his son, Bir Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhath; but Bir Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to Court. Rāja Bir Bar and Zayn Koka 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 Bir Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rāja. But on his way from Court to Bhath he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the 38th year (1001; vide p. 385). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bāndhū, of which Bikramājit, a young relation of Rām Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rāja Patrdās (No. 196) with troops to Bāndhū, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (thānas). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismā'īl Quli Khān (No. 46) to Bāndhū, to convey Bikramājit to Court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bāndhū from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramājit, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bāndhū was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year Durjodhan, a grandson of Rām Chand, was made Rāja of Bāndhū. In the 21st year of Jahāngir's reign Amr Singh, another grandson of Rām Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihlī. In the 8th year of Shāhjahān when ʾAbd al-Ilāh Khān Bahādur marched against the refractory zamīndār of Ratampūr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anūp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rāja Pahār Singh Bundela, Jāgirdār of Chaurāgadh, attacked Anūp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairām, a zamīndār of Chaurāgadh, Anūp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewā (which after the destruction of Bāndhū had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Šalābat Khān, Governor of Ilāhābād (vide p. 427), conducted him to Court, where Anūp turned Muhammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bāndhū and the surrounding districts.

90. Laashkar Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Khurāsān.

He was Mir Bukhāshī and Mir ʿArī. In the 11th year Muzaffār Khān (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year he came one day drunk to the Darbār, 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 Munṣim’s Bengal corps. In the battle of Takaroi (p. 406) 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 Orissa.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (Maṣūṣir, 1,000).

The Maṣūṣir has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of Lashkar Khān was conferred by Jahāngīr on Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Mashhādī, and by Shāhjahān on Jān Nīsār Khān Yādgār Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Bārha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Māhmūd (p. 427). In the 17th year he served in the Munqāla, which, under the command of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), was sent to Gujrat. After the conquest of Ahmadābād, he was ordered with other Amīrs to pursue the sons of Sher Khān Fālādī (p. 432), who had removed their families and property from Patanto Ídar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mirzā Abū ʿr-Raḥīm (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muhammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, Shāh Mirzā, and Sher Khān Fālādī, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. Ṣaʾīd.

In the 20th year S. A. and his nephews S. Qāsim and S. Ḥaṣīm quelled the disturbances in which Jalāli ʿd-Dīn Qūrchī (No. 213) had lost his life. In 484 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānāh. According to the Ṭabqaqū, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abū ʿl-Faḍl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p. 300,11 from below. Sayyid Ahmad’s son, S. Jamāl al-ʿd-Dīn was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chitor (p. 393).

This S. Jamāl al-ʿd-Dīn must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamāl al-ʿd-Dīn who was executed in 993 (Bayān Ḥasan, II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Māhmūd (No. 75) S. Qāsim being called his uncle.

92. Kākār ʿAll Khān-i Chiāštī.

He came with Humāyūn to Hindūstān. In the 11th year (973) he was sent together with Shāh Quli Nāranjī (No. 231) to Gadha-Katanga, because Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kākār served also under Muṣīz al-Mulk (No. 61) and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shaʿbān, 980; vide p. 353). He was then attached to Munṣim’s
corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981; Ma'āṣir, 930).


He is the father of Rāy Singh (No. 14), and has been mentioned above, p. 384.

94. Tāhir Khān, Mir Farāqī, son of Mir Khurd, who was atānīq to Prince Hindāl.

His name is not given in the Ma'āṣir. The Tabaqāt merely says that he was a grandee of Humāyūn, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son Rāy Khān, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the Akbar-nāma (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of Akbar's companions. Together with Dastam Khān (No. 79) Qutluq Qadam Khān (No. 123), Peshraw Khān (No. 280), Ḥakīm al-Mulk, Muqbil Khān, and Shimāl Khān (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwāja Muṣāazzam, brother of Akbar's mother.

95. Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qalāt.

As Qalāt belongs to Qandahār, he is often called Shāh Muḥammad Khān-i Qandahārī. The Ma'āṣir says that the name of the town of Qalāt is generally spelt with a ژ Q; but that the Hazāras pronounce Kalāt, with a K.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān was a friend of Bayrām, and was with him in Qandahār, which Humāyūn had given Bayrām as jāgīr. Bayrām, however, left it entirely in S. M.'s hands. Bahādur Khān (No. 22) was then governor of Dāwar, and had bribed several grandees to hand over Qandahār to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the conspirators. Bahādur then marched against Qandahār. S. M. knew that he could expect no assistance from Humāyūn, and wrote to Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia that it was Humāyūn's intention to cede Qandahār; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahādur, and take possession of the town. Tahmāsp sent 3,000 Turkmān troopers furnished by the jāgīrdārs of Sistān, Farāh, and Garmār. Their leader, ʿAlī Yār, surprised Bahādur and defeated him so completely, that Bahādur could not even keep Dāwar. 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. Shāh Tahmāsp then ordered his nephew, Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā (vide No. 8), Wali Khalīfa Shāmīlū, and others, to besiege Qandahār. The siege had lasted for some time, when Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā felt disgusted and withdrew.
Tahmäsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā with ʿAll Sultān, Governor of Shīrāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ʿAll Sultān was shot during the siege, and Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā 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 Qandahār to the Persians, according to Humāyūn’s promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahār, observes the author of the Māʾāṣir, differs from Manshī Sikandar’s version of his great work entitled Ṣālamār-i Sikandarī. According to that history, Tahmāsp, at the very first request of Shāh Muḥammad sent Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā with Walli Khālīfa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahādur; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahār, Tahmāsp sent ʿAll Sultān with a stronger army, and appointed Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā governor of Dāwar and Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindūstān.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar’s reign in India, was made a Khān, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968) he led the van in the battle near Sārangpūr, in which Bāz Bahādur lost Mālwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbd al-Ḥanūn Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kotha. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzā ʿAzīz Kola, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 432).

Regarding Ṣāhil Khān, S. M.’s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Ṣayyid Yahyā b. ʿAlī Khān ʿAlī Khān.

He is often merely called Ṣayyid Hādī. The Hādīs are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantānṭhūr is called after them Hādīsī.

Ṣayyid Yahyā b. ʿAlī Khān Ṣayyid Yahyā b. ʿAlī Khān was at first in the service of the Rānī, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantānṭhūr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p. 338), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantānṭhūr, and R. S., desiring of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudā and Bhoj (No. 175) to Akbar’s camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honour. 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 Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Mājūb of Bādh, on, but was cut down by one of Muḥaffāz Khān’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, Husayn Quli Khan (No. 34) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhur was annexed (Shawwal, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gajha-Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanaqil (Chunir).

Soon after, Dauda fled and created disturbances in Bundi. Zayn Khan Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Bundi, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Dauda who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shabbaz Khan (p. 436). Not long after, Dauda fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 26th year, after Muzaffar's (No. 37) death in Bihar. The Ma'tasir does not mention the year of his death. From the Tabaqat, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Raya Bhoj, vide below, No. 175.

97. SHAHAM KHAN Jalai, ir.

Jalai, ir is the name of a Chaghatai tribe.

Shaham's father was Babai Beg, who had been under Humayun, governor of Jaunpur. Babai Beg also took part in the battle of Chausa, in which Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah. The Emperor fled to Agra, and ordered Babai Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begams. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Babai Beg was killed by an Afghan near the imperial tent.

Shaham Khan was made an Amir by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalai, irs, mentioned below, Haaji Muhammad Khan-i Sistani (No. 55), Chalma Beg (58), Kamal Khan, Ghakkar, and Qiyaa Khan Gung (No. 33), under Khan Zamam (No. 13) in the Jaunpur District against the Afghans. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shah, son of Adli, Mubarak Khan, after Bayraam's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughals. In the 10th year Sh. Kh. served against Khan Zamam.

In the 19th year he served under Munim in the Bengal and Orissa wars, was present in the battle of Takaroi and pursued with Todar Mal the Afghans to Bhadrak (p. 406). After Munim's death at Gaur (p. 407), the grandees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year he took part in the battle near Ag Mahall (p. 350). In the 24th year he was jagirdar of Haji pur (opposite Patna). After Muzaffar's death (No. 37) in 988, before Todar Mal had arrived, he defeated and killed Safi-ud-Din Badakhshi, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued Arab Bahadur, whom Shabbaz Khan
(p. 438) had defeated. In the 26th year Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Maṣṣūm Khān-i Farangkūdi (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrā,īāh over Kalyānpūr to Muḥammadābād, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaumpūr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahār Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzīpūr and Qāsim from Jalālpūr, united their contingents, and pursued Maṣṣūm so effectually that he applied to M. ʿAzīz Koka to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year he was made Governor of Gādha, and soon after, of Dīhli. In the end of the same year he accompanied Sultan Murād, who conducted M. Sulaymān (No. 5) to Court. In the beginning of the 33rd year he assisted Šādīq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalāla Tārīkī in Teraḥ.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar made Dīhli his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore reprimanded. Two years later, he served in the ʿĀṣīr war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zī Hijjah, 1009.

The Tabaqāt says that Shāham Khān was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāma mentions two other Jalā,īr Grandees:

1. Sultan Husayn Khān Jalā,īr. He was mentioned above, p. 417, l. 3.
2. Muhammad Khān Jalā,īr. The Tabaqāt says of him, "he is an old Amīr, and is at present (1001) mad." He served under Khān Zamān in the war with Harmū. In the beginning of the 4th year all three Jalā,īrs served under Khān Zamān against the Afghāns in the Jaumpūr District.


His father Mīrzā Bādī ʿz-Zamān was the son of Āghā Mullā Dāwūtdār of Qazvin (vide p. 398). M. Bādī, during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp, had been vāzīr of Kāshān, and Jaʿfar had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Jaʿfar Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghīyās ʿD, Dīn ʿAlī ʿĀṣf Khān II (No. 126), on his return from the Idar expedition. The new Dīgh law having then been introduced, Akbar made Jaʿfar a Commander of Twenty (Bīstī) and attached him to the Dākhīla (p. 292) of his uncle. According to Bādā,ānī (III, 216) people attributed this maximum of royal favour to the malice of Jaʿfar's uncle. The post was so low that Jaʿfar threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province Muzaffār Khān (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with
him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shamsuddin Khān (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fathpūr, 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 Āṣaf Khān. He was also appointed Mir Bakshī, vice Qāzī ʿAlī. In his first expedition, against the Rānā of Udaipūr, Āṣaf was successful.

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thānādār of Sawād (Swat), vice Ismāʿīl Quli Khān, who had been reprimanded (p. 388, where for Wayjūr read Bājūr). In the 37th year Jalālā Rawshānī fled to Ṣābi' ʿAlī Khān Uzbek; king of Tārān; but finding no support, he returned to Terāh, and stirred up the Āfrīdī and Urakzāj Afghānis. Āṣaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zayn Khān Koka, defeated Jalālā. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Wahdat ʿAlī, who was said to be Jalālā's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year Āṣaf was sent to Kashmir, M. Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jāgīr holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kābulī (No. 191), Muḥammad Quli Afshār, and Ḥasan ʿArāb were the most important. The cultivation of Za'farūn (saffron, vide p. 89) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qāzī ʿAlī, i.e. at one lakh of khawwārī, at 24 dams each (vide p. 370). Āṣaf stayed only three days in Kashmir, and returned to Lāhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jāgīr holders, Āṣaf was made Governor of the province. In the 44th year (beginning of 1008) he was appointed Divān-i kull vice Patr Dās (No. 190).

In 1013 Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) rebelled against Akbār; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbār's mother, and Salīm was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujār as tāyūl, and gave up the Šūbas of Thāhābād and Bihār, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihār was given to Āṣaf, who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahāngīr's accession, Āṣaf was called to Court, and appointed ådāq to Prince Parwīz, who had taken the command against the Rānā. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahāngīr, after suppressing Khusraw's revolt, left Lāhor for Kābul, and as Sharīf Khān Amir ʿAlī-Umarā remained
dangerously ill in India, Āṣaf was made Vakīl and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels. But he never trusted Jahāngīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Āṣaf’s death (Tuzuk, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar’s death, the kings of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik Šambar had seized upon several places in the Bālāghāt District. The Khān Khānān (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahāngīr sent Prince Parwiz to the Dakhin, with Āṣaf Khān as atāqi, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodī, Khān-i Aṣ̄zam (No. 21), Šabdūlāh Khān, “each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country.” But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amir, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Āṣaf died at Burhāmpūr. The Tāriḵh of his death is:

١٠٢١ ١٠٨٢ ١٣٢٠ هـ. A hundred times alas! for Āṣaf Khān.

The Tuzuk (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Āṣaf Khan 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 lopping 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. 218–9). He was one of the best poets of Akbar’s age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Maṣnawi, entitled Nārmaḍa ranks after Nizam’s Shīrīn Khusravar. Vide below among the poets of Akbar’s reign.

Āṣaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. Mirzā Zayn’l-šāfi Āhidin. He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān’s reign. He had a son Mirzā Jaʃfar, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same takhnullūd (Jaʃfar). He, Zahir Khān Koka, and M. Shāfi (Pādshāhūnuma), Šāqi, Ma’daqir son of Sayf Khān, were such intimate friends, that Shāhjahān dubbed them sih gur, “the three friends.” He

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1 It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as insignia on Dvāna. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

2 Mughul historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dakhin kings. The word which they generally use, is daŋghār, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the Alparsana.
later resigned the service, and lived in Agra on the pension which Shâhjâhân granted and Avrangzib increased. He died in 1694.

2. Suhrâb Khân. He was under Shâhjâhân a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shâhjâhân.

3. Mirzâ ʻAlî Asghar. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Porendâ expedition, he created dissensions between Shâh Shujâ‘ and Mahâbat Khân. He served in the war against Jujhâr Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamûnî, as related in the Pâdishâhnâmâ. He had just been married to the daughter of Mu‘tamdî Khân Bakhsî (author of the Iqbalnâmâ-yi Jahângîrî); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shâhjâhân married her to Khân Dawrân. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. Mirzâ ʻAskârî. He was in the 20th year of Shâhjâhân a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the Pâdishâhnâmâ mention two relations of Aṣâf—1. Muhammad Sâlıh, son of Mirzâ Shâhî, brother or nephew of Aṣâf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shâhjâhân’s reign. 2. Muqîm, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaykh Farîd-i Bukhârî.

The Iqbalnâmâ, according to the Mu‘âṣîr, says he belonged to the Mûsâevi Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhârî Sayyid’s trace their descent to Sayyid Jalâl-i Bukhârî, seventh descendant of Imâm ʻAlî Naqî Alhâdî.

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farîd was Shaykh ʻAbdu ‘l-Ghaffâr of Dihlî, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyûrgâhî tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaykh Farîd was born at Dihlî (Tuzuk, p. 68). He entered Akbar’s service early. In the 28th year, when M. ʻĂzîz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihar army, S. F. accompanied Vazîr Khân (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardâwân, where Qutlu of Orîsad collected his Afgâns. Qutlu having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlu’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 1,500. He was also appointed Mir Bakhsî, and had also for some time
the *Daftar-e Tan* in his charge, i.e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jāgīr holders.

His elevation under Jahāngīr was due to the decided support he gave Jahāngīr, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusraw at Rhañowāl. When Prince Salīm occupied Hāhābād during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to mansūbs and giving them jāgīrs, Akbar favoured Prince Khusraw so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salīm’s men were sent to Gujarāt. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salīm to stay outside the Fort of Āgra; and M. Azīz Koka (No. 21) and Rājā Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusraw’s succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and asked Shaykh Fārid to take command. But S. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salīm outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5,000, received the title of *Sāhib-i sajf wa’il qalam,* and was appointed *Mīr Bakhtāsh.*

A short time after, on the 8th Zī Hījāh, 1014, Prince Khusraw suddenly left Āgra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhor. S. F., with other Bukhārī and many Bārha Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahāngīr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharīf Khān Amir, l-Umāra* and Mahābat Khān, who were hostile to S. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sūltān Khusraw had gone to Lāhor and besieged the town, when he heard of S. F.’s arrival with 12,000 horse at the Āb-i Sultānpūr. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Bājāh, which S. F. had just crossed. Khusraw 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 Sayf Khān, son of Sayyid Muhmūd Khān Kundliwāl (p. 427) and Sayyid Jalāl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badakhshī troopers, and had not S. Kāmāl (vide No. 78) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of *Pādishāh salāmat* the Bārha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Sayf Khān got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalāl died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of Khusraw’s troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. Khusraw’s jewel-box fell

* This title we also find in old inscriptions, e.g. in those of Tribeni and Sātgīr, Hāgūl District. It means Lord of the sword and the pen.
into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairowal.\textsuperscript{1} In the evening Jahangir arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fatbabad, and was given S. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of Murtaq Khān, and was appointed governor of the Šūba of Gujrat.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahangir with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 misqāl, 15 surkhs, and was valued at 25,000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrat, he was recalled from Ahmadabād (Tuzuk, p. 73). In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjab. In 1021 he made preparations to invade Kangra. He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Dīhil (Tuz., p. 169). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5,000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dīhil, entitled \textit{Jāsā\textsuperscript{a}} Ḥāja, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukharî. Of Farid's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (dālān). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaykh in the 9th year, or 1033 A.H., instead of in the eleventh year, or 1025 A.D. Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a Sārāṭ, built by Shaykh Farid in Dīhil, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (jel khāna).

According to the \textit{Tuzuk}, p. 65, Salimgadh (Dīhil) belonged to S. Farid. It had been built by Salim Khān the Afghan during his reign in the midst (dar miyān) of the Jamma. Akbar had given it to Farid.\textsuperscript{2}

When Shaykh Farid died, only 1,000 Ashrafis were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the \textit{Tāriqāb of his death}:

\textsuperscript{1} Bhairowal, on our maps Bāghnaul, lies on the road from Jālinudhar to Amritsar, on the right bank of the Biāb. After the defeat Khurshid fled northward with the view of reaching Koha beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Biāb, the Chanāb, and the Jhelum. On coming to the Chanāb, at a place called Shāhpūr (a very common name in the Panjāb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodhar, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the \textit{Tārat-i Nâsīrī}—on our maps Sodhar, N.E. of Vasīrābād—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 Chanāb, and swam back. This came to the ears of the Chandī of Sodhar, and a report was sent to Abd-i Qasim Namakhi (No. 199), one of Jahangir's officers stationed at Gujrat (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanāb, opposite to Vasīrābād). He came, took Khurshid from the island, and kept him confined in Gujrat. The news of the capture reached Jahangir at Lāhor on the last Muharram 1015, i.e. 32 days after Khurshid's flight from Agra. On the 3rd Safar, Khurshid Hasan Beg-i Badakhshi (No. 167), and Abd-i Qasim Namakhi, were brought to Jahangir in the Bāgh-i Mīrāz Khānūn.

\textsuperscript{2} The family must have had large possessions in Dīhil: for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Dīhil, he stayed in Sb. Farid's mansion, and Abd-i Fazl (\textit{Istā'ılmān, III,} p. 195) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamma.
Shaykh 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 jagir lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujarât, he had a list made of all Bukhari Sayyids in the province, 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 sarâ,ts. The one in Dihli has been mentioned above. In Ahmadâbad, a mahalla was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhârâ. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Shâh Waijih u'd-Din (died 988; Badâwi, III, 43). He also built Faridâbad near Dihli, the greater part of the old pargana of Tilpât being included in the pargana of Faridâbad (Elliot’s Glossary, Beame’s Edition, II, p. 123). In Lahor also, a Mahalla was built by him, a large bath, and a chauck or bazaar. The Government officers under him received annually three khusats; to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3,000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahângîr did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghan of the name of Sher Khan, had taken leave in Gujarât, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh. Farid was in Kalânûr on his march to Kangra. The Shaykh ordered Dwarkâ Dâs, his Bakhshi, to pay the man his wages, and the Bakhshi wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day’s pay. But Farid got angry, and said, “He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay.” The man got 7,000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

1 Kharâf, sat, enjoined.—P.
2 In Dihli, Ahmadâbad, and many other places in Gujarât do we find Bukhari Sayyids. Vide Nis. 77, 78.
"Night and day," exclaimed the author of the Maṭīsīr, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaykh Farid had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muḥammad Saṣīd and Mir Khān. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahābat Khān, whom Jahāngīr had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Khān. S. F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood; but Mahābat got together several "respectable" witnesses, who maintained before the emperor that Mir Khān had been killed by Muḥammad Saṣīd, and Shaykh F. had to remain quiet.

Muḥammad Saṣīd was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahan, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (Pādishāh, II. 743).

Sayyid Jaṣfūr, S. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 433).

The Pādishāhānāma (I. b. 316, 313; II. 739) also mentions Sayyid Badr, son of Shaykh 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. Samarji Khān, son of Chalma Beg.

For Samarji we often find in MSS. Samājī. The Turkish samān means hay, so that Samarji or Samānchi would mean one who looks after the hay.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the Maṭīsīr, nor the Tabaqat. Nor have I come across his name in the Akbarnāma. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samarji Khān will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardi Khān, son of Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 367. The Tabaqat says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt)."
102. Mihtar Khán, Anis' d-Din, a servant of Humáyún.

The word mibtar, prop. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humáyún’s servants. Thus in the Akbarname (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I, p. 259—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, etc., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khán was the title of Anis’ d-Din. He was Humáyún’s treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Ranthambhúr 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 Rána Partáb of Máiwár, and distinguished himself as leader of the Chandán (rear). In the 25th year he held a jāgír in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Máṣům Khán Faráŋkhádí (No. 157).

Anis was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar’s death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the Tabaqát, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2,500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahángír’s reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the Mašáir correctly, he was a Káṭt, and looked upon his tribe with much favour. He was a man of great simplicity. It is said that he paid his contingent monthly.

Mánis Khán, his son, was during the reign of Jahángír a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. Abú Táleb, son of Máníes Khán, was employed as treasurer (Kháznáchéh) of the Šúba of Bengal.

103. Ráy Durgá Sisodia.

Ráy Durgá is generally called in the Akbarname, Ráy Durgá Chandrá-wat, (حند) - The home of the family was the Pargana of Rámpúr, also called Ilaímpúr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar’s reign Ráy Durgá accompanied Prince Múrád on his expedition against Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥákím of Káhul. In the 28th year he was attached to Mírzá Khán’s (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrat war. In the 30th year he was with M. Ẓāẕ Kúká (No. 21) in the Dakhn. In the 36th year he followed Prince Múrád to Málwa, and later to the Dakhn.

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muḥáflár Huṣayn Mírzá. He then accompanied Abú Ẓafíl to Náṣík, 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 Jahāngīr's reign.

According to the Tuzuk (p. 63) he had served Akbar for upwards
of forty years. Jahāngīr says, he had at first been in the service of Rānā
Udai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of
Commander of Forty Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The Tabaqat says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The Ma'asir continues the history of his descendants, from which the
following tree has been taken,

Genealogy of the Rā. of Rampur (Isāmpūr), Chīnī.

1. Rā. Durgā Sisodiya
   (Chandrawat)

2. Rā. Chandā (Jahāngīr)
   (a) A son
   (b) Rā. Mukund

3. Rā. Chandā (Shāhjahān)

4. Rā. Hattī Singh (Du.)
   [died childless]

5. (a) Rā. Rā. Rā. Singh
   [died childless]

6. (b) Rā. Amr Singh
   (Awrangzib)

7. Rā. Muhammad Singh

8. Rā. Govāl Singh

9. Rā. Ratan Singh

Rā. Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of Muslim
Khān (Awrangzib-Jahāndār Shāh).

104. Mādhū Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353). In the beginning of
the 21st year (Muḥarram, 984) he served under Mān Singh against Rānā
Kikā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st Rābi‘
I, 984).2 In the 30th year he accompanied Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7)

1 There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus
in the Phāskāna, Ed. Bihl. India, I, b. 305, he is called Matī Singh; but Hattī

2 It was said above, p. 361, note 2, that the battle of Goganda was fought in 983. This
is the statement of the Tabaqat, which the Ma'asir follows in its biographical note of Rāja
Mān Singh. But from the Akbar:aha and the History of Radā, one who was present in
the battle, and brought Akbar Mān Singh's report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on
the 2nd Muharram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rābi‘, of the same
year.

It has been remarked above (p. 383., note 1) that the chronology of the Tabaqat is
erroneous. Radā,oni ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days, and a
confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The Akbar:aha
is the only source for a history of Akbar's reign, and the Sambān should be the guide of
Historians.
on his expedition to Kashmir. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rāja Bhagwān from Thāna Langar, where he was stationed, to 'Ali Masjīd, where Mān Singh was.

In the 48th year he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse. According to the Taḥqāt, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000.

His son, Chatr Sāl, or Satr Sāl, was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhūm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dakhim, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahān's reign. His third son, Ugār Sen, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (vide Pādlīshāh, I, p. 294; I, b., pp. 305, 314).

105. Sayyid Qāsim, and 143. Sayyid Hāshim, sons of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān of Bārha, Kāndliwāl (No. 75).

In the 17th year S. Qāsim served under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who after his defeat by M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhim.

S. Hāshim served, in the 21st year, with Rāy Rāy Singh (No. 44) against Sultān Deora, ruler of Sarohī, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shāhbaẓ Khān (No. 80) against the Rānā. In the 25th year, when Chandr. Sen., son of Māldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had jagirs in Ajmir, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the karwāl of Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) in the Gujrat war.

S. Hāshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmādābād. S. Qāsim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thānadār of Patan. When Mīrzā Khān went to Court, leaving Qulī Khān as Governor of Ahmādābād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muzaffar, Jām (zamīndār of Little Kachh), and Khangār (zamīndār of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mīrzā Khān, Khān-i Aʿṣam (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrat. Qāsim continued to serve in Gujrat, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sultān Murād's Dakhim corps.

Qāsim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1,500.

Regarding their sons, vide p. 427.
XII. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. Rāy Sāl Darbārī, Shaykhāwat.

He is also called Rāja Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Sojā, son of Rāy Rāy Mal Shaykhāwat, in whose service Ḥasan Khān Sūr (father of Sher Shāh) was for some time.

As remarked above (No. 23), the Kachhwāhas are divided into Rājāwats and Shaykhāwats. To the latter branch belong Rāja Lō Karan, Rāy Sāl, etc.; the former contains Mān Singh’s posterity (the present rulers of Jaipur).

The term Shaykhāwat, or Shekhāwat, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muhammadan Shaykh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called Shaykh.1 Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhāwat Branch.

Rāy Sāl was employed at Court, as his title of Darbār indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahāngīr, he was promoted, and served in the Dakhin. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Rāy Sāl was in the Dakhin, Mādhū Singh and other grand-children of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Rāy Sāl’s paternal possessions.2 But Mathurā Dās, a Bengali, who was Rāy Sāl’s Munshi and Vakil, recovered a portion of his master’s lands.

After Rāy Sāl’s death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamīndārs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rāja Girdhar, Rāy Sāl’s son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the Akbarnāma we see that Rāy Sāl entered early Akbar’s service; for he was present in the battle of Khayūrbād (p. 414) in the fight at Sarīnāl (vide 27), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patān and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note).

The Pādishāhnāma (I, b., p. 314) mentions another son of Rāy Sāl’s, Bhoj Rāj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The Ṭobaqāt says that Rāy Sāl, was 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. Abū ‘l-Faḍl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This mansūb is unusual, and Rāy Sāl stands alone in this class. It does not

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1 He is the same as the Shaykh of Jaipur genealogies. Shaykh was said to have been a grandson of Udākaran, twelfth descendant of Ḥudaydī Rāy (p. 348).
occur in the lists of Grandees in the Padshahnama. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Manṣab after the Hazārī was the Hazār o pānṣadi, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.

107. Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, son of Mir Khalīfa.

This grandee must not be confounded with Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Kahlīsī (p. 466).

Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān is the son of Mir Niẓām ʿd-Dīn ʿAlī Khalīfa, the "pillar of Bābār's government." He had no faith in Humāyūn, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdī Khwāja, Bābār's son-in-law. Mahdī, a short time before Bābār's death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mir Khalīfa happened to be in Mahdī's tent; and when he left, Mahdī, 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 Muqīm-i Harawī in the corner of the tent. Muqīm reported these words to Mir Khalīfa, and upbraided him for giving Mahdī his support. Mir Khalīfa thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdī, and raised, on Bābār's death, Humāyūn to the throne.

His son Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān distinguished himself under Bābār and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāḥīd Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka. Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Bābār. Bābār had fallen into the hands of ʿAbdul Ḥād Khān Uzbak, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that he was Bābār. He was cut to pieces, and Bābār escaped. In 975, Nāḥīd Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Ḥājī Begam (daughter of Mirzā Muqīm, son of Mirzā Žū ʿl-Nūn). After Qāsim Koka's death, Ḥājī Begam married Mirzā Ḥasan, and after him, Mirzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān, king of Sindh (p. 390). Before Nāḥīd Begam reached Thatha Mirzā ʿĪsā died. His successor, Mirzā ʿĪsā, ill-treated Ḥājī Begam and her daughter. Ḥājī Begam therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. ʿĪsā's person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Ḥājī Begam was put into prison. Nāḥīd Begam escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sulṭān Mahmūd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muḥibb ʿAlī to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack Thatha. Nāḥīd Begam did so on coming to Court, and Akbar,

1 Father of the Historian Niẓām ʿd-Dīn Ahmad, author of the Tabaqat-i Akbari. Muqīm was then Dīdkhan-i Begūstān.
in the 16th year (978), called for Muḥibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muḥibb set out, accompanied by Muḥāhid Khān, a son of his daughter. Saʿīd Khān (No. 25), Governor of Multān, had also received orders to assist Muḥibb; but at Sulṭān Mahmūd’s request, Muḥibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sulṭān Mahmūd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmīr, and not from Bhakkar. Muḥibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sulṭān Mahmūd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Mahmūd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Māthilla. Muḥibb 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 Mahmūd. The consequence of this victory was that Mubārak Khān, Sulṭān Mahmūd’s vazīr, left his master and went with 1,500 horse over to Muḥibb. But as Mubārak’s son, Beg Oghlū, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sulṭān Mahmūd, Muḥibb wished to kill Beg Oghlū. Mubārak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muḥibb’s power. Muḥibb therefore killed Mubārak, 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 Sīr tree (p. 238), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sulṭān Mahmūd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Sālim, if Muḥibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmūd) to Court; for he said, he could not trust Muḥibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesū, Bakāwal-begi, to Bhakkar. Before Mir Gesū arrived, Sulṭān Mahmūd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mujahid Khān just besieged Fort Gānjāba, and his mother Sāmīya Begam (Muḥibb’s daughter), who felt offended at Akbar’s proceedings, dispatched a few ships against Mir Gesū, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqīn-i Hāravī also arrived and dissuaded Muḥibb from hostilities against Mir Gesū.

1 The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the Tūrīk-i Maḥfīz (vade No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot’s History of India (L. p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abu ‘l-Faḍl’s account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson’s Mir Khān, we have to read Mir Gesū. His biography is given in the Maḥfīz.
2 Generally called Gajjānum.
The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muḥībbl nor Mujāhid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muḥībbl therefore entered into an agreement with Mir Gesū, according to which Mujāhid should be allowed to go to Thatha, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Lohari. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mir Gesū dispatched a flotilla after Mujāhid. Muḥībbl upon this withdrew to Māṭhila. Sāmīa Begam fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesū's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one night. Next day, Mujāhid arrived by forced marches, defeated the enemy, and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muḥammad Tarsō Khān (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muḥībbl thought it nowwise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muḥībbl received an appointment at Court, as a sort of Mir ʿArī. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of Mir ʿArī, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dīhlī. Muḥībbl chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dīhlī in 989.

Muḥībbl is placed in the Tabaqāt among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū ʿl-Faqī says that it is called in old books Maṣūra. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Lohari, and near it is the Indus.

Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghān, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother, Sultān Mahmūd. After Shāh Ḥusayn's death, Sultān Mahmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tārkhan (p. 390) at Thatha. Both were often at war with each other. Sultān Mahmūd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha, it was attached to the Suba of Multān.

1 If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (1, p. 241), the Tārīkh-i Maṭbūat would contradict the Akbarshāh. Mujāhid Khān is again mentioned, ib. p. 282.
Like Muhibb ‘Ali Khan Ruhstāl, son of Mir Khalīfa, Muhibb ‘Ali Khan Ruhstāl is put in the Tabaqat among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abū l-Fazl had not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the Akbardoma and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtās in S. Bihār, he is generally called Ruhstāl. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Shāh. During his reign, as also that of Salīm Shāh, Fātī Khān Batnī commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaymān and Junayd-i Karrarānī. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. As related above (p. 437), he handed it over to Shāhāz Khān (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatī and his son Sri Rām (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb ‘Ali Khan governor of Rahtās, and Shāhāz Khān made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Ḥabīb ‘Ali Khān (vide No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yūsuf Mitī, who had collected a band of Afghāns and ravaged S. Bihār. His death affected his father so much that he became temporarily insane.

In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Sūba, Muhibb was ordered to join Vazīr Khān (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year Bihār was given to the Kachhwāhas as jāgīr, and Akbar called Muhibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multān. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muhibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muhibb fell ill, and died, on the emperor’s return, near the Koh-i Sulaymān. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the Akbardoma (III, p. 245) a place Muhibb ‘Alipur is mentioned which Muhibb founded near Rahtās.


He is also called Sultān Khwāja Naqebbandī. His father Khāwand Dost was a pupil of Khwāja ‘Abdul ‘Al-Shahīd, fifth son of Khwāja

¹ Not given on the maps.
² Naqebband was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahā’-d-Dīn of Bukhārā, born 728, died 3rd Rabī‘a 1,781. He was called Naqebband, because according to his own words, he and his parent used to weave kasmīrīs adorned with figures (naqeb).


ćAbdū 'llāh (generally called Khwājagān Khwāja; vide No. 17), son of the renowned saint Khwāja Aāṣirudd-Dīn Aḥrār (born 806, died 29th Rabi'ī I, 885).

When ċAbdū 'sh-Shahīd came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Purgana Chamārī. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarquand, where he died two years later.

Sultān Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in ṭasawwuf (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor. In 984 he was made Mir Ḥajj, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sultān Khwāja was to distribute six lākhs of rupees and 12,000 ḏhats to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year) he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed Sadr of the realm (p. 284). 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, Mir Khwāja, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Badā'oni and Abū ẓ-Zaqī, Sultān Khwāja belonged to the elect of the "Divine Faith" (vide p. 214).


His name is not given in the Mogāsir and the Šabaqāt. The Akbarnāma mentions a Khwāja ćAbdū 'llāh who served in the war against Abdu ẓ-Ẓāhīr Khan Uzbak (No. 14), in Mālwhā (971–2), during the last rebellion of Khan Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shāhābān, 980; vide No. 27). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnāma, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.


His full name is Khwāja Amīnudd-Dīn Māhmūd of Hirāt. The form Amīnā is modern Irānī, which likes to add a long ẓ to names.

Amīn was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humāyūn on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakshī of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar's accession, Amīn was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of Khwāja Jahān. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year he was
accused by Mużaffār Khān (No. 37) of want of loyalty shown in the rebellion of Khān Zaman. 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 (981-2) Akbar besieged Hājipūr; but Amin had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaumpūr. When the emperor returned from Hājipūr over Jaumpūr 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 Shaban, 982.

According to the chronology of the Tabaqāt, 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 Khwāja Jahān on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kābul) who had served him as Bakhshi while Prince.

111. Tatār Khān, of Khurāsān.

His name is Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad. In the 8th year he accompanied Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52) and Rūmī Khān (No. 146), and pursued Mir Shāh Abū ’l-Maṣūmi, who withdrew from Hisār Firuza to Kābul.

He was then made governor of Dīhil, where he died in 986.

The Tabaqat says he was for some time Vāzir, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullā Nūrānī d-Dīn Tarkhān, vide Badā’oni, III, 199.


His name is Masīḥ Ṭabraran Ṭazzāq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of Sādir of Gilān. When Gilān, in 974, came into the possession of Tahmāsp, Ahmad Khān, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and Ṭabraran Ṭazzāq was tortured to death. Hakim Abū ’l-Fath, with his distinguished brothers, Hakim Humām (No. 205) and Hakim Nūrānī d-Dīn, left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 184). They went to Court and were well received. Abū ’l-Fath, in the 24th year, was made Sādir and Amin of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military

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1 He is mentioned below among the poets of Akbar’s reign. His takhallus is “Qarārī.”
revolt, he was captured with several other officers (vide Nos. 98 and 159) but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters and on the emperor himself. Though only a Commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a Vakīl.

As related above (p. 367), he accompanied Bir Bar on the expedition against the Yūsufzāis in Sawād and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded; for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abū 'l-Fath's insubordinate conduct towards Zayn Koka (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, Khwāja Shamsād-Dīn (No. 159) took his body to Ḥasan Abdāl, and buried him in a vault which the Khwāja had made for himself (Tuzuk, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abū 'l-Fath's tomb.

The great poet 'Urfī of Shirāz (vide below, among the poets) is Abū 'l-Fath's encomiast. Fayżī also has composed a fine mawṣil, or elegy, on his death.

Abū 'l-Faḍl and Badā, onī speak of the vast attainments of Abū 'l-Fath. A rare copy of his Munshīyāt is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets: thus he called Anwārī diminutively Anwāriyuk; and of Khaqānī 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 Abū 'l-Faḍl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badā, onī, III, 167).

Badā, onī mentions Abū 'l-Fath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islam (p. 184).

Abū 'l-Faḍl had a son, Fathu Ḩāþā. He was killed by Jahāngīr, as he was an accomplice of Khusrav (Tuzuk, p. 58).

A grandson of Abū 'l-Fath is mentioned in the Pādishāḥnāma (II, p. 739). His name is Fath Ziyā; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. Shaykh Jamāl, son of Muḥammad Bakhtyār.

His full name is Shaykh Jamāl Bakhtyār, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Bakhtyār. The Bakhtyār clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dihlī. Shaykh Jamāl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's

1 His Munshīyāt contains interesting letters addressed by Abū 'l-Fath to his brother Ḥakim Humān, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), Khwāja Shams (No. 159) and others.
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. Rūp also, one of Akbar’s servants, who had drunk of the same water, fell immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 26th year he accompanied Ismā’īl Quli Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyābat Khān. Niyābat Khān was the son of Mīr Hāshim of Nishāpūr; his name was ʿArab. Before his rebellion he held Ḷhost and Arail (Jalālābās) as jāgīr. In the fight which took place near “Kantit, a dependency of Panna,” 1 Shaykh Jamāl was nearly killed, Niyābat Khān having pulled him from his horse.

In the 26th year he marched with Prince Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim of Kābul.

Shaykh Jamāl drank a great deal of wine. One day he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamāl therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a ḥujj. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamāl was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned; but he continued his old vice, and brought delirium tremens on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zābulistān, Shaykh Jamāl had to remain sick in Lūḍhīyāna. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamāl has been mentioned above on p. 200.

114. Jaʿfar Khān, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories Jaʿfar Khān Taklū, Taklū being the name of a Qizilbash tribe.

His grandfather, Muḥammad Khān Sharaṭī ʿd-Dīn ʿOghlū Taklū was at the time of Ḥumāyūn’s flight governor of Hirāt and lālā to Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, eldest son of Shāh Tāhmāsp-i Ṣafawī. At the Shāh’s order, he entertained Ḥumāyūn in the most hospitable manner. When he died he was succeeded in office by his son Qazāq Khān. But Qazāq showed so little loyalty, that Tāhmāsp, in 972, sent

1 The Bibl. Indica edition of Bāḏī,vari (II, 289) says, the fight took place at Gashī (a-1), a dependency of Putn (a-2), but this is a mistake of the editors. Sir H. Elliot (Beames’ Glossary II, 166) has drawn attention to the frequent mistakes which MSS, make in the name of Panna (a-1), to which Kantit belonged. There is no doubt, that above, on p. 130, 1. 2, and p. 129, note, we have likewise to read Panna, which was famous for its wild elephants.

2 The word lālā is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the Memoirs of Tāhmāsp, the Ṣafavī, etc. 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 ʿotāfīg, which so often occurs in Indian Histories, vide p. 382, note 3. [Lala a tutor.—P.]
Maṣṣūm Beg-i Ṣafawi against him. Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirāt, he died. Maṣṣūm seized all his property.

Jaṣfar thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān, and was made a Khān and a Commander of One Thousand. From Badā, omī (II, p. 161), we see that he had a jāgīr in the Panjāb, and served under Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the Tabaqat, Jaṣfar’s father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Jaṣfar had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. Shāh Fanā’ī, son of Mīr Najāfī.

His name is not given in the Muṣāṣir and the Tabaqat. From the Akbarnama (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year; vide No. 120).

The poet Fanā’ī who is mentioned in Badā, omī (III, 296), the Tabaqat, and the Mīr-dī 7 Ālam, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar conferred on him the title of Khān. He was a Chaghis’ī Turk of noble descent. Once he said, in Akbar’s presence, that no one surpassed him in the three C’s—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz. conceit. For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty it was found that he had become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. Asad’ īlāh Khān, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the Muṣāṣir and the Tabaqat. An Asad’ īlāh Khān is mentioned in the Akbarnama (end of the 12th year). He served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) and commanded the town of Zamāniyā (p. 337, l. 14). After Khān Zamān’s death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. But Mumīn (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and quickly took possession of the town, so that the Afghāns under their leader, Khān Khānān Lodi, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghān’s into contact with Mumīn; 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 Khān Khānān Lodi, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the Khutba, and to strike coins in
Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980.1

The Akbar nāma mentions another officer of a similar name, Asad-ullāh Tūrkmān. He was mentioned above under 61.

117. Saṣādat ʻAlī Khān, of Badakhschān.

From the Akbar nāma (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel ʻArab Bahādur. Shāh-bāz Khān had sent Saṣādat to a Fort near Rahtās, where he was surprised by ʻArab, defeated and slain. It is said that ʻArab drank some of his blood.

118. Rūpsi Bairāgi, brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

The Muṣāṣi says that Rūpsi was the son of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the Tabaqāt, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred. Jaymal, Rūpsi's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23). He served some time under Sharaf ud-Din (No. 17), jāgīr īr of Ajmir, and was Thānadār of Mirtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court. In the 17th year he served in the manqalā of Khān Kalān (vide No. 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note). In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Bāndi (Muḥarram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died.

Jaymal's wife, a daughter of Moth Rāja (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile: but Īdāi Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a Satī. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnāth (No. 69) and Rāy Sāl (No. 106) got hold of Īdāi Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Mūhammad Husayn Mirzā, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rūpsi was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Mālde) to put on Jaymal's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour. Bhagwān Dās, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rūpsi's rudeness.

1 According to the Akbar nāma, Bada, etc., and the Tabaqāt, Sulaymān died in 980. In Princep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, etc., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The Rūpsi 's-Salātēs, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the Akbar nāma and the Tabaqāt, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. Vide note 3, p. 179.

2 The MSS. call the Fort ʿAṣāṣ, ʿAṣāṣ, etc. It is said to be a dependency (ar madfūl) of Rohīdā.
119. ʻIstīmād  Kháūn, Khwājasarā.

He has been mentioned above, p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ʻAdl (vide No. 140) had died.

Maqṣūd ʻAli, who killed ʻIstīmād, is said to have been blind in one eye. When he explained to ʻIstīmād his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that someone should put urine into his blind eye. Maqṣūd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, ʻIstīmād was murdered by Maqṣūd, whilst getting up from bed.

ʻIstīmād built ʻIstīmādpūr, 6 kos from Ágra. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.1

120. Bāz Bahādūr, son of Shajāwal Kháūn [Sūr].

Abū ʻl-Faqīl says below (Third Book, Šūha of Mālwa) that his real name was Bāyazūd.

Bāz Bahādūr's father was Shujā′at Kháūn Sūr, who is generally called in histories Shajāwal, or Sajāwal, Kháūn. The large town Shajāwalpūr, or Sajāwalpūr, in Mālwa bears his name;2 its original name, Shujā′atpūr, which Abū ʻl-Faqīl gives below under Sarkār Sārangpūr, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Shāh took Mālwa from Mallū (Qādir Kháūn), Shujā′at Kháūn was in Sher Shāh's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salīm's reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Mālwa. Salīm dispatched a corps after him, and Shujā′at fled to the Rāja of Dāngarpūr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salīm, and remained with him, Mālwa being divided among the courtiers. Under ʻAdlī, he was again appointed to Mālwa. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Bāz Bahādūr succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Mālwa. His expedition to Gaḍhā was not successful. Rānī Dārgāvatī (p. 397) 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 Rājpatī, who is even nowadays remembered.

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1 The trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of ʻIstīmādpūr Masdūn about 9 miles E. of Ágra, in the Pargana of Pathābād, near Samāgar, where Awrangzib defeated Dārā Shikoh.

2 A few MSS. have Shujā′at Kháūn for Shujā′at Kháūn, just as one MS. read Shujā′atpūr for Shujā′atpūr. Elphinstone also has Shujā′at (p. 500, note 1). The word " Shujā′at " should be spelled " Shujā′at ", whilst ʻ is pronounced Shujā; but the former also is pronounced with a ʻ over all India.
In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign Adham Koka (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Málwa. Pir Muḥammad Khān (No. 20) ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14), Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qandahār (No. 95) and his son ʿĀdil Khān (No. 128), Şādiq Khān (No. 43), Ḥabīb ʿAli Khān (No. 133), Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān (No. 66), Muḥammad Quli Toqāṭ (No. 129), Qiyā Khān (No. 184), Mirak Bahādur (No. 208), Samānjī Khān (No. 147), Pāyandā Muḥammad Mughul (No. 68), Mihr ʿAli Sildoz (No. 130), Shāh Fanāṭ (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Bāz Bahādur three kos from Sārangpūr and defeated him (middle of 968). Bāz Bahādur fled to the jungles on the Khāndesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pir Muḥammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mirān Shāh of Khāndesh, who assisted him with troops. Pir Muḥammad in the meantime conquered Bijāgadh, threw himself suddenly upon Burhānpūr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pir Muḥammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbadā. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jāgīūrs left for Āgra, so that Bāz Bahādur without opposition re-occupied Málwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzbek to Málwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharji, Zamīndār of Baglāna, and tried to obtain assistance from Chīngiz 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 15th year Akbar ordered Ḥasan Khān Khizānchi 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 fromasab of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bāz Bahādur and his Rūpmati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. Fide No. 188.

121. Udai Singh, Moth Rāja, son of Rāy Māldeo.

The Tabaqāt says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpūr.

1 The 6th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 24th Jumāda II, 968, and the battle of Sārangpūr 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 Gaipat of Orīṣa.
In 981 he was at Kambhā, it, which he left on the approach of Muḥammad Husayn Mīrzā, and withdrew to Ahmadābād to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).
Akbar, in 994, married Údáí Singh's daughter to Jahángír. On p. 8 of the Tuzuk, Jahángír says that her name was Jogát Gosáhí. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Sháhjáhán); vide p. 323, l. 18.

Mirzá Hádí in his preface to Jahángír's Memoirs (the Tuzuk-i Jahángírí) has the following remark (p. 6): "Rája Údáí Sing is the son of Rája Málde, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Rájá Sánká, who fought with Firduw-s-makání (Báhar) possessed much power, Málde was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious."

From the Akbaránáma (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Moth Rája accompanied in the 22nd year Sádiq Kháán (No. 43), Rája Askaran, and Ulugh Kháán Habshí (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rábí I, 985). In the 28th year he served in the Gujrá war with Muṣáfír (Akbaránáma, III, 422).

Another daughter of Moth Rája was married to Jaymal, son of Rúpí (No. 118).

122. Khwája Sháh Mansúr, of Shírínáz.

Mansúr was at first muskríf (accountant) of the Khusháb-Khána (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muṣáfír Kháán (No. 37) induced Sh. Mansúr to go to Jámpur, where Kháán Zamán made him his Díwán. Subsequently he served Munším Kháán Khánán in the same capacity. After Munším's death he worked for a short time with Tódár Mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor Vásír. 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 Khwája in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding Dáhsúla roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself, which did not then include Óriśá, Thátháb, Kashmir, and the Dakhin, was divided into 12 parts, called Súhá; and to each súha a sipáhsúlár (Military Governor), a Díwán, a Bakhshí (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a Mír Ṣádl, a Sadr, a Koṭívád, a Mír Bahr, and a Wáqíš Návís (p. 268) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwája displayed towards jágir holders led to serious results. In the 25th year he lowered the value of the jágirs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihár by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihár were then not completely subjugated, and the Afgháns still mustered large forces.
in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orissa, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Manşür’s rigour was impolitic; for Akbar’s officers looked upon the old jagir emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghans. 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 Manşür cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihar officers an increase of only 20 per cent. He then wrote to Muzařfār to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Suyurgâl tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jagir-holders in Jaumpur, 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 Hindu was on the side of the rebels. Todar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Manşür and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Maṣṣūm Khan-i Faranghudi (No. 157) and Muḥammad Taršō (No. 32). Akbar deposed Manşür and appointed temporarily Shâh Quli Mahram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Manşür’s demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥakîm, at Maṣṣūm Khan-i Kâbul’s instigation, threatened to invade the Panjâb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Manşür’s enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mirzâ M. Ḥakîm’s Munshî, addressed to Manşür. Accidentally Malik Šâni Ḥakîm’s Diwân, who had the title of Vazîr Khān, left his master, and paid his

1 The chief rebel was Maṣṣūm Khan-i Kâbul, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 198, 365, 377, 438, etc.). He was a Turbišt Suyurgâl (vide p. 373, No. 37). His uncle, Mirzâ Zâzâ, had been Vâsîr under Ḥumâyûn, and Maṣṣūm himself was the foster-brother (kahî) of Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥakîm, Akbar’s brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwâja Ḥasan Naṣḥbandî (p. 330) who had married the widow of Mir Shâh Ab’l-Maṣûl, Maṣṣūm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghans, and was wounded in a fight with Kâla Pâhâr. For his bravery he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Orisâ as tughal, when Mansûr and Muzařfâr’s strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him Maṣṣûm Khan-i 5 Aṣā, “Maṣṣûm Khan, the rebel”. His fights with Muzařfâr and Shâhshâh have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to Bûdšt (p. 385, note), where he died in the 44th year (1007).

His son Shu’ diseñ-i Kâbul was under Jahângîr Thânsâdîr of Ghurzûh, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Šâhjâhan, who bestowed upon him the title of Amd Kha. He died in the 12th year of Šâhjâhân’s reign. His son, Qâbed, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the Pahlisâhânama, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shu’ diseñ’s name twice, I, S. 294, and p. 398. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong. [Regarding his death vide Akbarv. III, 810.—B.]
respects to Akbar at Sonpat. As he put up with Mansur, new suspicious
got afloat. Several words which Mansur was said to have uttered, were
construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written
to M. M. Hakim were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg,
his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said
that Faridun Khan (maternal uncle to M. M. Hakim) had presented the
Beg to the Mirza. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations
of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Mansur; 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 Ray (p. 262) to hang
Mansur on a tree near Sarai Kot Khachwa (beginning of 989).1

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when
Akbar came to Kabul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Mansur'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 Mansur 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 Karamu
'llah, brother of Shahbaz Khan-i Kambu (p. 440, l. 23), had written the
letters, chiefly at the instigation of Raja Todar Mal.

Mansur had been Vaizir for four years.

123. Qutlugh Qadam Khan, Agha-begi.2

The Turkish word qutlugh means mubarak, and qadam-i mubarak,
is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the
Prophet. The Tabaqat calls him Quldu, instead of Qutlugh, which confirms
the conjecture in note 2, p. 383.

Qutlugh Qadam Khan was at first in the service of Mirza Kamrun,
and then went over to Humayun.

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwaiza
Mugam, and served in the same year in Malwa against `Abdu'llah
Khan Uzhak (No. 14). In the battle of Khayrahud, he held a command
in the van.

1 So the Akbarname. Kot Khachwa is a village on the road from
Karnal to Ludhiana, Lat. 29° 17', Long. 76° 33'. In the Ed. Bibl. India of Badakon
(Ii, pp. 293, 294) the place is called قط خچح, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg,
moreover, is called मशहरफ़ بگ, and a few lines lower, again Sharaf Beg. Badakon
says nothing of Todar Mal's intrigues. Mansur was hanged in the very beginning of 989,
i.e. the end of the 25th year. The 26th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 6th Safar
999 (the Lawkow Edition III, 323, has wrongly 990); and the 27th year commences
15th Safar 999, which in the Bibl. India Ed. of Badakon (II, p. 300, l. 2 from below)
is wrongly called the 26th year.

2 Agha-begi, means "a gelding"; and Agha-begi, the officer in charge of the geldings
(see No. 66). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title Ategi, from
the Turkish ات, a horse; see p. 145, Afvin 53.
In the 19th year, he was attached to Munṣim’s Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takarof (p. 406). He was no longer alive in 1001. His son, Asad al-Khān, served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatābad.

124. ʿAli Quli Khān, Indarābī. Indarābī is a town of Southern Qunduz. A straight line drawn from Kābul northwards to Talikhān passes nearly through it. ʿAli Quli had risen under Humāyūn. When the Emperor left Kābul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayrām’s rebellion, he appointed ʿAli Quli governor of Kābul. Later, he went with Humāyūn to India.

In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he served under ʿAli Quli Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the war with Hemū, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sīkandar Sūr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atga Khān (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated.

The Tabaqūt says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. ʿĀdil Khān, son of Shāh Muḥammad-i Qalātī (No. 95). He served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Mālwa, and took a part in the pursuit of ʿAbd al-Khān Uzbak. Later, he assisted Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās (No. 31) on his expedition against Sīkandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chitor (p. 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramāzān, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmīr and Alwar. ʿĀdil, who was at that time musṭāb, i.e., under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbārs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when ʿĀdil 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 ʿĀdil received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abū ʿI-Faṣrī says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (taṣalluq-i ʿkhāther) with the wife of his father’s Diwān; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and ʿĀdil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyām Khān, brother of ʿĀdil Khān. Jahāngir made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as Qurūn al-bejrī (officer in charge of the drivers),

Khwāja Ghiyās was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakhsāi by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrat war, and received the title of Āsaf Khān. He was also made Bakhsāi of Gujrat, and served as such under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amir's to Īdār, "to clear this dependency of Gujrat of the rubbish of rebellion." The expedition was directed against Zamīnār Nārā in Dās Rāthor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm-i Naqshbandi, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Āsaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwā and Gujrat, to arrange with Shiḥāb Khān (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the Dāgh (pp. 252, 265).

He died in Gujrat in 989.

Mūsā Nūrūd-Dīn, his son. After the capture of Khusraw (p. 455), Jahāngīr made Āsaf Khān III (No. 98), Nūrūd-Dīn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nūrūd-Dīn, who was an adherent of the prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of Iṣṭībār Khān, one of Jahāngīr's eunuchs, and Nūrūd-Dīn had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahāngīr on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwāja Waisā, Diwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nūrūd-Dīn and Muḥammad Sharīf, son of Iṣṭimādūd-Dawla, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list of names was also brought up; but Jahāngīr, at the request of Khān Jahān Lodi, threw it into the fire without having read it; "else many others would have been killed."

1 Author of the ʿAwārif-i-Muʿārif. He died at Baghīdād in 632. His uncle ʿAbd-ʿNajib (died 593) was also a famous saint. Watenfeld's Jaent, III, p. 203, Nasbāt-i-Une, pp. 478, 544. Sāfiṣāt-i-Aṣfīṣāt (Lahore Edition), pp. 681, 683.
127. Farrukh Husayn Khan, son of Qasim Husayn Khan. His father was an Uzbak of Khwārazm; his mother was a sister of Sultan Husayn Mirzā. The Muṣṭafī and the Tabqāt say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (II, p. 335).


Muṣ'in joined Humāyūn's army when the Emperor left Kābul for Hindūstān. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Agra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when ʿAbdu'llah Khan Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Mālwa, Muṣ'in was made a Khān. After the conquest, he divided the province into khālisn and jagīr lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Muṣ'in was attached to Munṣim's Bihar corps. He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroi, and died of fever at Gaur (vide p. 407).

The Tabqāt merely says of him that he had been for some time Mir Sāmān.

For his son, vide No. 157.

Badāuni (III, p. 157) mentions a Jamī Masjid built by Muṣ'in at Agra.

129. Muhammad Quli Toqba.

Toqba is the name of a Chaghātāi clan.

Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khan (No. 19) in the conquest of Mālwa (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mirzā Sharaft d-Din (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980) he served in the manqalā of the Khān-i Kalân (No. 16). In the 20th

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1 Many MSS. have Farangkhudī. The Muṣjar mentions a place Ḥāṣ, Farehakand, which is said to be near Samarqand.

2 Akbar left Fathpur Sīkri for Gujrat, in the 26th Safer 980 (17th year), passed over Sанг וניר (8 miles south of Jaipur), and arrived on the 18th Rabī' I, at Ajmir. On the 2nd Rabī' II, 980, he ordered the Khan-i Kalân (No. 16) to march in advance (manqalā), and left Ajmir on the 22nd Rabī' II. Shortly before his arrival at Nager on the 9th Jumāda I, Akbar heard that Prince Dānyāl had been born at Ajmir on the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Ahmadābdī on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Shahrīb, 980, the fight at Sarnāl took place with Ibrahīm Husayn Mirzâ. On the 25th Shawwal, Akbar reached Baroda, and arrived at Sūrat on the 7th Ramāzan, 980. On the 18th Ramāzan, 980, Mirzâ Āzīz defeated Muhammad Husayn Mirzâ and the Fākilla at Patan. Sūrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwal.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dānyāl's birth. The Tarāz (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumāda I, 978, which has been given above on p. 309. Badāuni (II, p. 128) has the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. The Akbarnāma has the 2nd Jumāda I, and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the Samrāt also place the event in 980, but say that Dānyāl was born on the 2nd Jumāda I, 979.

On the 6th Zi Qāda, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the Ḥijri-Qurban (10th Zi Hilajj, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Jālōr to Agra, which he reached on the 2nd Safer, 981. After this, Muhammad Husayn Mirzâ invaded Gujrat, and took Bahroon and Kamkha, but was defeated by Quli Khan and S. Hāmid (No. 73).
year, he was attached to Munṣim’s corps, and was present in the battle of Takarot, and the pursuit of the Afghāns to Bhadra (p. 375).


Sildor is the name of a Chaghtāʾi clan. According to the Tabaqāt, he was at first in Bayrām’s service. In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanāḏī (Chunār) which Jamāl Khān, the Afghān Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Bādā, oni II, 32). Akbar offered him five parganas near Jampūr, but Jamāl did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mīhr ʿAli with vain promises. Mīhr ʿAli at last left suddenly for Āgra.

On his journey to Chanāḏī, he had been accompanied by the Historian Bādā, oni, then a young man, to whom he had given lodging in his house at Āgra. On his return from the Fort, Bādā, oni nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Bādā, oni calls him Mīhr ʿAli Beg, and says that he was later made a Khān and Governor of Chitor.

He served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Mālwa, and in the Gujrat wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Ḥiṣar, and honoured him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakina Bānī Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kābul to advise his brother, Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakim. In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mal against the rebel ʿArab. The Tabaqāt makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.


He is not mentioned in the Muṭāṣir and the Tabaqāt. From the Akbarnama (II, p. 207) we see that he was Jāgīrdar of Sakit (in the Mainpūrī 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

Ihtiyār-ı Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadābād. Muhammad Husayn Mirzā joined him. Both besieged Ahmadābād. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrat. This is the famous ‘nīshā’i march (24th Rabiʿ II, 981, to 4th Jumāda I, 981); vide p. 456, note. Muhammad Husayn Mirzā was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ihtiyār was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, after an absence of forty-three days, at Fathpur Sikri, 8th Jumāda I, 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 406, l. 24) that the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarshāh 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 Ahīn-ı Akbarī, is the third part—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dānūl (2nd Jumāda I, 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (9th Zī Qaʿba, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between these two days, viz., the conquest of Gujrat and the first defeat of the Mirzā.
arrows struck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot in 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. 1580 or 1581.

The Tabaqat mentions a Sultân Ibrahim of Awba (near Hirât) among Akbar’s grandees. His name is not given in the A’rin. He was the maternal uncle of Nizām al-Din Ahmad, author of the Tabaqat. He conquered Kānūn and the Dāman-i Koh.

132. Salīm Khān Kākār. 2

Several MSS. of the A’rin call him Salīm Khān Kākār ʿAlī. The Akbarnama calls him Salīm Khān Kākār, or merely Salīm Khān, or Salīm Khān Sirmūr. The Tabaqat has Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afghān.

He served in the beginning of the 9th year in the conquest of Mālwa, and later under Muḥammad ‘Alī Mulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarānāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jagirdar of Tājpūr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shāh Chān (No. 80) to Bhāṭī. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazīr Khān having gone to the frontier of Orīsā, Jābārī (vide p. 400, note 2) made an inroad from Kūč Bihār into Ghorāghāt, and took Tājpūr from Salīm’s men, and Purīn, from the relations of Tarsū Khān (No. 32). Jābārī moved as far as Tānda. The Kotwāl, Ḥasan ʿAlī, was sick, and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Ṣadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaykh Farīd arrived, and Jābārī withdrew to Tājpūr. In the 32nd year, Salīm served under Maṭāb Khān (No. 83) against the Tārikās, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Ṣadīq Khān against the same Afghān rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān.

He is not to be confounded with the Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān mentioned on p. 466.

Ḥabīb was at first in the service of Bayrām Khān. In the third year when Akbar had marched to Agra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghāns, and Salīm Shāh had appointed Jhunjhūr Khān governor. On Akbar’s accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Rāy Surjan (No. 96), who was then in the service of Rānā Udai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege.

1 Paròkh, nineteen km south of Siyalkot.—R.
2 Should be Ormar.—R.
Abū ʾl-Fażl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bayrām’s fall produced.

In the 6th year (968) he served under Adham (No. 19), in Mālwa. According to the Tabaqat, he died in 970.

134. Jagmāl, younger brother of Rāja Bihāri Mal (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jagmāl was mentioned on p. 348. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp.

His son Kangār. He generally lived with his uncle Rāja Bihāri Mal at Court. When Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rāja to go to Dīhlī. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh’s expedition against Rānā Partāb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shāh Bāz Khān (No. 80). When Shāh Bāz returned unsatisfactorily from Bhātī (p. 438) Kangār, Sayyid ʿAbd-ʾĪllah Khān (No. 189), Rāja Gopāl Mīrzāda ʿAli (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels, and mustook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed Nawrūz Beg Qāqshālī, the leader. They then joined Shāh Bāz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Mūrcha.

According to the Tabaqat, Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135. Ulugh Khān Habshi, formerly a slave of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrat.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian Khān-i Kalān (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Mahmūd of Gujrat. The word Habshi, for which MSS. often have Badakhšāni, 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 Gujratī nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Šādiq (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar Bundela, Zamīndār of Ūndcha. In the 24th year, he followed Šādiq who had been ordered to assist Rāja Todar Mal on his expedition against the rebel ʿArab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabita (p. 383, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.
136. Maqṣūd ʿAlī Kor.

The Tabaqūt says that Maqṣūd was at first in Bayrām Khān's service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the Akbarnāma (II, 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest of Gwāliyār.

137. Qabūl Khān.

From the Akbarnāma (II, p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qabūl Khān had conquered the District of Bhimbar on the Kashmīr frontier. One of the Zamīndārs of the District, named Jalāl, 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 pretexts to send away Qabūl's troops, but also his son Yādgār Ḥusayn (No. 338), to Nawshahr. The Zamīndārs of the latter place opposed Yādgār, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yādgār 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 Ramaḍān, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jalān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamīndārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yādgār Ḥusayn recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāma mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served in the Afghān war in Bengal under Munṣim Khān Khānān. He was present in the battle of Takaraj and pursued the Afghāns under Todar Mat to Bhadrak (p. 406).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the Tabaqūt and the Maʿāṣir.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.


Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, long. 70°, lat. 30°. The District of Kolāb lies north of Badakhshān Proper, from which it is separated by the ṬĀmū (Oxus); but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshān. Hence Kūchak ʿAlī is often called in the Akbarnāma Kūchak ʿAlī Khān-i Badakhshī.

¹ Not all MSS. of the Aṭīn have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 173 amongst the Hazāris. But the best MSS. have this annotation. In the list of grandees in the Pahlavān-nāme also the zamān of Nine Hundred occurs.
He served under Munṣim Khān Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation of Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Munṣim Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaro, i (p. 406).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148 and No. 380.

139. Sabdāl Khān, Sumbul, a slave of Humāyūn.

140. Sayyid Muḥammad, Mir Saʿdī, a Sayyid of Amroha.

Amroha, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to the Sarkār of 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 Badāʾ, oni, was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muḥammad, Mir Saʿdī. When the learned were banished from Court (ibkrāf-i ʿulamā) he was made governor of Bhakkar.1 He died there two years later in 984 (vide Nos. 119 and 251).

From the Akbarāma, we see that S. Muḥammad with other Amroha Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Maḥmūd of Bārha in the expedition against Rāja Madhukar.

He advised the Historian Badāʾ, oni to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious Madad-i maʿāṣīh tenures, an advice resembling that of ʿAbd-i Ghaffār (vide No. 99, p. 454). S. Muḥammad's sons were certainly all in the army; vide Nos. 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 Dihli, Badāʾ, oni 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 mansāb, and the title of Razawī Khān. In the 19th year, he was made Diwān of Jaunpur, and in the 24th year, Bakhshī of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muzaffar Khān (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of

1 In 983, the 20th year (Akbarnama III, 138). Badāʾ, oni (III, p. 75) has 984.
the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zī Hijjah; 987) and gone from Ṭānda to Gaur, Muẓaffar sent Razawi Khān, Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196) and Mīr Ahmad Munshi to them to try to bring them back to obedience. Things took indeed a good turn, and everything might have ended peacefully when some of Rāy Patr Dās’s Rājpūts said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rāy Patr Dās mentioned this to Razawi Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās. Razawi Khān and Mīr Ahmad Munshi surrendered themselves.

The *Maʿāṣir* says that nothing else is known of Razawi Khān. The *Tabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

Mīrzā Mirak is not to be confounded with Mīrak Khān, “an old grandee, who died in 975” (*Tabaqāt*); or with Mīrak Bahādur (208).

Shaḥjahān conferred the title of Razawi Khān on Sayyid ʾAlī, son of Shadr ʾAbdūl Shaḥmānī S. Jalāl al-Bukhārī.

142. Mīrzā Najāt Khān, brother of Sayyid Bārka, and
149. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the *Tabaqāt*, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them Najābat, instead of Najāt, and Ḥasan instead of Ḥusayn.

From the *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Ḥumāyūn on his march to India.

Mīrzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rāja ʾAlī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qaṣqāl (rāṣe, p. 399, note 2), Jahārī (p. 400), Vāzir Jamīl (No. 200), Saʿīd-i Tashqāhī, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zī Hijja, 987, from Ṭānda to Gaur across the Ganges. Mīr Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muẓaffar sent his grandees [Mīr Jamāl al-ʾDīn Ḥusayn Injū (No. 164), Razawi Khān (No. 141), Timūr Khān (No. 215), Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196), Mīr Adham, Ḥusayn Beg, Ḥakim Abū ʾĪsā Fath (No. 112), Khwāja Shams al-ʾDīn (No. 158), Jaʿfar Beg (No. 88), Muḥammad Qulī Turkmān (No. 203), Qāsim Khān-i Sistānī, ʾĪwāz Bahādur, Zulf ʾAlī Yūsuf, Sayyid Abū Is-hāq-i Ṣafawī (No. 384), Muẓaffar Beg, et al.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mīr Najāt stayed with Vāzir Jamīl, although Muẓaffar, who was Najāt’s father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left
the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 25th year he was at Sātgāw (Hūglī). Abū 'l-Faţl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fatḥābād (No. 34), and Qiyā Khān in Orīsā (No. 35), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (Akbarnāma, III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afgāns under Qutūf, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity. Mir Najāt also was attacked by Qutūf and defeated near Salīmābād (Sulaymānābād), S, of Bardwān. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūglī.1 Bābā Khān Qāqshāl sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt; but the officer hearing of Qutūf’s victory, attacked the Afgāns near Mangalkot, N.E. of Bardwān. Qutūf, however, was again victorious.


144. Ghāzī Khān-ī Badakhshī.

In MSS, Ghāzī is often altered to Qāzī, and Badakhshī to Bakhshī, and as Ghāzī Khān’s first title was Qāzī Khān, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other Ghāzī Khānes have been mentioned above, on pp. 396, 418.

Ghāzī Khān’s name was Qāzī Nizām. He had studied law and Ḥadīs, under Mullā ʿIṣām ʿd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the murūd of Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Sūfī. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, king of Badakhshān (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of Qāzī Khān. At the death of Humāyūn, Sulaymān, wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kābul and besieged Munṣīm (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaymān sent Qāzī to Munṣīm to prevail on him to surrender. But Munṣīm detained him for several days, and treated him “to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshī cannot enjoy even in peaceful times”. The good dinners made such an impression on Qāzī Khān that he advised Sulaymān to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaymān thereupon returned to Badakhshān.

Subsequently Qāzī Khān left his master, and went to India. At Khānpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (Akbarnāma, III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed Pusrānchī writer (p. 273). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a Commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon

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1 The MSS of the Akbarnāma call him Bārthā Bhr Fīrāngī, or Bārthā Fīrāngī.
him the title of Ghāzī Khān, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghāzi Khān commanded the left wing of Mān Singh’s corps in the war with the Rāṇā. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as tujūl, and distinguished himself in Bihār against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultān Khwāja died (No. 108).

Ghāzī Khān is the author of several works (vide Badā,oni III, 153).

The sījdā, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (vide p. 167, note).

His son Husāmā ʿd-Dīn. Akbar made him a Commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khān Khānān (No. 29) to the Dakhin. Suddenly a change came over Husām, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as a faqīr at the tomb of Niẓāmā ʿd-Dīn Awliyā in Dīhlī. The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Husām next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dīhlī. Khwāja Bāqi Billah (born at Kābul and buried at Dīhlī) conferred on him power of "guiding travellers on the road of piety." He died in 1034. His wife was Abū ʿl-Faqī’s sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwishes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. Vide Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farhat Khān, Mihtar Sakā, a slave of Humayūn.

The MSS. have Sakā and Sakāhī. Farhat Khān is first mentioned in the war between Humayūn and Mirzā Kamrān, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bābā of Kolāb lifted up his sword to strike Humayūn from behind. He missed, and was at once attacked by Farhat, and put to flight. When Humayūn left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khān was, Farhat was appointed Shādgār of Lāhor. Subsequently, Mir Shāh Abū ʿl-Mafālī was appointed Governor of Lāhor. He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead. Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb.

1 Abdarsheh 1, 416. At the same time, Mir Bahā (No. 73) was appointed F inorder of the Panjah, Mirzā Shāh Sultan was made Amin, and Mihtar Jawhar, treasurer.

Humayūn was on the 29th Muharram, 962, at Bigrān, crossed the Indus on the 5th Safar, when Bāyrān arrived from Kābul, was at Lāhor on the 2nd Rabī‘ II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rabi‘.
After Akbar's accession, Farhat was made Tuyuldar of Korn. He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirzá near Ahmadabad. When the Mirzá was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and reprimanded with Farhat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihār and was made Tājul Dar of Ara. In the 21st year (984), Gajpati (p. 437) devastated the district. Farhang Khān, 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. Ūmā Khān, Ustād Jalābī (?), of Rūm.

He is not mentioned in the Tābaqat and the Ma'asir, and but rarely in the Akhbarnāma. In the 20th year, he and Bāqī Khān (No. 60) and 4Abdul-Rahmān Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salima Sulṭān Begam, Ḥāji Begam, Gulzār Begam, Sulṭān Begam (wife of Mirzā 5Askarī), Umm Kulsūm Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujnar Āghā (one of Bābar's wives), Bibi Ṣafiyā, Bibi Sarw-i-Sahī and Shāham Āghā (wives of Humāyūn), and Salima Khānum (daughter of Khizr Khwāja). They left in Rajab, 983.

Ūmā Khān has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Samānjī Khān Qurghāji (vide No. 100).

He was a grandee of Humāyūn. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The Tābaqat says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000. In the same work he is called a Mughal.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Mālwa under Adham Khān (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sārangpur. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qasim Khān-i Nemāpurī (No. 40) and pursued 4Abdul-Ilāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī (No. 74), to go to Rantambhār and suppress the disturbances created by Mirzā Muhammad Husayn in Mālwa. Later, he held a jāgir in Āra. He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the Akbarnāma (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

1 The Ma'asir has Amaš. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jāgirdār of the Ārā District (Akhbar, III, 244).
21st year under Khân Jahân (No. 24) and was present in the battle of Ağ Muhall. In the 30th year, he was in Mâlwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps. Two years later, he served under Shâhâb Khân (No. 26) against Râja Mailhukar.


His name is not given in the Muzâhir and the Tasâqû. Amîr Beg, a Pânsâli under Shâhjahân, appears to be his son.

149. Mirza Husayn Khân, brother of Mirzâ Najât Khân (vide No. 142).

150. Hakîm Zanbîl, brother of Mirzâ Muḥammad Tabîb of Sabzwâr. Zanbîl means "a basket". In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakîm Zanbîl Beg. Badâ,uni says, he was a muqarrîb, or personal attendant on the emperor.¹

151. Khudâwând Khân-i Dakhînî.

Khudâwând Khân was a Nizâmahâl Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called Mashâdî. He was of course a Shïfâh. He was a man of imposing stature, and well known for his personal courage. When Khwâja Mîrâk of Iṣfâhân, who had the title of Chingiz Khân, was the Vâkîl of Murtaza Nizâm Shâh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barâr as jagîr. The Masjid of Rohankhara ² was built by him.

In 993, when Mir Murtaza of Sabzwâr (No. 162) commanded the army of Barâr, and was no longer able to withstand Šâhâbat Khân Chirgis in the Dakhin, Kh. accompanied M. Murtaza to Hindûstân. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Patân in Gujrat as tâqûl.

He was married to Abû ʻl-Faţî’s sister, and died at Kârî in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (Badâ,uni II, 372, where in the Târikh of his death the word Dakhînî must be written without an h).

Once Abû ʻl-Faţî had invited several grandees, Khudâwând 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 Abû ʻl-Faţî had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindûstânî custom, Kh. disliked Abû ʻl-Faţî, and never went again to his house. “Hence Dakhinis are notorious in Hindûstân for stupidity.”

¹ The Edî. Bibl. Indices of Badâ,uni (III, 164) calls him wrongly Hakîm Zinâl Shîrâzî. Zinâl is the reading of bad MSS., and Shîrâzî is often altered to Shîrâz. Other bad MSS. have Râbîl.

² Rohankhara lies in West Barâr, in the district of Bûldâna. In Abû ʻl-Faţî’s list of parganas in Surkh Tâlingûna, there is one called Qirpašt-i Khudâwând Khân.
The Tabaqat puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The Ma'āṣir has 997.

152. Mirzāda ʿAli Khān, son of Muḥtarum Beg.†

He served in the 9th. year in Mālwa during the expedition against ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzbek (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 Qāsim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghān ḍāla of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shāhbhāz Khān in the war with Rānā Partāb.‡ He then served in Bihār under Khān-i Aṣ'ūzam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāhbhāz Khān (vide No. 134, p. 483). In the 30th year (993) he was present in the fight with Qutlū near Mangalkot (Bardwān). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmir. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdullāh Khān (No. 189).

Baḍā,uni (III, p. 326) says he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. Saʿādat Mirzā, son of Khizr Khwāja Khān (p. 394, note).

154. Shimal Khān Chela.

Chela means "a slave". The Tabaqat says he was a Qurchi, or armour-rearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a Ḥasāri, and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muṣṣagzam. 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 Aḥmad (No. 91) and Shāhbhāz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwāna.

155. Shāh Ghāzi Khān, a Sayyid from Tabriz.

The Tabaqat calls him a Turkman, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served in the 19th. year with Mirzāda ʿAli Khān (No. 152) against Qāsim Khān Kāsū.

He may be the Shāh Ghāzi Khān mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fāzil Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 339.

157. Maṣṣūm Khān, son of Muṣṭin, d-Din Aḥmad Farānkhūdī (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Maṣṣūm Khān-i Kābūlī (p. 476, note).

† He is also called Mirzâd ʿAli Khān. My text edition has wrongly Mirzâ ʿAli Khān. For Maḥtūras many MSS. read wrongly Muḥtūra.

‡ His father, Muḥtūrūm Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court.

§ Generally called in the Historian Ḥumā Yūsuf. 31
Maḥṣūm was made a Ḥazarī on the death of his father, and received Ghāzipūr as ṭuyūl. He joined Toḍar Mal in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (pp. 376-7). Not long afterwards, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Maḥṣūm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsī Khān’s men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as ṭuyūl. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Quli Maḥrām and Rāja Bir Baẓ had failed to bring him to his senses, Shāhbaẓ Khān, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 437.

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 Zamindārs 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 Maḥṣūl joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahārīch. Vazīr Khān (No. 41) and others moved from Ḥajīpūr against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muḥammadābād, he resolved to surprise Jaunpūr, when the tuyūldārs of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. ṢAzīz Koka (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Pargana Mīshī, Sarkār Champāran, as ṭuyūl. But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. ṢAzīz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Āgra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar’s mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbār, he was killed on the road. An inquiry 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 Bihār rebels.

158. Tolak Khān Qūchīn.

Tolak commenced to serve Bābar. He joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kābul, and M. Kārām came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humāyūn’s grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zahāk (زیک) and Bāmiyān, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kābul,
to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegi.

Tolak accompanied Humâyûn to India. After the emperor's death, he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mir Shâh Abû 'l-Ma'âlî. Afterwards, T. went to Kâbul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghâni Khân, son of Mun'îm Khân (No. 11), who was in charge of Kâbul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bâbâ Khâtân, his jagîr, collecting men to take revenge on Ghâni. A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghâni one day had left Kâbul for a place called Khwâja Sayyârîn (خواجه سیارین), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khân fell upon them. Ghâni, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwâja Awâsh (خواجه اوش), a place two kos distant from Kâbul. But he was opposed by Fâzîl Beg (Mun'îm's brother) and his son Abû 'l-Fâth (called wronglessly Abû 'l-Fâth, 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 Hindûstân. Ghâni overtook him near the Æb-i Ghorband and killed Bâbâ Qûchin, and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandîyâr managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jagîr in Mâlwa, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under Khân Khânân (No. 29) in Mâlwa and Gujrat, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambhâ, it. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muşaffar, and served under Quij Khân (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahröch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 5Axiz Koka was to be sent to the Dakhin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 5Axiz Koka and Shihâb 'd-Din, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mân Singh against the Afghâns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwâja Shams 'd-Din Khawafî.

Khawafî means "coming from Khawâf", which is a district and town in Khurâsân. Our maps have "Khâff" or "Khâf", due west of Hirât, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the Mâ'âjum 'l-Buddân, "Khawâf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishâpûr. Near it lies on one side Bûshanj which belongs to the districts of Hirât, and on the other Zûzan. Khwâf
contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Strawandi, and Kharjard)." Amin Rāzī in his excellent Haft Iqlim says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Āl-i Muqaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fārs and Shiraz, were Khawāfīs. The author of the Zakhīrat-i Kursamān says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnīs. When Shāh ʿAlībābā-i Shāfawi, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shīʿas, the companions of the Prophet (sallallahu alaihi wasallam); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid. Although then no one was converted, the Khawāfīs are now as staunch Shīʿa as they were formerly bigoted Sunnīs.

Khwāja Shamsī d-Dīn was the son of Khwāja ʿAlī ʿAlī d-Dīn, who was a man much respected in Khawāf. Shams accompanied Muqaffar Khān (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Maṣūm-i Kābuli had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of ʿArab Bahādur he was let off and placed under ʿArab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singram, Rāja of Khurākpur (Bihār). As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

1 They succumbed to Timūr. The Historians disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from 741 to 798.

Amin Rāzī mentions also several learned men and vazīrs besides those mentioned in the Maṣūm-i Kābuli's History, giving some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawāf.

The number of Khawāfīs in the service of the Mughal emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maṣūm-i Kābuli has notes on the following—Mīrād Vazīr (under Jahāngīr); Mīrād Vazīr, and Muṣṭamīd Khān Muhammad Sāliḥ (under Shāhjāhān); Sayyid Amīr Khān Shāykh Mīr, Khwāja Mir Khawāfī Safī Khān, Ḥusayn Khān, and Muṣṭafā Khān (under Aurrangzīb). The lists of grandees in the Fathākhr al-Dawla mention several other Khawāfīs. In later times we have the name of ʿAbd al-Razzaq Samānī d-Dawla Auranzībī, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mir Kusayn d-Dīn Khwāfī, has served under Akbar.

For Khawāfī some MSS. have Khāfī. The Historian Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān has also been supposed to be a Khawāfī, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as Khān Khān, Ḥusayn Khān, Ḥabīb Khān. The authors of the Fathākhr al-Dawla and the Maṣūm-i Kābuli never use the term Khāfī.

Singram later fought with Shāhīz Khān (No. 80), and ended Fort Malūdī. 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 Qull Khān Lādī Beg, governor of Bihār, sent a corps against Singram, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Muhammadan, and received the name "Rājā Rauza-alāūn", was confirmed in his zamindāri, and reached, under Jahāngīr, the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāhjāhān, he served with Mahālot, Khān in Balkh, against Jūnīrīn Singh Bundela, in the siege of Pāhūr, and was at his death in 1644 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rājā Bihārfīr, served in Quddāshī, in the war between Auranzībī and Shāhīz Khān, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Pāhānū (4th year of Auranzībī). Rājā Bihārfīr died in the 4th year of Auranzībī's reign. Fide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for December, 1870.
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 (266h) to superintend the building of Fort Aták (built 990-1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.1

After this, Shams was for some time Diwân of Kâbul. In the 39th year, when Qulî Khân (No. 42) after the death of Qâsim Khân (No. 59) was made Šûbâdar of Kâbul, Shams was made Diwân of the empire (Diwân-i kull), vice Qulî.2 When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjâb, moved to Âgra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurrâm (Shâhjâhân) were left in Lâhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjâb, in which office he continued, after Akbar’s mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Âgra.

Shams died at Lâhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bâbâ Hasan Abdâl having been used for other purposes (p. 469) he was buried in Lâhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called Khwâfipûrâ.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shâykh Farid-i Bulhârî (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwâja Mûmin Khawâfî, was made, on his death, Diwân of the Panjâb. Mûmin’s son, ʻAbd-ʻl-Khaliq was a favourite of Āsaf Khân IV (p. 398). He was killed by Mahâbat Khan, when Āsaf had been removed by Mahâbat from Fort Aták and imprisoned.


Kûwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mirzâ Ja’star Āsaf Khân (No. 98) against Râja Bâsû, zamindâr of Mans and Pathân (Nûr-pûr, N.E. Panjâb). In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Mâlwa, and Prince Salîm (Jahângîr) was ordered to move against Rûnâ Amr Singh,

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1 The author of the Ma’âlîa repeats ʻAbî ʻl-Fâl’s etymology of the same ʻAtât, which was given on p. 404, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindî, ōbat, prevention, a bar, “because Hindîs will not go beyond the Indus.” But there is no instance on record that Hindîs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwân Dâs, Mân Singh, and others were governors of Kâbul and Zâbulistân, and had their Râjput there; and during the reign of Shâhjâhân, the Râjput distinguished themselves in the conquest of Bûlgh and the siege of Qandahâr. [Fort Aták built in 990-91.—B.]

2 Abû ʻl-Fâl’s etymology is also doubtful; for in the Andâncîna (II, 302) he mentions the same ʻAtât long before the building of the Fort (III, 333).

3 The twelve Diwânas, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Sûbâs, were under his orders. Diwân-i kull in the same as Fa’ir-i kull or Fa’îr-i maqây, or merely Fa’îr.
Mān Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal, as sād-i of his father. While still at Āgra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.'s daughter, vide p. 323 and No. 175.

Mahā Singh, Jagat's younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afgāns under Ẓanāmān and Shujāwāl Khān to attack him. They defeated him and Partāb Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 336), near Bhdrak in Orīsā (dōth year). Mān Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1909 the Afgāns near Sherpūr ẒAtā, between Shiūrī (Sooree) in Bīrāhm and Murshidābād, recovered Lower Bengal and Orīsā.

Mahā Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.

161. Naqīb Khān, son of Mir ẒAbdulla 'I-Latīf of Qazwīn.

Naqīb Khān is the title of Mir Ḥīyās d-Dīn ẒAlī. His family belongs to the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, who were known in Irān for their Sunnī tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahyā 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 Muḥammādān religion to his own time."

"In the opening of his career, Mir Yahyā was patronized by Shāh Tahmāsp-i Şafawī, who called him Yahyā Maṣṣām, 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 ẒAbdulla 'I-Latīf, were the leading men among the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Āzarbāyjān, to order Mir Yahyā and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Isfahān. At that time, his second son, ẒAlī Ḍawla was in Āzarbāyjān, and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father. Mir Yahyā, being too old and infirm to flee, accompanied the king's messenger to Isfahān, and died there, after one year and nine months, in a.H. 962, at the age of 77 years." 2

"Mir ẒAbdulla 'I-Latīf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's

1 i.e. exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnīsm.
2 Mir Yahyā is the author of an historical compendium called Lāhī 'd-Dīnāvār, composed in 1541. Vide Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ẒAlī Ḍawla wrote under the poetical name of Kāmi, and is the author of the Nafṣīwāri 'd-Ṣaṣrī, a "taṣbīh," or work on literature. Badāwī (III, 97) says he composed a Qasīda in which, according to the manner of Shi'ahs, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnīs, and among the latter his father and elder brother (ẒAbdulla 'I-Latīf), whom he used to call Ḥārān-i Ḍir, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.
3 Some fix the date of Mir Yahyā's death two years earlier.
communication, fled to Gilân,¹ and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humâyûn went to Hindûstân, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hâlid. The Mir was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,² that each party used to revile him for his indifference.⁴

“When Bayrâm Khân had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Ágra and proceeded to Alwar with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjâb, the emperor sent the Mir to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign.” Elliot, Index, i.e.

Mir Ṣâhib ʿI-Latîf died at Sikrî on the 5th Rabîʿ, 981,³ and was buried at Ajmûr near the Dargâh of Mir Sayyid Husayn Khân-Suwâr.

Ṣâhib ʿI-Latîf had several sons. The following are mentioned: 1. Naqîb Khân; 2. Qamar Khân; 3. Mir Muhammad Sharîf. The last was killed in 984 at Fâthpûr by a fall from his horse, while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II, 230). For Qamar Khân, vide No. 243.

Naqîb Khân arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjâb (Akbarn. II, 23) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II, 281). In the 16th year, he conveyed Akbar’s pardon to Khân Zamân, for whom Munṣîm Khân had interceded (II, 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced March to Patan and Aḥmâdâbad (p. 481, note), and in the following year to Patan. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Ídar (III, 165) and was sent in the following year to Mâlwa or Gujrat, after the appointment of Shihâb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khân served under Tòdar Mal and Şâdîq Khân in Bihâr against Munṣîm-i Kâbûlî (III, 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqîb Khân.⁴ Though

¹ The MSS. of the Maṣâbîr have ʿAbâr Jeh. so also Badûnî, i.e.
² He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of šabê-i kull, “peace with all,” the Persian term which Abû ʿI-Fâzîl so often uses to describe Akbar’s policy of toleration. Abû ʿI-Fazîl (Akbarn. II, 23) says that ʿAbû ʿI-Latîf was accused in Persia of being a Sâmil and in Hindûstân of being a ShiKhâh.
³ Elliot has by mistake 971. The Tarîkh of his death in the Maṣâbîr and Badûnî (III, p. 99) is falsî-yî-at-i Yâ-Sîr, “the pride of the descendants of Yâsin (the Prophet)” = 981, if the long alif is at he not counted 2, but 1.
⁴ Kewâl Bûn, according to Elliot, says in the Tashkâl ʿI-Ummânî that the title was conferred on Naqîb Khân in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Maṣûm Khân-i Kâbûlî on the Imperialists under Tòdar Mal and Şâdîq Khân. This night attack is related in the Akbarnâmeh (III, 293). The fight took place in the 26th year, near Gayz; but Abû ʿI-Fazîl says nothing of Naqîb’s “gallant conduct”; he does not even mention his name.
during the reign of Akbar, he did not rise above the rank of a Ḥazārī, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar's reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 110. Several portions of the Ṭārīḵ-i Alfi also (p. 113) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāẓī ʿĪsā, who had come from Iran to Akbar's Court, where he died in 980. His son was Shāh Ghāzi Khān (vide No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sākīnā Bānū Begān, sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (Akbar's half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāẓī ʿĪsā had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb's cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, N. was made a Commander of 1,500 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.'s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmīr, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Muḥāsin-i Chishti's tomb (Tuzuk, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mir Muḥammad, Muḥsin-i l-Mamūlīk, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar's service (Bādāʾoni III, 321).

Naqīb's son, ʿAbd-i-Lāṭif, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūsīf 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 Raṣūmat-i-ṣafā by heart. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Bādāʾoni, who was Naqīb's schoolfellow 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.

102. Mir Murtaqā Khān, a Sābzwārī Sayyid.

Mir Murtaqā Khān was at first in the service of ʿĀdīl Shāh of Bījāpūr. Murtaqā Nīgām Shāh called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amir-i l-Umarā. He successfully invaded, at Nīgām Shāh's order, ʿĀdīl Shāh's dominions. But Nīgām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakil, Shāh Quli ʿAlābāt Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the tajīlārs of Barār, were dissatisfied. ʿAlābāt Khān being bent on ruining them, Mir Murtaqā Khudāwānd Khān (No. 151), Jamsheed Khān-i Shīrāzī and others, marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar. ʿAlābāt Khān and Shāhzaīda Mir ʿAlī ʿAlī וחayn surprised them and routed them. Mir Murtaqā lost all his property, and unable to resist ʿAlābāt 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, Śādīq 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 Gāwī, near Ilichpūr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajhī\textsuperscript{u} 'd-Dīn and Biswās Rāo, to enter Akbār’s service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Dānyāl, and received a higher Mansāb, as also a flag and a naqqārān.

Mir Murtażā is not to be confounded with the learned Mir Murtażā Sharīf-i Shīrāzī (Badā, onī III, 330), or the Mir Murtażā mentioned by Badā, onī III, 279.

163. Shamsī, son of Khān-i Aẓam Mirzā Koka (No. 21).
He was mentioned above on pp. 345 and 346. At the end of Akbār’s reign, Shamsī\textsuperscript{1} was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he received the title of Jahāngīr Quli Khān, vacant by the death of Jahāngīr Quli Khān Lāla Beg, Governor of Bihār, and was sent to Gujrat as nūr\textsuperscript{u} of his father. Mirzā Aẓīs had been nominally appointed Governor of that Šība; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsī was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaunpūr. Whilst there, Prince Shāhjahān had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending ʿAbd\textsuperscript{u} Ḫān Pirūz-Jang and Rāja Bhīm in advance towards Ilāhābād. On their arrival at Chausā, Shamsī left Jaunpūr, and joined Mirzā Rustam (No. 9), Governor of the Šība of Ilāhābād.

On Shāhjahān’s accession, Shamsī was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mansāb. A short time after, he was appointed to Sūrat\textsuperscript{2} and Jūnagādā, vice Beglar Khān. He died there in the 5th year of Shāhjahān’s reign (1041).

Shamsī’s son, Bahrām, was made by Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (Pādīshāhīn, I, b., 309) and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrat, he built a place called after him Bāhrām-pūrā. He died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān’s reign (Pādīshāhīn, II, p. 733).

164. Mir Jamāl\textsuperscript{u} ‘d-Dīn Husayn, an Injū Sayyid.
From a remark in the Wauṣ̣āf' it appears that a part of Shīrāz was called Injū; vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mir Jamāl\textsuperscript{u} ‘d-Dīn Injū belongs to the Sayyids of Shīrāz, who trace their descent to Qāsimmarrāsī (?) ibn-i Ḥasan ibn-i Ḥibrūn Ṭabarīb\textsuperscript{3} Ḥusaynī. Mir Shāh Mahmūd and Mir Shāh Abū Turāb, two later members

\textsuperscript{1} Shamsī is an abbreviation for Shams\textsuperscript{u} ‘d-Dīn.
\textsuperscript{2} Sūrat.
\textsuperscript{3} Sūrat. — B.}
of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp-i Šāfawī, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mir Shamsu’d-Dīn Asād Šāh of Shushtar, the first as Shāykh ‘l-İslām of Persia, and the second as Qāziu’l-Quţāt. Mir Jamālu’d-Dīn is one of their cousins.

Mir Jamālu’d-Dīn went to the Dakhin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injūs. He afterwards entered Akbar’s service, took part in the Gujrat wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 432). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muṣafar (Akbar-nāma III, p. 255). In the 30th year (993) he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, Aṣ’am Khān (No. 21) on his expedition to Gaiha and Rā’isin (Akbar-nāma III, 472). In the 36th year, he had a jagīr in Mālwa, and served under Aṣ’am Khān in the Dakhin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazārī took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of ‘Aṣīr had been conquered, ʿĀdil Shāh, king of Bijāpur wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dānyāl. To settle matters, Akbar dispatched the Mir in 1009 (Akbar-nāma III, 846) to the Dakhin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishta, he went to Ágra, in order to lay before the emperor “such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dakhin”.

At the end of Akbar’s reign, Mir J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favourite of Prince Salim, he was promoted after the Prince’s accession to the post of a Chahar-Hazārī, and received a nāqqīra and a flag. When Khusrav rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusrav the kingdom of Kābul with the same conditions under which M. Muḥammad Ḥakim, Akbar’s brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 455) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No. 167), Khusrav’s principal agent told Jahāngīr that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamālu’d-Dīn had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as Panjḥazarī. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself (ʿAzīz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahāngīr consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, Mir Jamāl received the title of Āṣād ‘l-Dawla.
On this occasion, he presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bījāpūr. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow yāqūt fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other yāqūts and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahāngīr 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 Panjḥazarī with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahāngīr's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled Fārḥang-i Jāhāngīrī, 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 Bahrā,īch, Mīr Jamāl returned to Āgra, where he died.

Mīr Jamālī 'd-Dīn had two sons. 1. Mīr Amaīnī 'd-Dīn. He served with his father, and married a daughter of 'Abdūr-Rahīm Khān Khānān (No. 29). He died when young.

2. Mīr Husainī 'd-Dīn. He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khān, brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-Jang (Nūr Jahān's brother). Jahāngīr made him Governor of Āsur, which fort he handed over to Prince Shāhjahān during his rebellion. On Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 3,000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of Mustaẓā Khān. He was also made Governor of Thathali, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mīr Husain's sons—1. Samsāmī 'd-Daula. He was made Diwān of Shāh Shujāū in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orisā with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. Nūrūl-lāh. He is mentioned in the Pādshāhnāma (I, b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

165. Sayyid Rājū, of Bārha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (vide p. 427) the Bārha clan Rājū belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannāth (No. 69), against the Rānā. While serving under the latter, Rājū commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rānā's troops. In the 30th year, Jagannāth and Rājū attacked the Rānā in his residence; but he escaped.

1 Regarding the Fārḥang-i Jāhāngīrī, vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, pp 12 to 15, and 63 to 69.
Later, Rājū served under Prince Murād, Governor of Mālwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Rāja Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Mālwa, Rājū 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. Rājū attacked them, but was killed in the fight, together with several of his relations (A.H. 1003).

166. Mir Sharif-i Amuli.

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 185. In the 30th year (993) Prince Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm of Kābul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mir Sharif was appointed Amin and Ṣadr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. In the 36th year, he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihar and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmīr as agātūn, and the Pargana of Mohān near Lakhnau, as taqūl. During the siege of Aṣir, 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 Mohān. 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.

Jahāngīr in his memoirs (Tuzuk, p. 22) praises him very much.

The Tabaqāt says, “Mir Sharif belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with sufism and is at present (1001) in Bihar.”

Note on the Nuqtawīyya Sect (نقطوية).

It was mentioned above (p. 186) that Mir Sharif spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmūd of Basakhwān.² The curious sect which Mahmūd founded, goes by the name of Mahmūdiyya, or Wāḥidiyya, or Nuqtawīyya, or Umāni.² Mahmūd called himself Shāh-i wāḥid, or “the individual,” and professed to be the Imam Mahdī, whose appearance

² The Lucknow edition of the Aḥbariyya (III, p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mir Sharif was at Jahāngīr’s accession a Commander of 2,500 (Tuzuk, p. 22).

² Baddā, ed. (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has basākhwān; the MSS. of the Maṣūr, basākhwān (with a long penultimate) and in other places basākhān without a c; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistān (p. 374) and Shea and Truver’s Translation have maṃjān—a shifting of the diacritical points.

² The name wāḥid was evidently used by Baddā, ed., though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have Nābūt, which was given on p. 185. For Umāni, Shea’s translation of the Dabistān has Umāni; but wāl (umāni) is, no doubt, the plural of umāni.
on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistân and Shea's Translation, he lived about a.H. 600; but the MSS. of the Ma'ṣūr have a.H. 800, which also agrees with Badá'oni's statement that Mahmûd lived at the time of Timur. The sect found numerous adherents in Iran, but was extinguished by Shâh ʿAbbâs-i Mâ'ûn, who killed them or drove them into exile.

Mahmûd had forced into his service a passage from the Qurān (Sur. XVII. 81); ʿasāʾ an yahūṣa-ku ʿabbū-ku maqāmahu mahmūdun, "peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (mahmûd) station." He maintained that the human body (jâšâl) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection "Mahmûd" would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qurān, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the nūcta-yi ʿbâk, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term nūcta-yi ʿbâk has given rise to their name Nuqâwâs. For other of Mahmûd's tenets, vide Shea's translation of the Dabistân, vol. III, pp. 12 to 26.

Some of Mahmûd's doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the "man of the millennium", transmigration of souls, etc., have been mentioned above, and Mr Sharif-i Âmuli could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing out to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the Alam Arâ-yi Sîkandari, as the Ma'ṣūr says, mentions Mr Sharif-i Âmuli under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Shâh ʿAbbâs-i Mâ'ûn's reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very auspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shâh ʿAbbâs Jalâlu'd-Din Muhammad of Tabriz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, it was proposed that Shâh ʿAbbâs 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 Yûsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusrav of Qazwin, 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

1 Mâ'ûn (ماهود), i.e., who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Shâh ʿAbbâs I of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahângîr.
never to speak of his *Nuqtasiyya* belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Kāshān, whom ʿAbbās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the *Nuqtā* doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abū ʿl-Fazl in Akbar’s name. *Mir Sharif-i Amuli, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrabad to Hindustān.*

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the *Maʿnāsir* remarks that it involves anachronism, for Mir Sharif was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dipāpūr in Māłwa; and besides, Sharif-i Amuli was mentioned in no Taqkīr as a poet.

167. **Hasan Beg Khān-i Badakhshī Shaykh ʿUmarī.**

Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar after his stay in Kashmir, marched to Zāmulistan, and passed through the district of Pakhāli, which is 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmir. In Pakhāli, Sultān Husayn Khān-i Pakhāltwāl (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamīndār belonged to the descendants of the Qārughšī (قَارُغْشَی), whom Timūr on his return from India to Tūrān had left in Pakhāli as garrison. After following Akbar’s Court for a few days, Sultān Husayn Khān withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pakhāli (Akbarīna III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg’s temporary absence at Court, Sultān Husayn Khān again rebelled, assumed the title of Sultān Nāṣir ʿd-Dīn, and drove away Hasan Beg’s men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 46th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar’s reign, in charge of Kābul, receiving Fort Rohtās *(in the Panjab) as jagir.*

In the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was called from Kābul to Court. On his way, at Mathurā (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusrāw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday, the 8th Zī Hijjah, 1014. From

*1 Badakhshī is the adjective formed from *Badakhshān, as Kāshī from Kāshān. The words Shaykh ʿUmarī are to be taken as an adjective formed like Akbarshī, Jahāngīrī, etc., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus Shaykh ʿUmarī would mean belonging to the servants of Shaykh ʿUmar, and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the Ḥabībīs or nobles of Bābar’s Court.]*

*Hasan Beg is often wrongly called Husain Beg. Thus in the *Tārīkh, p. 25 fl., Padshāhī I, p. 300; Akbarīna III, 598.*

*2 Generally spelt گُرچک. The fort in Bihār is spelt without aṣor, گُرچک, though both are identical.*

*3 So the *Tāzukh. The Maʿnāsir has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. constantly confuse and گُرچک.* But Jahāngīr on his pursuit reached Hodjāl on the 10th Zī Hijjah and the *Tāzukh is incorrect.*
distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kābul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshis", he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshī troopers, received the title of Khān Bāhā, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusraw, was ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, Dīwān of Lāhor. After the defeat near Bhairowal on the Biāh, the Afghāns who were with the prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the Empire; but Ḥasan Beg proposed to march to Kābul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four laces of rupees in Rohtās, which were at the Prince's service. Ḥasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtās, Khusraw was captured on the Chanāb. On the 3rd Šafar 1015, the Prince, Ḥasan Beg, and ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, were taken before Jahāngīr in the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmrān, a villa near Lāhor, Khusraw himself, according to Chingiz's law (baitorak i Chingizī(?)), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Ḥasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 500), was put into a cow-hide and ʻAbd al-Raḥīm into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazaars. "As cow-hides get dry sooner than donkey-skins," Ḥasan died after a few hours from suffocation; but ʻAbd al-Raḥīm was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon. The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusraw were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmrān to the Fort of Lāhor, and Khusraw, 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 Khusraw, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do homage to you."

Ḥasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 370. His son Iṣfandiyār Khān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (Pādishāhān, I, 476; I, b. 304). The Ārif Beg-i Shaykh Umarī mentioned in the Pādishāhān. (I, b. 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Sheroy Khān, son of Sher Afsan Khān.

Sher Afsan 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 Mackani, Akbar’s mother, after the fatal battle of Chausa (vide No. 96, p. 450). When Humayun fled to Persia, Sher Afsan remained with Mirza Kamran in Kabul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Iran, and was made governor of Qalat. Later he received Zahak-Bamian as jagir, but went again over to Kamran. Humayun’s, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroya Khan served at first under Mumtaz (No. 11) in Bengal and Orissa. In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murad to Kabul. In the 28th year, he served under Abdur Rahim (No. 29) in Gujrat, and was present in the battle of Sarkick (Akbaranaa III, 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Matlab Khán (No. 83) against Jalala Tarki (p. 441). In the 39th year, he was made a Khan, and was appointed to Ajmir. According to the Tabaqat he was a Hazari in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Akbaranaa (III, p. 500) says, “On the same day Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shadî Be (No. 367), and Baqi Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor.”

Shadî Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Matlab Khán (No. 83) against the Tarkiks. He may be the Shadî Khán Shadî Beg, mentioned in the Padishahnama (I, b. 308) as a commander of One Thousand. Be is the abbreviation of Beg. Nazar Be is not to be confounded with Nazar (1) Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalal Khan, son of Muhammad Khan, son of Sultan Adam, the Gakkhar.

171. Mubarak Khan, son of Kamal Khan, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the Musadir, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus. At the time of Zayn-ul-Abdin, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznî noble of the name of Malik Kid (کید or دک), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kabul, took away

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1 When the news was brought to Akbar that Man Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists, and the death of Bir Beg in the Khaybar Pass, had defeated the Tarkiks at Ali Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Baha’ 1, 994).

2 Mr. J. G. Dalmerick informs me that the Gakkhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindi and Jehlan districts from Khaprail on the borders of the Hazara district along the lower range of hills skirting the Tahsil of Rawul Pindi, Khabista, and Giyan Khan, as far as Domol in the Jehlan district. Their ancient strongholds were Phawala, Sultanpur, and Dangali. They declare that they are descended from the Kauzian kings of Iran. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kab conquered Kashmir, and took possession of half of it. The Gakkhars then reigned for 16 generations after Kab in Kashmir. The 16th descendant, Zayn Shahi, fled to Afghanistan, where he died. His son, Gakkhar Shahi, came to the Panjab with Mahmund of Ghazni, and was made lord of the Sind Sagar Deh. Malik Bir is said to have been the grandfather of Tatür, whose father was Malik Flik. Vide Mr. Delmerick’s History of the Gakkhars, Journal A.S.B., 1871. Vide p. 621.
these districts from the Kashmiris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilah (Indus) and the sawaliks and the frontier of modern Kashmir.\footnote{\textit{Additional Notes} at end to p. 507.} Malik Kiy\textsuperscript{i} was succeeded by his son Malik Kalan, and Malik Kalan by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Sultan Tat\textbar, who rendered Babar valuable service, especially in the war with Rana Sanka. Sultan Tat\textbar had two sons, Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam. Sarang fought a great deal with Sher Shah and Salim Shah, capturing and selling a large number of Afghans. The Fort Rohtas was commenced by Sher Shah with the special object of keeping the Gakhrars in check. Sher Shah in the end captured Sultan Sarang and killed him, and confined his son Kamal Khan in Gwalior, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sultan Adam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghans. Once Salim Shah gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwalior Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamal Khan, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamal went to his kinsfolk; but as Sultan Adam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Sa\textid{n}id Khan, avoiding conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamal paid his respects to the emperor at Jalindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemu and during the siege of Mankot. In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyana Afghans, who had revolted near Sarsonj (Malwa) and was made on his return jagirdar of Karah and Fathpur Huswah. In the 5th year, he served under Khan Zam\textbar (No. 13) against the Afghans under the son of Mubarriz Khan \textbar Adli (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamal Khan begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakhar district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khan-i Kalan (No. 16) and other Panjab grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamal Khan; if Sultan Adam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultan Adam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultan Adam. The Panjah,
army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the “Qaṣba of Hilā”. 1 Sultan ʿĀdam and his son Lashkari were handed over to Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district. Kamāl Khān killed Lashkari, and put Sultan ʿĀdam into prison, where he soon after died. (Akbarnāma, II, 240 ff.)

It is stated in the Tabaqāt that Kamāl Khān was a Commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972. 2

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān served in the 30th year under Mirzā Shāhrukh, Bhagwān Dās, and Shāh Quli Māhram, in Kashmir (Akbarnāma, III, 485). The Tabaqāt calls both, as also Saʿīd Khān, Commanders of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Saʿīd Khān was married to Prince Salīm; vide No. 225, note.

172. Tāsh Beg Khān Mughul, [Tāj Khān].

Tāsh Beg served at first under Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar’s service. He received a jagir in the Panjāb. According to the Akbarnāma (III, 489), he went with Bir Bar (No. 85) to Sawād and Bījor, and distinguished himself under ʿAbdu’l-Maṭlah (No. 83) against the Tārikhs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the Khayl Afghāns, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Aṣaf Khān (No 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Tāj Khān. 3 When Rāja Bāsū again rebelled (47th year), Khwāja Sulaymān, Bakhshī of the Panjāb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulij Khān (No. 42), Ḥusayn Beg-i Shaykh ʿUmari (No. 167), Ahmad Beg-i Kābulī (No. 191), and Tāj Khān. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Paṭhān. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamīl Beg, T. Kh.’s son, received news of Bāsū’s approach. He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father’s contingent.

Jahāngīr, on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3,000. In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kābul till the arrival of Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed governor of Thathāh, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

1 Not Hilā (هزار), south of Chilānwāl between the Jhelam and the Chanāb, but Hilā, or Hīlā, which, Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dāngāb, Sultan ʿĀdam’s stronghold.
2 So in my MSS. of the Tabaqāt. The author of the Maʿārif found 970 in his MS., which would be the same year in which Kamāl Khān was restored to his paternal inheritance; hence he adds a ماریف. He was certainly alive in the middle of 972. (Akbarnāma, I, p. 302.)
173. Shaykh 'Abd il-lāh, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws [of Gwāliyār].

Shaykh 'Abd il-lāh at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother Ziyyāt il-lāh lived as a Faqīr, and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wajhā 'Al-Dīn in Gujrāt, who himself was a pupil of Muḥammad Ghaws.

Biographies of Muḥammad Ghaws (died 970 at Āgra, buried in Gwāliyār) will be found in the Muḥāṣṣir, Bahā'omi (III, p. 4), and the Khāṣṣāt 'Al-Aṣfīqā (p. 969). He was disliked by Bayrām Khān, Shaykh Gudāj, and Shaykh Mubārak, Abū 'l-Fażl's father. Vide also Muḥāṣṣir-i Ṣāliḥī, p. 166.

174. Rāja Rājaśingh, son of Rāja Askaran, the Kachhwāhā.

Rāja Askaran is a brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 29). He served in the 22nd year with Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar of Údcha, and in the 25th year under Todaṛ Māl in Bihār. In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under 'Āziz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each sāba, Askaran and Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82) were appointed to Āgra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rāja Madhukar under Shihāb Khān (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abū 'l-Fażl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Ṭabaqāt says he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

Rāj Sing, his son, received the title of Rāja after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakhin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwāliyār. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Ásīr. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rāj Rāyān Patr Dās (No. 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela, who at Jahāngīr's instigation had murdered Abū 'l-Fażl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundela clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year the rank of a Commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahāngīr's reign, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

† Ḫeja is generally spelt on our maps Gorcha. It lies near Ḫānasal on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river 'Dashārā,' mentioned on p. 382, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the Muḥāṣṣir has Šaktākhāra.
Rām Dās, his son, was a Commander of 1,000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rāja, and was made, in the same year, a Commander of 1,500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 6th year of Shahjahan’s reign, and received the name of ‘Ibādatmand. 1

175. Rāy Bhōj, son of Rāy Surjan Hādā (No. 96).

When Bāndī, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudū, elder brother of Rāy Bhōj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhōj served under Mān Singh against the Afghanās of Orīsā, and under Shaykh Abū ʾl-Faḍl in the Dakhin (Abhār, III, 851, 855).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngīr wished to marry Jagat Singh’s daughter. Rāy Bhōj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāngīr resolved to punish him on his return from Kāhul. But Rāy Bhōj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabī’ 1, 1017, (Tāzuk, pp. 68, 69).

It is said that Rāthor and Kachhwāḥā princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hādā princess was ever married to a Timurid.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwāja.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itāwa (سادات اتہاء). His mother was a Naqshbandī (p. 466, note 3). Sher Kh.’s name was “Pādishāh Khwāja”, but Abhār called him on account of his bravery and courage Sher Khwāja.

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Ṣaʿīd Khān Chaghṭāʾī (No. 25) against the Yūsufzāis, and afterwards under Sultan Murād in the Dakhin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Pāṭan, where he distinguished himself against Iḥlāṣ Khān. He continued to serve in the Dakhin under Abū ʾl-Faḍl. In the engagement near Bīr 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 Gangā (Goddāvari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū ʾl-Faḍl arrived and raised the siege. Abū ʾl-Faḍl proposed to leave his own son ʾAbdul-r-Rahmān at Bīr; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

1 Regarding the Kachhwāhas, see my article in the Calcutta Review, for April, 1871, entitled “A Chapter from Muhammadan History”. 
Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahangir. He was with the emperor when Mahabat Khan near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahangir's person. After Jahangir's death, he served with Aṣaf Khan against Shahryar in Lāhor.

In the 1st year of Shāhjahan's reign, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 1,000 horse, and received the title of Khwaja Bāqi Khan. He was also appointed governor of Thatah, vice Mirza ʿIsa Tarkhān (p. 392). He died on his way to his province in 1037. Pādishāhīn, I, 181, 200.

His son Khwaja Hāshim was made a commander of 500 (Pādishāhīnāma, I, b. 327). Another son, Aṣad ʿIlāh, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (Pādishāhīn, II, 738).

177. Mirza Khurram, son of Khān-i ʿAṣgar Mirza ʿAziz Koka (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 346.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraysh Sultān, son of Abdūr-Rashid Khan, king of Kāshghar.

182. Sultān Abdullāh, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultān

310. Shāh Muhammad, son of Quraysh Sultān.

Quraysh Sultān is a descendant of Chingiz Khan. His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarnāma (III, 584) and the Tārikh-i Rashidi as on following page.

After the death of Abdūr-Rashid Khan (15), Abdūl-Karim Khān, elder brother of Quraysh Sultān, succeeded to the throne of Kāshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudābanda, son of Quraysh Sultān, quarrelled with Muhammad Khān, his uncle, and Khudābanda occupied the town of Tarān. Abdullāh, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sultān to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshān and Bālīh, and lastly, with the permission of Abdullāh Khān of Tūrān, to Himfūstān. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shīhābūd-Dīn-pūr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmir, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraysh died in the 37th year (1000), at Hājjīpūr.

179. Qara Bahādur, son of Mirza Mahmūd, who is the paternal uncle of Mirza Ḥaydar [Gurgānī].

1 Chingiz Khan in the histories is often called Qeṣṣe-i Buzurg.
| 1. | Chingis Khân. |
| 2. | Chaghtâ'î Khân. |
| 3. | Mawâtân (second son of Chaghtâ'î Khân). |
| 4. | Yâsun (the MSS. give various readings). |
| 5. | Yarâq Khân (called after his conversion Suljân (lhiyasu 'd-Din). |
| 6. | Dawâ Khân.6 |
| 7. | Alishâq, or Alâshâq, Khân. |
| 8. | Tughluq Timur Khân. |
| 10. | (a) Muhammad Khân . . . (b) Shams Jahân Khân . . . (c) Naqsh Jahân Khân. |
| 11. | (a) Sher Muhammad Khân. . . (b) Sher 'Ali Ughlân. |
| 14. | Sultan Ahmad Khân, known as Alâsha Khân. |
| 15. | Sultan 'Abdul Sa'm Khân. |
| 16. | 'Abd al-Rashîd Khân. |
| 17. | (1) 'Abd al-Karîm Khân. (2) Quraysh Suljân (No. 168). (3) Suljân 'Abd al-Tah (No. 178). |

Like the preceding, Qârâ Bahâdur belonged to the royal family of Kâshghar. Mîrzâ Haydar's father, Muhammad Husayn, was the son of Bâbar's maternal aunt.

Mîrzâ Haydar, during his stay in Kâshghar, had accompanied the

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2. Dâwâ invaded India during the reign of 'Alâ-ud-Din, note Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1866, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.
3. His daughter is called 'Alâ-ud-Din. It is said that Timûr after the marriage received the title of Gurjân, the Mughal term for the Persian dâmid, a son-in-law. Hence Timurid are often called Gurjânis.
4. Mîrzâ Haydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the 'Tarîkh-i 'Abd al-Rashîd, in honour of 'Abd al-Rashîd, king of Kâshghar. The villa known as Bagh-i Sofâ was erected by him. Akbar-nâma, III, 585.
5. The MS. of the 'Tarîkh-i Rashîdî 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 Yârkand.
6. The 'Tarîkh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timûr, who was converted to Islam by Mawâtân Arshad 'd-Din, and goes down to the reign of 'Abd al-Rashîd. The second section contains the Memoirs of Mîrzâ Haydar. The style is elegant.
son of Sultân Abû Sa‘îd 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 Lâhor, where Mirzâ Kâmrân made him his sa‘îd during his absence on an expedition to Qandahâr, which the Shâh of Persia had taken from Khvâja Kalân Beg. M. Ḥaydar afterwards accompanied Kâmrân to Âgra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humâyûn to take possession of Kashmir. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shâh retreated to Lâhor, he gave M. Ḥaydar 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 khabba to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humâyûn’s name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris.

The father of Qârâ Bahâdûr was Mirzâ Mahmûd; hence Q. B. was M. Ḥaydar’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 Bâjor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghâzî Khân, who had usurped the throne of Kashmir. Q. B. disgraced returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mâlwa, and was appointed, on Akbar’s return, governor of Mandû. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qârâ Bahâdûr, vide No. 183.

180. Muzaffar Husayn Mirzâ, son of Ibrâhîm Husayn Mirzâ [son of Muhammad Sultân Mirzâ].

Muzaffar Husayn Mirzâ is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:

\[ \text{Umar Shâykh Mirzâ (second son of Timur),} \]

\[ \text{Mirzâ Bâyqâr,} \]

\[ \text{Mirzâ Mansûr,} \]

\[ \text{M. Bâyqâr,} \]

\[ \text{Wai Mirzâ,} \]

\[ \text{Muhammad Sultân Mirzâ.} \]


\[ \text{Muzaffar Husayn Mirzâ (No. 180).} \]

\[ \text{His brother is Abû ‘l-Ghâzî Sultân Husayn Mirzâ.—R.} \]
The mother of Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā was the daughter of the renowned Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, king of Khurramān, at whose Court Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā held a place of distinction. After Sultān Ḥusayn’s death, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā went to Bābar, who treated him with every distinction. Humāyūn also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mīrzā was killed in the expedition against the Hazāras, and Shāh Muḥammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mīrzā had two sons, Sikandar Mīrzā and Mahmūd Sultān Mīrzā; but Humāyūn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mīrzā, and Mahmūd Sultān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā.

As Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (taḥṣif-e bār), and gave him the pargana of Aṣgampūr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shāh Mīrzā. At Aṣgampūr in his old age, Muḥammad Sultān Mī. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 3. Masūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and 4. ʿAqīl Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

In the 11th year of Akbar’s reign, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, invaded India and besieged Lāhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Shāh M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. and Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. The rebellious Mīrzās went plundering from Sambhal, to Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Jaumpūr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihlī, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muḥammad Qult Khan Barlās (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā. He died a short time after in his prison at Bīānā. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khān Zamān, and conquered Chītōr, he made Shihāb Khan (No. 26) governor of Mālwa, and ordered him to punish the Mīrzās.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mīrzās unable to withstand Shihāb Khan fled to Chingiz Khan (p. 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrāt. Chingiz Khan was at war with Iṣtimād Khan (No. 67) of Ahmadābād; and as the Mīrzās had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahrāch as jagīr. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz Khan had to send a corps against them. Though the Mīrzās defeated his troops they withdrew to Khāndesh, and re-entered Mālwa. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khan (No. 74), Sādiq Khan
No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantambhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbādā, where many soldiers of the Mirzās perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khān had been murdered by Jhujhār Khān and as Gujrāt was in a state of disorder, the Mirzās with little fighting, occupied Champānīr, Bahrōch, and Sūrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrāt and occupied Ahmadābād. Dissensions having broken out among the Mirzās, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. left Bahrōch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar’s camp. Most of Akbar’s Amirās had the day before been sent away towards Sūrat in search of Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. Hearing of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn’s arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhīzād Khān (No. 80) after the Amirās whilst he himself marched to the Mahindrī River, where it flows past the town of Sarnāl. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amirās returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given and after a hard fight, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. was defeated. He fled towards Āgra, whilst his wife, Gulrūkh Begam, a daughter of Mirzā Kāmrān, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muṣaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadābād, ordering at the same time Qutb-ud-Din (No. 28) to join ʿAzīz with the Mālwa contingent. Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. and Shāh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khān Fūlādī, a Gujārī noble, and besieged Patān. ʿAzīz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 432). Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. then withdrew to the Dakhin.

Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. and his younger brother Masʿūd Ḥusayn M., having met with resistance at Nāgor (p. 384), invaded the Panjāb. The governor, Ḥusayn Quli Khān (No. 24) at that time besieged Nagarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mirzās, made peace with the Rāja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Masʿūd. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn fled towards Mūltān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūchīs. He then fell into the hands of Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) and died of his wounds.

After Akbar’s return to Āgra, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrāt, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambhā, it by Nawrang Khān (p. 354) and joined the party of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. They then marched against Ahmadābād and besieged M. ʿAzīz Koka. To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Āgra to Patān, and arrived, on the 5th Jumāda I, 981 (p. 458), with about 1,000 horse,
at a place 3 kos from Ahmadábád. Leaving Ikhhtiyár to continue the siege, Muhammad Husayn 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 Bir Bar, at Akbar's request, asked Muhammad Husayn 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." Ikhhtiyár, on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Husayn, raised the siege, and fled with his 5,000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ikhhtiyár got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhráb Turkmán who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muhammad Husayn also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ray Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Sháh Mirzá had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaffar Husayn Mirzá, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhin, entered Gujrat and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rája Todar Mal and Vázír Khán (p. 379) and fled to Jénáagadh. When the Rája had gone, Muzaffar besieged Vázír in Ahmadábád. During the siege he managed to attach Vázír's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Míhr-áli Kolábí, who had led the young Muzaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaffar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Naizbar. Soon after, he was captured by Rája áli of Khândesh, and handed over to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he showed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultán Khánun. He also gave him the Sarkár of Qanawí jast trojul. Muzaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the trojul, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Azír, he sent Muzaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwája Fáth-á 'lláh, and one day, he decamped for Gujrat. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Sárat and Baglana, when he was caught by Khwája Waisí and taken before the Emperor. After having been imprisoned for some time, he was set off in the 46th year. He died, not long after, a natural death.

His sister, Núr-á 'n-Nisá, was married to Prince Salim (vide No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begam, Muzaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahángir at Ajmír.
181. **Qundūq Khān**, brother of the well-known Bayrām Oghlān. 
The *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) mentions a Qundūq Sulṭān, who accompanied
Humāyūn on his march to India.

For *Qundūq*, some MSS. read *Qundūz*. A grandee of this name served
in Bengal under Munṣīm, and died at Gaur (p. 407).

182. **Sulṭān ʿAbd-ʿIlāh**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh
Sulṭān (No. 178).

183. **Mīrzā ʿAbd-ʿRahmān**, son of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s brother (vide
No. 179).


In the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma* he is generally called
ṣāḥib ʿHasan*, which may mean “Qiyā, the beautiful”, or “Qiyā, son of Ṣāḥib
Ḥasan”. Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Ḳufi. It
looks as if the reading ṣāḥib ʿHasan of the Ā* in MSS. was a mistake. The
words ṣāḥib ʿHasan are intended to distinguish him from Qiyā Gung
(No. 33).

Qiyā served under Shamsʿ-ʿd-Dīn Atga against Bayrām (p. 332).
He was also present in the battle of Ṣārangpūr (vide No. 120).

185. **Darbār Khān**, ʿInāyat [ullah], son of Takaltū Khān, the Reader.

Darbār’s father was Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s reader. ʿInāyat, on his arrival
in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title
of Darbār Khān. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Mālwa, and
in the 12th year, in the last war with Khān Zamān. He accompanied
the emperor to Rantānbhūr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after
the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muṣin-i
Chishti in Ajmīr, Darbār Khān took sick leave, and died on his arrival
at Āgra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the
*Muʿāṣir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one of Akbar’s dogs, which
he had built. The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial
master.

186. **ʿAbd-ʿRahmān**, son of Muṣayyīd Dūlday.

The name *Dūlday* had been explained above on p. 388. ʿAbd-ʿRahmān’s great-grandfather, Mir Shāh Malik, had served under Timūr.
ʿAbd-ʿRahmān was killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat. Vide
under his son Barkhūrdār, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son
is mentioned below, No. 349.

1 Thus you say, *allāmā* for *allāmā*, the accursed Ḥulāgū.

When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No. 13), Qāsim ʿAli Khān held Ghāziapur. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Sūrat, and in the following year, with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the conquest of Patna under Mumṣim. For some reason, he returned to Court, and took Shujaʿat Khān (No. 61) a prisoner to Mumṣim, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Şādiq (No. 43) against Madhubal Bundela, and in the 25th year, under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Ḥāji Begam, daughter of the brother of Humāyūn’s mother (taqīaʾi zāda-yi vālida-yi Jannat-āstānī), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humāyūn’s tomb in Dihli, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each Shāba, Q. A. and Fatḥ Khān Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khayrābād to Court, and soon after received Kālpī as jagir. “Nothing also is known of him.” 1 Maṣūr. For his brother, vide No. 390.

188. Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharif Khān (No. 63).
Vide above, p. 415.

189. Sayyid ʿAbd ʿIlāh, son of Mir Khwānandā.

Some MSS. have “Khwānd” instead of “Khwānandā.” Sayyid ʿAbd ʿIlāh had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of ʿAbd ʿIlāh Khān Uzbak. In the 17th year, he was with the Khān-i-Kalān (No. 10) in the first Gujrāt war. Later, he served under Mumṣim in Bengal, and was with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the battle of Takarāl (p. 406). In 984, he brought the news of Daʿud’s defeat and death at Ágma-bal (p. 350) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mirzā ʿAzız (No. 21) and under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), chiefly against Maṣūm-i Farankhūdī (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in Kashmir. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmiris, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.

190. Dhārā, son of Rāja Todār Mal (No. 39).
Vide above, p. 378.

191. Ahmad Beg-i Kābulī.

Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ḥīyān Ḥān, d’Dīn Tarikhān, a Chaghāzī noble who served under Timūr. Like Shāh Beg (No. 57), Tāj Khān

1 Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tarāk mentions Qāsim ʿAlī on p. 38, l. 2 from below; but according to the Maṣūr, we have there to read Qāsim Beg for Qāsim ʿAlī.
(No. 172), Abū 'l-Qāsim (No. 199), Maḥfūz Khān (p. 476, note 1), and Talḥāt Beg (No. 195), A. B. entered, after M. Muhammad Hakīm's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yāsūf Khān-i Rāzawī (No. 35), a jagīr in Kashmir. He married the sister of Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān. (No. 98).

During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to the post of a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Khān, 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 Jahāngīr was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshāwar as jagīr. In the second year he was ordered to punish the Afghān tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2,500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulī Kān (No. 42), he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantambhūr (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 Masūd (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Tārkīs. His son, Arīsher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

2. Saʿūd Khān Bahādur Zafar-jang (second son). He rose during the reign of Shāhjahān to the high dignity of a commander of 7,000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kābul, the Panjāb, and Bihār. He died on the 2nd Šafar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khānāzād Khān and Lutfu lāh, were killed in the Balkh war, where Saʿūd also was severely wounded. Two other sons, Abūn lāh and Fathu lāh, rose to high commands.

3. Mukhīṣ lāh Khān Iftikhār Khān. He rose under Shāhjahān to a command of 2,000, one thousand horse, and was Fawjdār of Jammū (Pādisaḥānā, I, p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

4. Abū 'l-Baqā. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Saʿūd, under whom he served. He was thānādār of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahār expedition, he got the title of Iftikhār Khān, at the same time that his elder brother received that of Zafar-jang, and was made a commander of 1,500, one thousand horse.

192. Hakīm ʿAll, of Gilān.

ʿAll came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate

* Mentioned Tuzuk, p. 307.—R.*
enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (mulâzim) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, ʿAli correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to ʿAli ʿĀdil Shāh of Bijâpūr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, ʿĀdil Shāh suddenly died.1

In the 59th year, Ḥakīm ʿAli constructed the wonderful reservoir (hanq), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six gōz square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, ʿAli was a commander of 700, and had the title of ʿAbbāsīz̄ Zamānī, the Gaumus of the age.2 His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhoea, which no remedies could stop. ʿAli had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentery 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 Khurram at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahāngīr) had an elephant of the name of Girāndār, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of Abrūp, one of Khurram's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Rantākman, was selected as jahāncha, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) sat at a window, whilst Salīm and Khurram were on horseback in the arena. Girāndār completely worsted Abrūp, and as he mauled

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1 ʿĀdil Shāh 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 Bārūd of Bādar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mawāli Rāshīd MasSTYLE:poetically styled Iftār, found the tarīkh of his death in the words Shāh-i jehāna shad shahdīl (988). "The king of the world became a martyr."
him too severely, the tabāncha elephant was sent off to Ābrūp's assistance. But Jahāngīr's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamma. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khursaw came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for Ṣāliḥ, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khursaw's bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jahāngīr also visited Ṣāliḥ's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2,000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muḥarram, 1018. Jahāngīr says of him (Tawāk, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the Qānūn. "But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man." Once Jahāngīr hinted that Ṣāliḥ had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6,000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.¹

He had a son, known as Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ ʿl-Wahhāb. He held a maḥṣab. In the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Ru., which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāzī 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. Jahāngīr ordered Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) to investigate the case. Ṣāliḥ ʿl-Wahhāb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Āṣaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported Ṣāliḥ ʿl-Wahhāb, and the Emperor deprived him of his maḥṣab and jāḡir. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the Padishah-nāma (I. 6, 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse.

¹ Babāri (III, 166) says that Ṣāliḥ was the son of the sister of Ḥakīm ʿl-Mulk of Gilān, and learned medicine and science under Shāh ʿAbū ʿl-Ḥakīm ʿl-Ṣafī. He was a rabid Shiʿah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he killed ʿAbū ʿl-Ḥakīm by prescribing haris (vide p. 34, note). [Haris is said to be some concoction of meat and wheat.—P.]
193. Gūjar Khān, son of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Atga (No. 28). He was mentioned above under No. 28.

194. Sadr Jahān Mufti.

Mīrān Sadr Jahān was born in Pihānī, a village near Qanawjī. Through the influence of Shaykh ʿAbdullāh-n-Nabi he was made Mufti. When ʿAbdullāh-illāh Khān Uzbek, king of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islām, Mīrān Sadr and Ḥakīm (No. 200) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to ʿAbdullāh-illāh contained a few Arabic verses which ʿAbdullāh-illāh could construe into a denial of the alleged apostasy—

قَالَ احْلَامَنَ أَنَّا، وَقَالَ إِنَّ الرَّسُولَ، قَدْ كَتَبَ

مَا أَجَأَ اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولُ مَعًا مِنْ لِسانِ الْوُرُوْدِ. فَكَيْفَ أَنَا

"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!"

Mīrān returned in the 34th year, and was made Sadr (vide p. 284). In the 35th year, at the feast of Ābānmāh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Sadr and ʿAbdullāh-ī-Ḥay (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 Ḥādīr:

ذكر دوْرِ يا دَانِشَاء، فِنْطَشَ جِميّرِ بَوْشَ حَادِفُ فَرَادَقَ كَشّ شَدٌ، وَمَغْنَيٍّ يِبَالَهُنَّ.

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700; but later, he was made an Amīr, and got a mansab of 2,000 (vide p. 217-18).

During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4,000, and received Qanawj as ṭayūl. As Sadr under Jahāngīr 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. 217-18). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more for it than he. He also composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Badāʾūnī, he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons:

1. Mir Badr-ī-ʿAlam. He lived a retired life.

2. Sayyid Niẓām Khān. His mother was a Brāhman woman, of

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1 So Badāʾūnī. The Maʿādir says, Pihānī lies near Lakhman.
whom his father had been so enamoured that he married her; hence Nizām was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2,500, two thousand horse. In the first year of Shāhjāhān's reign, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and received, on the death of Murtaza Khān Injū (p. 501) the title of Murtaza Khān. He served a long time in the Dakhan. His tugāl was the Pargana of Dalamau, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Fawjdār of Lakhanu. In the 24th year of Shāhjī's reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms per annum out of the revenue of Pihānī, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons, ʿAbdū l-Muqtaḍar and ʿAbdū l-Lāh were appointed to mansabs, and received as tugāl the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihānī. ʿAbdū l-Muqtaḍar rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Fawjdār of Khayrābād.

195. Takhta Beg-i Kābuli [Sardār Khān].

He was at first in the service of M. Muhammad Ḥakīm, 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 Zayn Koka against the Yūsufzāis. As Thānāhādār of Peshawar he punished on several occasions the Tārikis. In the 49th year, he was made a Khān.

After Jahāngūr's accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and received the title of Sardār Khān. He was sent with Mirzā Ghāzi Tarkhān (p. 392), to relieve Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57) in Qandahār. As Shāh Beg was appointed governor of Kābul, Takhta was made governor of Qandahār, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Peshawar, called the Bāgh-i Sardār Khān. His two sons, Ḥayār Khān and Hidāyatullāh got low mansabs.

196. Ray Pair Dās [Rāja Bikramāji], a Khatri.

Pair Dās was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (musthrif) of the elephant stables, and had the title of Rāy Rāyān. He distinguished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chitor. In the 24th year, he and Mir Adham were made joint diwāns of Bengal. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 485), but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was made diwan of Rihār. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bāndhū (p. 446), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made diwan of Kābul,
but was in the following year again sent to Bāndhū. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3,000. When Abū 'l-Fażl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bir Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bir Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Irchi. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Rāja Bikramājit.

After Jahāngīr's accession, he was made Mīr Ātash, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (topchī) with a train of 3,000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (Tārīkh, p. 10).

When the sons of Muzaffar of Gujrat created disturbances, and Yātim Bahādur had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadābād with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted up to commands of Yūzbāshīs, or to recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the Emperor.

"The year of his death is not known." Ma'āṣir.

The Rāy Mohan Dās mentioned occasionally in the Akbarnāma and the Tārīkh (p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaykh 'Abdār-Rahīm of Lakhnau.

He belongs to the Shaykhzūdas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamāl Bahītīyūr (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjāb, 'Abdār-Rahīm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyākot in Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fażl's dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brāhman woman of the name of Kishnā. After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas. In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a panjhasārī to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

'Abdār-Rahīm was mentioned above on p. 359-60.

198. Medīnī Rāy Chauhān.

From the Akbarnāma we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrat. Nizām 'd-Din Ahmad, who was with him in Gujrat, says in the Tābqāt—"Medīnī Rāy is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i.e., in 1001) a commander of 1,000."
199. **Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim Namākin (Qāsim Khān).**

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tamkīn* (تَمْكَينُ) instead of *Namākin*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim was a Sayyid of Hirāt. He was at first in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's brother and king of Kābul. But he left Kābul, and on entering Akbar's service, he received Bhūra and Khūshāb in the Punjāb as jāgir. As his lands lay within the Načakāzar, or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (namak-halāfī), with a plate and a cup made of salt (namakīn), from which circumstance he received the nickname of Nāmakīn.

Abū 'l-Qāsim served in the war with Dā'ud of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kābul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismā'īl Quṭb Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balūchis. In the 32nd year, the Afghān chiefs of Sawād and Bajor, and Terāb waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abū 'l-Qāsim Krori and Fawjdār of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afghānistān. 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 ʿAbdū 'l-Ḥay (No. 230), the Qāżī of the imperial camp (urdū). But Abū 'l-Qāsim, 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 bazaars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaykh Maqrūf, Śadr 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 Qāżī, stating that there were no complainants, and ʿAbdū 'l-Ḥay tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qāzis should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor.

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1. The namakāzar, or salt-range, says the Maṣfir, is a district 20 kas long, and belongs to the Sind Sīgar Daūb, between the Bahar 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 1/2 and the latter 1/2 of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a darm to two dāms (one rupee = 40 darm) per sare, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 sare. The salt is also often made into ornaments.
Abū ʾl-Qāsim was, soon after, made a Khān, got a higher mansab, and received Gujrat in the Panjāb as tūyūl. In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was made a commander of 1,500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khusraw has been mentioned above (p. 456, note 1, where Tāmkīn is to be altered to Namakūn). For his services he was again appointed to Bhakkar with the rank of a commander of 3,000. He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town, southwards towards Loharī, near the branch of the river called Kahrmātī (کہرماتی), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of Sufū-ye Ṣafā (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—1,000 mangoes, 1,000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a man. The Moʾāṣir 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 Moʾāṣir:

Mir Abū ʾl-Qāsim Namakūn (settled at Bhakkar in 1613).

   (died 1066 A.H.)

2. Ziyāʾ-ʾr-Dīn Yaḥṣūf.
3. Mir ʾAbūʾ-ʾl-Karīm Sūfī, married in 1066 to Prince Murād Baksh.

M. Āhūʾ-ʾr-Wažf, (end of Awrangzīb’s reign).

M. Abū ʾl-Khāyir Khān, (under Farruḫī Syār).

Mīr Abū ʾl-Baqū Amir Khān rose under Jahāngīr to a command of 2,500, fifteen hundred horse. Through the influence of Yamīn Ṣ-dawla he was made governor of Mīltān, and in the 2nd year of Shāhjāhān, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand horse, and appointed to Thathah, vice Murtūs-after Injū deceased (p. 501). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyūdkār of Bir in the Dakhīn, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Siwastān vice Qariq Khān. In the following year he was again appointed to Thathah, where, in 1062 (20th year), he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahāngīr he was generally called Mir Khān. Shāhjāhān gave him the title of Amir Khān.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murād Baksh, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of
Shāhnawāz Khān-i Ṣafawi. Amīr Khān had a large family. His eldest son, Mir ṢAbdu ʿr-panies Razzāq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Shāhjahān’s reign. His second son, Ziyāʾād ʿd-Dīn Yūsuf, was made a Khān, and held under Shāhjahān a mansub of 1,000, six hundred horse. Ziyāʾād’s grandson, Abū ʿl-Wafā, was in the end of Awrangzib’s reign in charge of his majesty’s prayer room (daragha-yi jā- namāz). Amīr Khān’s youngest son, Mir ṢAbdu ʿl-Karim, was a personal friend of Awrangzib. He received in succession the titles of Multāfī Khān, Khānazād Khān (45th year of Awrangzib), Mir Khānazād Khān, and Amīr Khān (48th year), and held a command of 3,000. After Awrangzib’s death, he was with Muhammad Afsāzam Shāh; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (bagdāh) at Gwalīyār. After the death of Muhammad Afsāzam in the battle of Saray Jāju, Bahādur Shāh made him a commander of 3,500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh’s death, the Bāhra brothers made Amīr Khān padr of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abū ʿl-Khayr, was made a Khān by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no mansabs, but lived on their zamindāris.

2. Mīrā Kasmīrī was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusrav. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (ṣiyāsī-ghayr-makarrur, Tuzuk, p. 32) Jahāngīr ordered his penis to be cut off.

3. Mīrā Husān ʿd-Dīn. He held a mansub, but died young.

4. Mīrā Žū ʿl-Dīn Žūlāh. He was in the service of Khān Jahān Lodi.

200. Wazir Beg Jamīl. Wazir Jamīl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar’s reign against Ṣ Abdu ʿl-lah Khān Uzhaq, and in the war with Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahādur Khān (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 Bahādur, a man in the service of Majūn Khān (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahādur prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jagir in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Orīṣā under Mūnīm Khān. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qāqshāls; but when they separated from Maṣsūm-i

1 Shahmawāz Khān-i Ṣafawī is the title of Mīrā Badīu ʿs-Zamān, alias Mīrā Dakhīnī, son of Mīrā Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dīras Bānū Begum, was married, in the end of 1646, to Awrangzib. Another was married, in 1652, to Prince Murād Bahāsh. Elphinston (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawāz Khān by mistake the brother of Shāyista Khān; but Shāyista is the son of Yāmīn ʿd-Dawla Ḍawū Khān, elder brother of Nūr Khān.

2 Saray Jāju, near Dhulpūr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabiʿ I, 1119, and Muhammad Aṣkān was killed with his two sons, Bedar Baḥsh and Wālī- jihadist.

3 Jamīl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindūstān.
Humām had two sons:—

1. Ḥakīm Ḥāziq (خالق). He was born at Fathpūr Sikrī, and was a young man when his father died. At Shāhjahān’s accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and was sent, in the 1st year, to Turān as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3,000. Later, for some reason, his mansāb was cancelled, and he lived at Āgra on a pension of 20,000 rupees per annum, which in the 18th year was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068).¹ He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of Ḥāziq. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his diwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salāms; else he got offended.

2. Ḥakīm Khushshāl. He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000. He was for some time Bakshshī of the Dakhīn.

206. Mīrzā Anwar, son of Khān-i Aẓam Mīrzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on page 346.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltā 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. Mīrak Bahādur Arghūn.

The Tabaqat says he reached a command of 2,000, and died.² From the Akbarnāma (II. 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa (vide No. 120) and in the pursuit of Sharaftūḏ-Din Ḥusayn (No. 17).

209. Laṭī Khān Kolābī.

He is also called Laṭī Khān Badakhshī (vide p. 484), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (Akbar n. 1, 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Humāyūn. Later, he served under Mūsīm in Bengal and Orīṣā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 407).

210. Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh Salīm.

He is the second (miyāīnī) son of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikrī. He served at Court with Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985).²

¹ The Maqāīṣ says that the author of the Miḥān-ul-Asās mentions 1060 as the year of his death; but my MS. of the Miḥān (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humāyūn to Awrangzib) mentions no year.
² Died in 975. He was blown up before Chitor : Sanāʾī, p. 201—B.]
³ Sanāʾī, p. 370.—B.}
211. Iskandar Beg-i Badakhshî.
He is mentioned in the Akbarnâma (II, 251) as having served in the pursuit of Abûl 'l-Maṣâlî (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nūrîn Khân Qūchîn.
He served under Muṣîn 'l-Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khayrābâd. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under 5Abdûn 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) and 5Ṣâdîq Khân (No. 43) against the Türkîs.
The Tabagât says he was a commander of 1,000, and was dead in 1061.

213. Jalâl Khân Qârchi.
Akbar was much attached to him. In the 7th year, he was sent to Rûm Chand Bhagela (No. 89) with the request to allow Tânsîn 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. Yûsuf Râzâwî pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwâna and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Râja Chandr Sen of Mârwâr. During the expedition a Râjpût introduced himself to him who pretended to be Devî Dâs, who had been killed at Mîrthâ, evidently with a view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kallâ, son of Rûm Rây, and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detachment of imperialists was sent to Kallâ's palace. Kallâ now wished to take revenge on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimâl Khân (No. 154) to help him. Shimâl therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.'s men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men and entered one night a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimâl. But it happened to be that of Jalâl, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, Akbarn., III, 140).

It was Jalâl who introduced the historian Badâ.înî at Court.

214. Parmânaând, the Khatri.
He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I, p. 244.

215. Timûr Khân Yakkâ.
He served under Munîrîm (No. 11) in Kâbul, and, in the 10th year, against Khân Zamân (Akbarn., II, 236, 326).
The Timûr-i Badakhshî mentioned several times in the Akbarnâma (III, 165, 174) appears to be another officer. Vide No. 142.

216. Sâni Khân, of Hirât.
He was born at Hirât, and belonged to the Arât (١١١٥١٩) clan. According to the Akbarnâma (I, 379), Mâwînâ Sâni, "who is now called Sâni
Khán" was in the service of Mirzā Hindāl; but after the Mirzā's death (21st Zī-Qaṣda, 958) he was taken on by Humāyūn. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān.

Budā,omi (III, 396) says that his real name was Āli Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbihī of Kāshān, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nuqtawī doctrines (p. 502). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jamāl, son of Sayyid Ahmad Bārha (No. 91).

Vide above, p. 447. He had also served in the final war with Khān Zamān.

218. Tagmal, the Pūwār.

He served in the second Gujrāt war after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmādābād (p. 458 note).

219. Husayn Beg, brother of Husayn Khān Buzurg.

220. Hasan Khān Bātani. The Tabaqat classes him among the commanders of 1,000. He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulaymān, and was present with Sulaymān Mankī (p. 400) and Kālī-Pahārāt at the interview between Mumīn and Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Bakṣar (Buxar). Akbar, II, 325.

Hasan was killed with Bīr Bār in the Khaybar Pass; vide p. 214. MSS. often call him wrongly Husayn instead of Hasan.

221. Sayyid Chhajhū, of Bārha.

The Tabaqāt says that S. Chhajhū was a brother of S. Māḥmūd (No. 75) and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bārha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kūndliwāl. His tomb still exists at Majherna, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

999. Munṣīf Khān, Sultan Mūhammad of Hirat.

223. Qāzī Khān Bakhshī.

Some MSS. have Budakkhār instead of Bakhshī. Vide No. 144.

224. Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān.

He was at first in Kāmrān's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyā Khān (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yūsuf Khān, whom Khān Zamān (No. 13) besieged in Qanawj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khān Šālām (No. 58) against M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, and was present in the battle of Sarnāl. In the 19th year, he went with Mumīn to Bengal and Orīsā, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 407).

1 Budā,omi is the name of an Afghān tribe, N.W. of Dera Jamānīl Khān.
2 The spelling "Chhajhū" is preferable to "Jhajhū".
225. Rāwul Bhīm, of Jaisalmir.

The *Tuzuk* says (p. 159) — "On the 9th Khurḍād (middle of 1025), Kalyān of Jaisalmir was introduced at Court by Rāja Kishṁ Dās, whom I had sent to him. Kalyān’s elder brother was Rāvul Bhīm, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhīm’s daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of *Malika-yi Jahān*. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhīm’s brother to Court, invested him with the *fikā*, and made him Rāwul."  

For Kalyān, vide under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahāngīr’s reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 163).

226. Hāshim Beg, son of Qāsim Khān (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulīj Khān (No. 42), the new governor of Kābul, Hāshim returned to Court. In the 41st year, he served under M. Rustām (No. 9) against Bāsāi and other rebellious zamindārs in the north-eastern part of the Panjāb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau. In the 44th year, he served under Fārid-i Bulhārī (No. 99) before Asir. Later, he went with Sādāt Khān to Nāsīk.  

After the conquest of Tīranbāk, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500.

In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was made a commander of 2,000, fifteen hundred horse. In the 2nd year, his mansāb was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Orūsā. In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwājāgī Muḥammad

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1. The list of Jahāngīr’s wives on p. 323 may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malika-yi Jahān, daughter of Rāvul Bhīm of Jaisalmir. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zayn Koka, mentioned on p. 369. There is a curious discrepancy between Tuzak, p. 8, and Ḥabarāzma, III, 594: Jahāngīr says that Parwīz was his son by Zayn Koka’s daughter, and Abī ‘l-Faṣīl says that Parwīz’s mother was the daughter of Khwājā Jānān, Zayn Khān’s uncle (vide also p. 367); but there is no doubt that Parwīz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Ḧijrī, 997, whilst Jahāngīr, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zayn Khān’s daughter (p. 369). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad’s text of Tuzak, p. 8, is correct, that Jahāngīr had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son. (3) Nūr-i Nisā Begum (married in Jamālāna, II, 1000), sister of Mirza Musaffar Husayn, p. 464. (4) A daughter of the King of Khandesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar’s reign. (5) Sāliha Bānum, daughter of Qāsim Khān, p. 401. (6) A daughter of Khwājā Jahān-i Kābulī (Duṭ Muḥammad). (7) A daughter of Sādāt Khān Gakkhar. Her daughter, Gūfāt Bānum, is mentioned, Ḥabarāzma, III, 561. (8) The mother of Dawlat Ṣīnī, Akbār., III, 597. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mirzā Sanjar, son of Khāz Khān Ḥazarā; Akbār., III, 607. (10) A daughter of Khān Chand Bundela (No. 248) married in 1018; Tuzak, p. 77.

2. This Sādāt Khān had first been in the service of the Dīkhām kings as commander of the Forces of Gāmna and Ṭīranbāk; but later he entered Akbar’s service.
Husayn (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orisā. His successor in Orisā was Rāja Kalyān, brother of Bhūm (No. 225).

Hāshim’s son is the renowned Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Ātīsh. He was, in the 18th year of Shahjahān’s, a commander of 1,000, five hundred and ninety horse. Dāroghā of the Topkhāna and Kotwāl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balkh, Andkhūd, received the title of Muṣtamīd Khān,1 and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse, and Ākhta Begī. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and also got the title of Qāsim Khān. He then served under Awrangzīb in Qaudahār, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4,000, two thousand five hundred horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sāntūr, which the ruler of Srinagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dārā Shikoh a commander of 5,000, five thousand sīhaspa-duaspas, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadābād (Gujrāt), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Mālwa. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Murād Bakhsh in check. When the Prince left Gujrāt, the two commanders marched against him viā Bāsāwāra; but when approaching Khāschrod, Murād suddenly retreated 18 kos, and joined, 7 kos from Ujjain, the army of Awrangzīb. The two chiefs had received no information of Awrangzīb’s march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Awrangzīb and Dārā, at Samogar,2 Qāsim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murābādād as tājūl, as Rustām Khān-i Dakhinī, the former jāgīrdār, had fallen at Samogar. Qāsim was then charged with the capture of Sulaymān Shikoh. In the 3rd year of Awrangzīb’s reign he was appointed to Mathūrā. 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 Awrangzīb’s order.

227. Mirza Farīdān, son of Muḥammad Quli Khān Bārlās (No. 31). He has been mentioned above, p. 364. His death took place at Udaipūr in 1023 (Tāzūk, p. 131).

228. Yusuf Khān [Chak], king of Kashmir.

Yūsuf’s father was 6Ali Khān Chak, king of Kashmir. He died from a hurt he received during a game at chaugān (p. 309), having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (pesh-kohā-ji zīn). On his death, Yūsuf was raised to the throne (Akbarnāma, III, 237). He first surrounded

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1 Succeeded by Kalyān, commander of 1,500, eight hundred.—B.
2 Vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1870, p. 275.
the palace of his uncle Abdāl, who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdāl was shot. A hostile party thereupon raised one Sayyid Mubārak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the **mygdān** of Srinagar, where the 5th Id prayer is said, Yūsuf 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 Mubārak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yūsuf's uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year (**Akbarn.**, III, 288) the Emperor ordered several Panjāb nobles to reinstate Yūsuf. When the Imperial army reached Panjāb, the Kashmirīs sued for mercy, and Yūsuf, 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, Ṣāliḥ Diwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Ṣayyid Yaḥyā-i Kashmirī, a trusted servant, with his son Ḥaydar to Kashmir, to remind Yūsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the Emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yūsuf sent his son Yaḥyā with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the Court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjāb; and Yaḥyā, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Ḥakīm Ḥālī (No. 192) and Bahā'īsūd-Dīn Kambū to Yūsuf 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 Shāhrūkh Mirzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The Imperial army marched over Pahlūt, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (**Akbarn.**, III, 492). Shāhrūkh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmirīs raised Awwāl Ḥusayn, and, soon after, Yaḥyā, Yūsuf's son, to the throne; but he was everywhere defeated. Information of Yūsuf's submission and the defeat of the Kashmirīs was sent to Court, and at Srinagar the **khutba** was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar's name. The cultivation of **zaccharī** (p. 89) and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the

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1. The **Akbarnāma** (III, 492) calls the pass near Bārah Mūlah, where Yūsuf surrendered, **Ma'darā**. It is evidently the same pass which the **Tārīkh** (p. 282) calls **Farkhāw**. The **Tārīkh** states that Bārah Mūlah means "place of the bear" (Ma'darā), which is one of the avatārs.  

2. Regarding the cultivation of **zaccharī** (saffron) see also **Tārīkh**, p. 45.
army returned with Yusuf Khan, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Tojar Mal was made responsible for Yusuf’s person.

As Yaqub Khan and a large party of Kashmiris continued the struggle, Qasim (No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmir to put an end to the rebellion. Yaqub was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yusuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jagir in Bihar (Akbar, III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Man Singh to Oria, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jharkand and Kokra 1 (Chutiya Nagpur) to Mednapur (Akbar, III, 641).

Yaqub Khan, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the Court had gone to Kashmir (p. 412).

Yusuf Khan is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nur Quilij, son of Altun Quilij.

Altun or altun is Turkish, and means “gold.”

Nur Quilij was a relation of Quilij Khan (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Idar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmir to Gogunda. In the fight with the zamindar of Idar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sultan Murad against Mirza Muhammad Hakim. In the 30th year, he again served under Quilij Khan, who had been made governor of Gujrat. He continued to serve there under Khankhanan (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to Court.


The Tabaqat calls him Khwaja ‘Abdull-Hay, and says that he was an Amir. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468, 471.

231. Shabul Quil Khan Nasrulji.

Abul ‘Askar al-Faqi says that Shabul Quil was a Kurd from near Baghldad. He

1 Kokra was mentioned above on p. 438. It is the old name of Chutiya Nagpur, one of the parganas of which is still called Kokra, or Khukra, as spelt on the survey maps. The Raja, Col. Dalton informs me, once resided in Kokra, at a place in lat. 23° 26’ and long. 88° 87’, nearly, where there is still an old fort. Vide also Vith Report (Madras edition, vol. 1., p. 563; old edition, p. 417).

The Raja of Kokra, who, in the 30th year, succeeded to Shabul Khan (p. 438) is called Muddu. In the 37th year, Muddu and Lakhdj Raja of Kokra, served in Yusuf Khan’s detachment, in which the contingents also of Sangram Singh Shah of Khasakpur (p. 446 and Proceedings A.S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Fursan Mal of Guibor belonged (Akbarsarnam, III, 641).

Kokra is again mentioned in the Tarak-e-Jahangir (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihar and the Dakhan. It was run over in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrahim Khan Fatu-jang, governor of Bihar, who was unsatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Raja sent him as tribute. The then Raja is called Durjan Sav. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihar.

The Tarak has (i.e.) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokra.
was an old servant of Humayun. In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he
served under Khizr Khan (p. 394, note 1) in the Panjab. He was much
attached to Bayram. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gadha, when
Mahdi Qasim Khan (No. 36) had left that province without permission
for Makkah.

The Tabqaṭ calls him a commander of 1,000.

His son, Padshah Quli, was a poet, and wrote under the name of
Jazī. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Farrukh Khan, son of Khan-i Kalan (No. 16).
He was mentioned on pp. 338 and 334. According to the Tabqaṭ,
he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Shādmān, son of Khan-i Aqzam Koka (No. 21).
Vide above, p. 346.

234. Ḥakim "Ayn-i Mulk, of Shirāz.
He is not to be confounded with Ḥakim i Mulk; vide below among
the Physicians of the Court.

He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on
his mother’s side, to the renowned logician Mulaqqiq-i Dawwānt. The
historian Badā’oni was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much.
In the 9th year, he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khan of Gujrat.
In the 17th year he brought Ittimād Khan (No. 67) and Mir Abū Turāb
to the Emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern
provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to Ḥādīl Khan
of Bijāpūr, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (Badā’oni II. 250).
He was then made Fawjdār of Sambhāl. In the 26th year, when Ḥārāb
Bahādur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified
Bareli, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial
corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year he was made
Ṣadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bahadī of the Sūba of Agra. He
was then attached to the Dakhin corps of Ḥāzī Koka (No. 21), and received
Handia as jagīr. When Ḥāzī, for some reason, cancelled his jagīr, he
went without permission to Court (35th year), but was at first refused
audience. On inquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handia on the 27th Zī Hijja, 1003 (Badā’oni II. 403).

The Mīrzā’ī Masjid, also called Padshahī Masjid, in Old Barell, Mīrzā’ī
Mahalla, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987
(21st year), when the Ḥākīm was Fawjīdār of Sambhāl.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the takhallus of Dawā’ī.

Jānīsh Bahādur was mentioned on p. 368. He was at first in the
service of Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm king of Kābul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Yūsufzāis, and saved Zayn’s life in the Khaybar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khān-i Dārā in Thathah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to Court. Later, he served in the Dakhin. He died in the 46th year (1069). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, Shuja’at Khān Shādhī Beg. He was made, in the 7th year of Shāhjahān’s reign, a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shād Khān. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Nāzr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1,500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, vide Shāh Quil Khān. Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrat Khān, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000. In the 19th year he was with Prince Murād Bahāsh in Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kābul, vice Siwā Rām, and held, in the following year, an important command under Awrangzib in the Qandahār expedition and the conquest of Bust. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand five hundred horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahār, and was made, on Shāhjahān’s arrival in Kābul, a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse, with the title of Shuja’at Khān. In the 26th year, he served under Dārā Shākōh before Qandahār, and with Rūstam Khān Bahādur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muḥammad Saṭīd.

236. Mir Tāhir-i Mūsawī.
He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the Tadbīr, Mir Tāhir is “the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Paṣawī (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery”. It would thus appear that Abū l-Faḍl makes no difference between the terms Raṣawī and Mūsawī (vide p. 414, under No. 61).

He is mentioned in the Akbarsmāna among the grandees who accompanied Munṣim to Bengal and Oṛṣā, and took part in the battle of Takaro, p. 406. After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mir Zaki, ʿAbdī Kor, Shīhāb-i Badakhshāhī, and Kūjak Yaṣāwūl, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned, but Mir Zaki alone was executed. Akbarsmāna, III, 282.

His epithet ʿAlamshāhī is not clear to me.
He must not be confounded with the more illustrious
[Mirza ‘Ali Beg-i Akbarshahi].

He was born in Badakhshan, and is said to have been a highly educated
man. When he came to India he received the title of Akbarshahi. In
the 30th year, he commanded the Ahdis on Shahrul’s expedition to
Kashmîr (p. 335).

Later, he served under Prince Murad in the Dakhin. When the
prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Sadig Khan
(No. 43) occupied Mahkar. But new disturbances broke out under the
Dakhin leaders, Azhadar Khan and ‘Ayn Khan, against whom Sadig sent
a corps under M. ‘Ali Beg. He suddenly fell on them and routed them,
carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (zanān-i akhāra).
In consequence of this defeat, Khudawand Khan and other Amirs of the
Nizamshah marched against the Imperialists with 10,000 horse, but
Sadig and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took
Fort Rāhūtara (روتار، راہ) near Dawlatābād, after a siege of one month,
occupied, in the same year, Paṭan on the Dodavari, and took Fort
Lohgād. “Both forts,” says the author of the Ma‘ṣāṣir, “have, from
want of water, become uninhabitable (mismār shuda), and are so to this
day.” Later, M. A. B. served under Abū ‘l-Fażl, and distinguished himself
in the conquest of Ahmadnagar. In the 46th year, he received a drum
and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khānkhānān, in the Dakhin.

In the beginning of Jahāngir’s reign, he was made a commander of
4,000, jāgidār of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmīr. He served in the
pursuit of Khusraw (Tuzuk, p. 30). Later, he received a tuqāl in Audh.
When Jahāngir went to Ajmir, he went to Court. One day, he paid a
visit to the tomb of Mu’ṣin ‘d-Din-i Chishti. On seeing the tomb of
Shāhbāz Khan (p. 439), 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 Raś 1, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them
well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great
patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five
(Tuzuk, p. 163).

238. Rām Dās, the Kachāwa.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (وردت), and lived at
Lāni (or Bauli, vide p. 435). Rām Dās was at first in the service of Rāy
Sāl Darbārī (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the Emperor.

* The Tuzuk (p. 11) says he belonged to the ahā-i Dākhī, a very doubtful term, as
he belonged to Badakhshan. Perhaps we have to read ahā-i dākhī (p. 422).
His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Tūdār Mal was ordered to assist Mumūn in Bihār, he was made his nāzāb in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar’s favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace at Āgra near Ḥatiyāpūl, he lived in the guard house, “always watching with his 200 Rājpūts, 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. Jahāngīr, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with ʿAbdul Ḥād Kūhān to Gūjrāt and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Rāja and a flag. Rentanhūr being assigned to him as jāgīr (Tuzuk, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of Rāja Karan. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahāngīr wished to make an example of the Amirīs who had brought disgrace on the Imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amir right royally. Looking at Rām Dās’s portrait, he said: “Now, when thou wert in Rāy Sāl’s service, thou hadst a tanka per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rājpūts think flight a disgraceful thing! Alas! thy title, Rāja Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith.” Rām Dās was immediately sent to Bangash, where, in the same year, he died (1022). When Jahāngīr heard of his death, he said, “My curse has come true; for the Hindūs 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, Nāman Dās, in the 48th year of Akbar’s reign, left the Court without permission, and went home. At the request of his father, Shāh Quli Kūhān’s men were to bring him back to Court by force. But Nāman defied them; a struggle ensued, and he was killed. Rām Dās was so grieved, that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence.

His second son, Daulāp Dās, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the Tuzuk (p. 312) a villa near a spring called Inch (wāṣ), between Bānpūr and Kākāpūr in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rām Dās. Vide also Tuzuk, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Khān Niyāzī.

Abū l-Faqī ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahāngīr he rose to a command of 2,000. Like Mirzā Rustam Ṣafawī and Abū
I-Hasan Turbat, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shāhīz Khān (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shāhīz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees per annum. Later, he served, under the Khānkhanān in the conquest of Thathah, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzā Jānī Beg (No. 47) near Lakhī, where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khānkhanān was his friend.

Under Jahāngīr, he took a leading part in the Dakhin wars, especially in the fights with Malik ʿAmbar near Kharkī, a famous battlefield (vide note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shāhjāhān.

He died in 1037. The tūrīd of his death is: "Muḥammad Khān, the saint, is dead." He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qurān, 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 (wūzū) prescribed by the law. People told many miraculous stories (khaṇavīq) of him.

During his long stay in the Dakhin, he held Āṣhī (in the Warda district) as jāgīr, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. "At present," says the author of the Maʾnāgīr, "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 a tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (mīna-nādī ki rūshīd-i āṣhī bāshad)."

2 "The Emperor Jahāngīr gave the Āṣhī, Amner, Panār, and Tāllīgāw (Bārār) paraganas in jāgīr to Muhammad Khān Niyāṣī. He restored Āṣhī, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mahall style. Muhammad Khān was succeeded by Ahmad Khān, who died in 1081. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Āṣhī. They are indeed striking monuments of art to be found in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Ahmad Khān, the power of the Niyāṣīs gradually declined; in time Āṣhī itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Maratha 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 Nawāb Wāhid Khān, one of its representatives in Āṣhī, the powers of an honorary magistrate."
3 Kāsarjā. A small octroi town in the Ārī tahāsil of the Warda district. It was founded some 250 years by Nawāb Muhammad Khān Niyāṣī of Āṣhī." Extracts from C. Grant's Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.
He was buried in Āshṭi. People often pray at his tomb.
The men of his contingent were mostly Niyāzi Afghāns. If one of them
died, he gave a month’s pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half
a month’s pay to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khān Niyāzi, was in the 20th year of Shāhjāhān’s
reign a commander of 2,500 (Pādisākhānāma, II, 386, 725).

240. Ābū ’l-Muṣaffar, son of Ashraf Khān (No. 74).
From the Akbarnāma (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 Bihār rebels (III, 373). In the 28th year he served in
Gujrat (III, 423), and Bādā,oni, II (323). Vide also under No. 74.

He is the younger brother of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) and had the title of
Mīr Barr, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th
year with Mūnṣim (No. 11) from Kābul to India. When dissensions broke
out between Ghani Khān, Mūnṣim’s son, and Ḥaydar Muhammad Khān
Ākhṭabegī (No. 66), whom Mūnṣim had left as his nāʾīb in Kābul, Ḥaydar
was called to Court, and Abū ’l-Fatḥ,1 son of Mūnṣim’s brother, was sent
there to assist Ghani. Muhammad Ḥusayn accompanied Abū ’l-Fatḥ.
He remained a long time in Kābul. After his return to India, he accom-
panied the Emperor on his march to Kashmir. His honesty and punctuality
made him a favourite with the Emperor, and he was appointed Mīr
Bakūsāl (master of the Imperial kitchen) and was also made a commander
of 1,000.

In the 5th year of Jahāngīr, he officiated for Hāschim (No. 226) as
governor of Kashmir. On Hāschim’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. ʿAbū ’l-Qāsim, brother of ʿAbū ’l-Qādir Ākhūnd.
He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 231. Bādā,oni (II, 323),
calls him a native of Tabriz, and says that his brother was Akbar’s
teacher (ākhūnd). In 991, Abū ’l-Qāsim was made Diwān of Gujrat.

243. Qamar Khān, son of Mīr ʿAbd al-Lāṭīf of Qazwin (No. 161).
He served under Mūnṣim (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the
battle of Takaro,ī (p. 406). In the 22nd year he served under Shihāb

1 Abū ’l-Fatḥ, who on p. 333, has erroneously been called ʿAbdul ʿl-Fatḥ, was the
son of Fāṣil Beg, Mūnṣim’s brother. Bādā,oni, II, 56, has Fāṣil ʿl Beg, but the Akbarnāma
and the Mā’ṣūrī have Fāṣil.
in Gujrāt (Akbarn., III, 190) and in the 24th year under Ṭoḍar Mal in Bihār. In the 25th year he took part in the battle near Sultanpur Bilhari \(^1\) (p. 400, and Akbarn., III, 305).

His son, Kawtab, fell into disgrace under Jahāngīr for some fault. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, vide Tuzuk, p. 219.

244. **Arjun Singh.**
245. **Sabal Singh.** sons of Rāja Māṅ Singh (No. 30).
246. **Sakat Singh.**

Some MSS. have Durjan\(^3\) 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 Abū 'l-Faḍl has not entered the name of Bhāo Singh, who at Akhar's death was a commander of 1,000, and was gradually promoted during Jahāngīr's reign to a mansab of 5,000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the Tuzuk.

Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Orisā. Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kābul. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghāns.


246. **Mustafa Ghilzi.**

A Sayyid Mustafa is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrāt, and was present in the battle near Maisāna, 18 kos S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fūlādi was defeated.

247. **Nagar Khān**, son of Sayīd Khān, the Gakkhar.

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 232. Vide Nos. 170, 171.

\(^1\) Or Bilahrt.—B.

\(^2\) The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma (III, 642) has also Durjan, and (by mistake) Sīl for Sabal Singh. The Suhīān Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Māṅ Singh.
The \textit{Tabaqat} calls him \textit{Nazar Bey}, son of \textit{Sa'\textacute{id} Khan}, and says that in 1001 he was a Hazarî.

Mughul historians give the following tree of the Gakkhar chiefs:

\textit{Sultan Tat\textacute{a}r}, the Gakkhar.

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. Sultan S\textacute{a}rang.
  \item 2. Sultan Adam.
  \item 3. Lashkarli.
  \item 4. Muhammad Khan.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. Kam\textacute{a}l Khan.
  \item 2. Sa\textacute{a}d Khan.
  \item 1. Nazar Khan.
  \item (No. 247).
  \item 2. Sh\textacute{a}h Muhammad.
  \item (No. 335).
  \item 1. Jal\textacute{a}l Khan (No. 170).
  \item 2. Akbar Quli Sultan.
  \item Mur\textacute{a}d Quli Sultan.
  \item Allah Quli.
\end{itemize}

Jal\textacute{a}l Khan was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Quli, who then served at Kangra, was made a commander of 1,000, and sent to Bangash (\textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 307, 308).

Jahangir, after the suppression of Khusraw's revolt, passed on his way to Kabul through the Gakkhar district (\textit{Tuzuk}, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahat (1st Muharram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtas, the cost of which he estimates to have been 161,000,000 damā, "which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindustani money, or 120,000 Persian tumans, or 1 īrb. 2,175,000 silver Hāllā of Turānī money." After a march of 4½ kos, he came to Tīla, ṭīla in the Gakkhar dialect meaning "a hill." He then came to Dili Bhakrāla, bhakrā meaning "forest". The way from Tīla to Bhakrā passes along the bed of the Kahan river, the banks of which are full of \textit{kaisir}\textsuperscript{1} flowers. He then came to Hatyā, which was built by a Gakkhar of the name of Hāthi (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakkhrs, \textit{Journal Asiatic Society Bengal}, 1871). The district from Mārgala to Hatyā is called Pothiswar; and from Rohtas to Hatyā dwell the Bhūgīyalas, a tribe related to the Gakkhrs. From Hatyā, he marched 4½ kos and reached Pakka, so called because it has a "\textit{pucca}" surāī. Four and a half kos further on, he came to Kupār, which means in the Gakkhar dialect "rugged". He then went to Rāwalpindī, which is said to have been built by a Hindū of the name Rawal, \textit{pūsi} meaning "a village", and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Rāwalpindī he went to Kharbūza, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (\textit{kharbūza}). The Gakkhrs used

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Kaisir}, probably \textit{kanser} m. "a species of oolander."—P.
formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kalapāṇi, and to the Mārgala pass, mār meaning "killing" and gala "a caravan". "Here ends the country of the Gakhars. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not."  

The Pādisāhānāma (II, 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakhkar chiefs:—

1. Akbar Qull Sultaṇ, a commander of 1,500, 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shahjahan's reign. His son Murād Qull Sultaṇ, was under Shahjahan, a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse (Pādisāhānāma, II, 410, 485, 512, 523, 565, 595, 655, 730).

2. Jabbār Qull (brother of Jalāl Khān), 1,000, 800 horse.

3. Khizr Sultaṇ (son of Nāzar Khān), 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year Shahjāhān's reign.

The Pādisāhānāma (I, p. 432) mentions these Gakhars' mules as famous.

The Ma'ūsir-i Ālamgīrī (p. 155) also mentions Murād Qull and his son Allah Qull. Allah Qull's daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, fourth son of Awrangzib, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

248. Rām Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundela].

He is also called Rām Sāh, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Šāhid Khān (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmir (1000). In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bīr Singhe Dero, Rām Chand's younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by Ābdʿu'llāh Khān, who moved his jāgīr from Kālpī to Údchā. On the 27th Zi Qa’dā, 1015, Rām Chand was brought lettered to court; but Jahāngīr had his letters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Rāja Bāsī of Dhamerī. "He never thought that he would be treated so kindly" (Turāk, p. 42). But Údchā was handed over to Bīr Singhe Dero as a reward for the murder of Abū 'l-Faṣl.

1 For the geographical details of this passage, I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Deimeerick. The Turāk has Fīla of Tīla; Bhakānī for Bhakāla, and the Persian word Kāran for Kālan (کلان), the name of the river near Bhakāla—a most extraordinary mistake; for Kānī or Gānī, a village near Manikyāla; Pasābār for Pothāwar. Mr. Deimeerick also says that the river near Hātiyā or Ḥātiyā, is called Kānī, and that near Rawalpīndī is the Lāh, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohān. Sarāt Khārbēza is also called Sarāt Mādhūh.

On the same page of Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Turāk, we have to read Khātafā and Dīlā-sāh for Khār and Dīlā-sāh. The Khattārs occupy the district called Khātar, and the Dīlā-sāhgs are found in the Chahch valley of the Indus. [Fide No. 373.—R.]

Pothāwar is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohān; but Jahāngīr extends it to the Mārgala pass from Hātiyā (30 miles from the Jhelam).

2 So according to Mr. Deimeerick.
In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahāngīr married Rām Chand’s daughter at the request of her father (vide Tuzuk, p. 77; and also No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh. Tuzuk, p. 112.

Muhammadan historians give the following tree of the Údcha Bundelas:

1. Bhārat Chand (died childless).
   2. Madhukar Singh (died 1000).

1. Rām Chand (died 1021).
   2. Hodaī Rāo (killed, p. 382).
   3. Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū ’l-Faḍl (died 1030).

A son:
   Bhārat.
   2. Pahār Singh.
   3. Chandr Man.
   5. Bhagwān Dās.

Debi Singh.
   Bikramājit.
   Subhān Singh.
   Prithi Singh.
   Sīwall Singh.

The Maṭāśir contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. Vide also Thornton’s Gazetteer, under Oorcha.

Benī Dās and Bhagwān Dās were killed by a Rājpūt in the 13th year of Shāhjahān’s reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1,000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1,500, 800 horse.

Vide Pādīshāhānāma, I, 172 (where another Bundela of the name of Sūkh Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 388, 372, 425; II, 731, 734.

The Maṭāśir-i Ālamgīrī mentions several Bundelas, as Satr Sāl, Jāswant Singh, Indarman (died 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (l.c., pp. 161, 163, 169, 373, 424). Vide also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū ’l-Faḍl is often called in bad MSS. Nar Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the Tuzuk, the 1st volume of Pādīshāhānāma, the Ālamgīrnāma, etc., and in Elphinstone’s History. The temples which he built in Mathurā at a cost of 33 lacs of rupees, were destroyed by Awrangzib in 1080. (Maṭāśir-i Ālamgīrī, p. 95.)

1 The Dutch traveller De Lait has an interesting passage regarding Abū ’l-Faḍl’s death (De Imperio Mogul, Leyden, 1631, p. 260). He calls Bir Singh Hadīa Ratt Singh Bundela.
249. Rāja Mukatman, the Bhadauriya.

Bhadāwar is the name of a district S.E. of Āgra; its chief town is Hatkānth (vide p. 341, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadauryas. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted.

The next chief, Mukatman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a mansāb of 1,000. In 992, he served in Gujrat (Akhbarnāma, III, 423, 438).

Under Jahāngīr, we find a chief of the name of Rāja Bikramājī, who served under Šāh Ahmad against the Rānā, and later in the Dakhn. He died in the 11th year of Jahāngīr and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk (p. 108) mentions a Bhadaurya chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash; but the name is doubtful.

Under Shāhjahān, the head of the Bhadauriya clan was Rāja Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahābat Khān against Jhujhār Singh, and in the 3rd year against Khān Jāhān Lodi and the Nizām ʿI-Mulk, who had afforded Khān Jāhān protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Daulatabād. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khān Zamān against Sāhū Bhōnsa. He died in the 17th year (1053).

In the Pādiskhāhānāma (I, b., 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1,000, 600 horse.

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh, grandson of Kishn's uncle. He was made a Rāja and a commander of 1,000. In the 21st year, at a darbār, a mast elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with its 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. Shāhjahān rewarded the bravery of the Rāja with a khānīkat, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lacs which was the assessment of the Bhadawar district. In the 22nd year he was made a commander of 1,500. In the 25th year he served under Awrangzīb, and in the 26th under Dārā Shikoh, before Qandahār, where in the following year he died.

His son Mahā Singh was then made a Rāja and received a mansāb of 1,000, 800 horse. He served in the 28th year in Kābul. After Dārā's defeat he paid his respects to Awrangzīb, in whose reign he served against

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1 So Pādiskhāhānāma, II, 732. The Maqāir calls him Bad Singh or Bad Singh.
the Bundela rebels. In the 10th year he served under Kāmil Kān against the Yūsufzā'īs. He died in the 28th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (vide Ma'ātur-i ʿAlamgīrī, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bihl. Ind. edition has wrongly Rūdār Singh for Odat S.), He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dakhin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chitor (i.e., p. 196).

250. Rāja Rām Chandr, zamindār of Orīsā.

Regarding him, vide Stirling's report of Orīsā, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. His name occurs often in the narrative of Mān Singh's conquest of Orīsā (37th year of Akbar's reign).

The province of Khurdā (South Orīsā) was conquered and annexed to the Dūlī empire by Mukarram Kān (vide No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign (Tuzuk, p. 215).

251. Sayyid Abū ʿl-Qāsim, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ʿAdl (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (988) in Bihār, and in the battle of Sultān-pūr Bīlharī; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzā'īs.

The Ṭārīkh Ma'ṣūmī (Dowson, Elliot's Historians, I, p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mir ʿAdl, viz. his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazān, 983, and his death there, 8th Shavbān, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abū ʿl-Faẓl, who is not mentioned in the ʿĀṣīn. On the 9th Zī 1-hijjah, 985 (Feb., 1578), Ḥātimād (No. 119) arrived at Bhakkar.

252. Daipat, son of Rāy Rāy Singh.

He has been mentioned above, p. 386.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.

253. Shaykh Fayzī, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abū ʿl-Fayzī. Fayzī is his tākhullūs. Towards the end of his life in imitation of the form of the tākhullūs of his brother ʿAlīṣā'ī, he assumed the name of Fayyāzī.

Fayzī was the eldest son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor. Shaykh Mubārak (vide pp. 178, 195, 207, 219) 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 Nāgor. 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 Gujrāt and studied under
Khāṭīb Abū 'l-Faḍl of Kāzarūn and Mawlānā ʿImād of Lāristān. In 950, Mubārak settled at Āgra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shāh, he was a Mahdawī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign; he then became a Naṣḥībandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shi‘ism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Fayzī and Abū 'l-Faḍl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shows that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaykh Mubārak wrote a commentary to the Qurān, in four volumes, entitled Manũbaʾ ʿl-ʿuyūn, and another work of the title of Jāmīʾ ʿl-kalām. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Zī Qaʿda, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The tārikh of his death will be found in the words Shaykh-i kāmil.

Shaykh Fayzī was born at Āgra in 954. His acquisitions 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 Shaykh Abū ʿn-Nabī, the ʿṢadr (p. 282), and applied for a grant of 100 bighas; 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 Fayzī’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. Fayzī’s bigoted enemies in Āgra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge and warned the governor of the town not to let Fayzī escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak’s house; but accidentally Fayzī was absent from home. Mubārak was ill-treated, and when Fayzī at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most favourably, and Fayzī in a short time became the emperor's constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaykh Abū ʿn-Nabī.

In the 30th year he planned a khamsa, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsa of Nizāmī. The first, Markīz ʿl-adwār, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a javāb (imitation) of Nizāmī’s Makhzan ʿl-arūr; the Sulaymān o Bilqīs and the Nal Daman were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be javābs of the Khusrav ʿShirīn and Layla ʿMajnūn respectively; and the Haft Kishwar and the Akbarānā, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the Haft Paykar and the Sikandarānā. In the 33rd year he was made Malik ʿSh-Shuʿrā,

1 Badā, ori (III, 74) calls it Manũbaʾ ʿnafāʾ is ʿl-ʿuyūn.
or Poet Laureate (Abbar., III, 559). Though he had composed portions of the Khamsa, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the Nat 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 Safar, 1004 (40th year). The tarikh of his death is Faiziz-i A'lam. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the Sawai"a 'I-Ihām, and the Mawārid 'I-Kalām, regarding which vide below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4,300 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 Badā'ī, on which had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 112, 113, 192, 194, 207, 216, 218; and Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakim Miṣrī.

According to Badā'ī, on which (III, 165) Ḥakim Miṣrī was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwaja Shama'ī d-Dīn Khawāfi (No. 159). He died in Burhānpur and was buried there.

Miṣrī is mentioned in the Abbarān, III, p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abū 'l-Faḍl's date with Badā'ī, on which's statement; for Badā'ī, on which died in 1004 (Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, p. 143). But both Abū 'l-Faḍl and Badā'ī speak of the Ḥakim as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Ḥirū, son of Mirzā Khan Khānān (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was made Ṣahādār of Barār and Ahmednagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik ʿAmbar, especially as Kharki.1

1 Lachmi Narī, in Shafiī, the author of the Ḥagiopī Hindustān, says that it was called Kharki from the Dakhin word ㅎ, which means "stony", "a stony place". It lies 5 km S.E. of Dwatathād (the old Dharāgarh and De, qiri of ʿAlīwān, d-Dīn Khīlī). Kharki under Jahāngīr was called Pathābād. In 1024 a canal was dug from Kharki to Dwatathād. Its name was Chanakwārī, and the tarikh of its completion is Ḥāyer-i jārī (pr. a running benefit). Later Awrangzīb changed the name of Kharki to Awrangkhād, under which name it is now known. Kharki was the seat of Malik ʿAmbar.
for which victories he was made a commander of 5,000. In the 12th year he served under Prince Šāhjahān in the Dakhin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy, and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramażān, 1026) to Prince Šāhjahān. The offsprings of this marriage, Prince Jahān-afroz, was born at Āgra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhānpūr, at the age of 1 year 9 months (Padishāhnāma).

According to Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Ŭrij’s tomb is at Burhānpūr. “The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure.” The statement of the Gazetteer that Ŭrij, towards the end of his life, “lived as a recluse” at Burhānpūr, 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 mansab of 400, which Ābhū ‘l-Fażl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).

Vide above, under No. 244.

257. ʿAbdullāh [Sarfarāz Khān] son of Khān-i Aqzam Mirzā Koka (No. 21).

Vide p. 316.

It was stated (p. 316) on the authority of the Maṣṣūr that he received the title of Sarzār Khān, which had become vacant by the death of Takhta Beg (No. 195). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of Sarfarāz Khān. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Maṣṣūr; for the title of Sarzār Khān was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwāja Yādgār, brother of ʿAbdullāh Khān Fīrūz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116) when ʿAbdullāh Khān Sarfarāz Khān was still alive.

The Maṣṣūr also says that ʿAbdullāh Ilāh accompanied his father to Gwālīyār (p. 317), but the Tuzuk (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rantambhur, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

358. ʿAli Muhammad Aasp.

Badāoni says (II, p. 57) that “ʿAli Muhammad Aasp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jūjak Begum, killed Ābhū ‘l-Faţḥ Beg (p. 333).” In the 9th year he was in the service of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim, king of Kābul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989) he served under Prince Murād against his former

[¹ Cherkuk, Turk.—B.]
master (\textit{Akbarnama}, III, 345); in the 30th year (993) he served in Kabul (III, 437, 490). In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under \textit{Abdul-Matlab} (No. 83) against the Torkils (III, p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the \textit{Akbarnama} he is wrongly called \textit{Ali Muhammad Alif}.

259. \textbf{Mirza Muhammad}.

A. Mirza Muhammad was mentioned on p. 399.

260. \textbf{Shaykh Bayazid [Mu'azzam Khan]}, grandson of Shaykh Salim of Fatehpur Sikri.

Bayazid's mother nursed Prince Salim (Jahangir) on the day he was born (\textit{Tuzuk}, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar's reign B. was a commander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000. After Jahangir's accession he received a manṣab of 3,000 and the title of Mu'azzam Khan. Soon after he was made Şâbahdâr of Dihli (\textit{l.c.}, p. 37), and in the 3rd year a commander of 4,000, 2,000 horse. On his death he was buried at Fatehpur Sikri (\textit{l.c.}, p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khan was son-in-law to Islam Khan Shaykh \textit{Ala-ud-Din} (another grandson of Shaykh Salim), under whom he served in Bengal. He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kuchi Haji, and brought the zamindar Parichhit before the governor. At the death of his father-in-law, Mu'tashim Khan Shaykh Qasim, brother of Islam Khan, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khan continued for one year in his office as governor of Kuchi Haji; but as he could not agree with Qasim he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Orissa, and conquered the province of Khurda (\textit{l.c.}, pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse. He seems to have remained in Orissa till the 11th year (1029) when Hasan \textit{Ali Turkmân} was sent there as governor (\textit{Tuzuk}, p. 308). In the 16th year M. Kh. came to court and was made Şâbahdâr of Dihli and Fawjdâr of Mewât (\textit{l.c.}, p. 352).

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1 Islam Khan was married to a sister of Abi 'l-Fazl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islam Khan died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022 (\textit{Tuzuk}, p. 126).

2 The \textit{Padshahkhana} (II, 64) where Mukarram Khan's expedition is related, distinguishes between Kuchi Haji and Kuchi Bilhar. The former was in the beginning of Jahangir's reign under Parichhit, the latter under Lachin Narain. Haji is the name of a famous leader of the Kuchi people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachuras and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise jura repiao in Kuchi Bilhar Proper. Materials for a history of Kuchi Bilhar will be found in the \textit{Abadadina} (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 206, annals of the 41st year); in the \textit{Tuzuk-i Jahangiri} (pp. 147, 229, 221, 223); in the \textit{Padshahkhana}, I, 496; II, 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the \textit{Fakih-i Akham} ; vide also \textit{Journal Asiatic Society Bengal}, vol. vii.; Stewart's \textit{History of Bengal}, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.
In the 21st year he was sent to Bengal as governor, vice Khânazâd Khân. 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. Ghaznîn Khân, of Jâlîr.

Ghaznîn Khân was in the 40th year of Akbar’s reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the Pâdischâhânâma (I, 167) as having served during the reign of Jahângîr against the Râhân.

Bird, in his History of Gujrat (pp. 124, 405), calls him Ghaznavî Khân and Ghaznî Khân, and says he was the son of Malik Khânî Jâlîrî. Ghaznîn Khân seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sulţân Muqaffar. The Khânshâhânîn, on the 9th Muharram, 998, sent a detachment against Jâlîr; but perceiving that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznîn went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pahâr was executed by Jahângîr. "When I came to Dih Qâziyân, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahâr. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jâlîr, 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." (Safar, 1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznîn Khân is Niqâm who died in the 6th year of Shâhjâhân’s reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (Pâdischâhân, I, b., 313).

Ghâzmûn’s brother Firûz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (Pâdischâhân, I, b., 319).

The Pâdischâhâmâna (II, 739) mentions also a Mujahid of Jâlîr, who in the 20th year of Shâhjâhân’s reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.


The first volume of the Akhbarâmâna (p. 411) mentions a Kijak Khwâja among the grandees who accompanied Humâyûn to India. The third

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1 Wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pâdischâhâmâna (I, 167), Ghaznall Khân. Ghaznîn’s Jâpîr, before Akbar’s conquest of Gujrat, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nâgor and Mîrtha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abû ‘l-Faḍîl, in his description of Sâla jîrî, 11th book, mentions 24 lacs of rupees, with 2,000 horse, as the jamiî of Jâlîr and Sânachor (S.W. of Jâlîr).
volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kījak Khwāja, who in 993 served against Qutbū Lohānī in Bengal. Vide No. 109.

263. Sher Khān Mughul.

264. Fath Ilāh, son of Muḥammad Wafā.

He appears to be the Fath Ilāh mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 825) as the sharbatdār of the emperor. Akbar made him an Amīr. For some fault he was sent to the Dakhin; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered and went on sick leave to Māndī, where he died (1608).

265. Rāy Manohar, son of Rāja Lōkaran.

Rāja Lōkaran belonged to the Shaykhāwat branch of the Kachhwāhs. He served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, against the Rānā, and went in the same year with Rāja Bīr Bār to Dongarpūr, the zamindār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar’s harem. In the 24th year he served under Todār Mal 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 he was appointed with Rāy Durgā Lāl (No. 103) to pursue Muzaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 516), who was caught by Khwāja Waisī.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr’s reign he served under Prince Parwīz against the Rānā, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1,500, 600 horse (Tuzuk; p. 64). He served long in the Dakhin and died in the 11th year.

His son Pṛthī Chānd received after the death of his father the title of Rāy, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (l.c., p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mīrzā Manohar; vide my article, “A Chapter from Muḥammadan History,” Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

266. Khwāja 'Abd ʿṢamad, Shīrīn-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwāja 'Abd ʿṢamad was a Shīrāzī. His father Khwāja Nizām u-

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1 The word donger, which occurs in the names of places from Surat to Mālwa and Central India, is a Gond word meaning a forest. There are many Dongarpūras, Dongarpāwas, Dongariḷḷa, Dongara, etc. Similarly, the word bīr in Mundārī signifies a jungle, whence Birbhām (Western Bengal). Thus also Jhārkand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutya Nāgpūr. The above-mentioned Dongarpūr lies on the N.W. frontier of Gujrat (Akhbār, III, 169, 170, 477).

2 The maps give a Manoharpūr north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20'.
I-Mulk was Vazir to Shāh Shujāʿ of Shīrāz. Before Humāyūn left Irān he went to Tābrīz, where ʿAbd al-ʿṢamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. Humāyūn invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kābul.

Under Akbar I-A. was a commander of 400; but low as his mansāb was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year, he was in charge of the mint at Fathpūr Sikrī (Abkārnāma, III, 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several ṣūbas, he was appointed Diwān of Multān.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the Sūrat "I-ikhlāṣ (Qurʾān, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (dānah-y khaskhāsh). Vide p. 114.

For his son, vide No. 351.

267. Sīlhdā, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).


Vide p. 422.

[Rām Chand Chauhān.] The Maʿāṣir says that he was the son of Bādal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year he served under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Gujrat, and in the 26th year under Sultān Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul. In the 28th year he was under M. Shāhrukh in the Dakhin. In the fight, in which Rāja ʿAlī 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, 1605).

269. Bahādur Khān Qūrdār.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrat (Abkārnāma, III, 25), in the 26th in Kābul (l.c., 333) and in the siege of ʿĀṣir (1608).

The Pādeishāhnāma (I, b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abābakr and ʿUsmān, sons of Bahādur Khān Qūrbegi, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shāhjahān.

270. Bānkā, the Kachhwāhā.

He served in the 26th year in Kābul (Abkārn., III, 333). His son Harīlī Rām was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.

271. Mirzā Abū Saʿīd | sons of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā.

272. Mirzā Sanjar
They were mentioned above on p. 328. Mirzā Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mirzā Sankar mentioned on p. 533, note 1.

273. ʻAli Mardān Bahādur.

The Tabaqūt mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Quility Khān (No. 42) at Idar, who was to go to Gujrat to see the ships off which under Sulṭān Khwāja (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind, and in the 41st year in the Dakhin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingāna corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pāthri to assist Sher Khwāja (No. 176) when he heard that Bahādur Khān Gīlānī, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingāna, 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 Abū ʻl-Faḍl made peace, and ʻAli Mardān was set at liberty. In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mirzā Irij (No. 255) against Malik ʻAmbar.

In the 7th year of Jahāngīr’s reign he was attached to the corps commanded by ʻAbd al-ʻlāh Khān Frīrz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrat army over Nāsik into the Dakhin, in order to cooperate with the second army corps under Khān Jahān Lodī. ʻAbd al-ʻlāh 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, ʻA. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik ʻAmbar, 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 Karam ʻlāh served under Jahāngīr (Tuzuk, p. 269) and was under Shāhjahān a commander of 1,000, 1,000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Oḍgūr, and died in the 21st year of Shāhj’s reign.

274. Razā Quli, son of Khān Jahān. (No. 24).

Vide above, p. 351.


His father was a Shaykhzāda of Bada, and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salīm. Khūbū was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr. When the prince was at Bāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Qutb al-ʻd-Dīn Khān, and made him Şūbadār of Bihār.

1 Vide Dowson, Elliot’s Historians, 1, p. 248.
2 Jahāngīr says that Khūbū’s mother was dearer to him than his own mother.
On his accession he made him Şübadar of Bengal, vice Mān Singh (9th Jumāda I, 1015; Tuṣuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Aftan ʿAli Quɭī Iṣṭaɭālī (mīrz No. 394) was tuwālīdār of Bàrdwān, and as his wife Mīrān ʿn-Nīsā [Nūr Jāhān] was coveted by the emperor, Quṭb was ordered to send Sher Aftan to court, who however, refused to go. Quṭb, therefore, went to Bàrdwān, sending Ghiyāsā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Aftan that no harm would be done to him. When Quṭb arrived, Sher Aftan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Aftan. "What is all this!" exclaimed Sher. Quṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Quṭb’s signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Quṭb and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Quṭb was a stout man, and seizing the protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Amba Khān, a Kashmirī noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Aftan, and gave him a sword cut over the head; but he fell at the same time, pierced through by Sher’s sword (p. 529, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Quṭb’s ʿd-Dīn was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Aftan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyāsā to bring his effects and his family to Bàrdwān. He then was removed in a pālāt. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpūr Sākir and buried.

In 1013 he built the Jāmī mosque of Bādā,on.

His son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of Kishwar Kḥān. He was for some time governor of Rohtās, and served in the beginning of 1021 against Uǧmān.

Ihādiya, son of Kishwar Kḥān, is mentioned in the Pādishāhānāma (I. b., 100. 177. 307; II. 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Ziyāʾ ʿMulk, of Kāshān.

The Akbarnāma (III. 490, 629) and the Tuṣuk (p. 11) mention a Ziyāʾ ʿd-Dīn.

The Hakīm Ziyāʾ ʿd-Dīn of Kāshān, who under Shāhjahān held the title of Rāḥmat Kḥān, can scarcely be the same.

277. Ḥamsa Beg Ghatrāghali.

He may be the brother of No. 203. The Akbarnāma (III. 255) mentions also a Ḥusayn Beg Ghatrāghali.

278. Mukhtar Beg, son of Ṭāk Mullah.

Mukhtar Beg served under Aǧam Kḥān Koka (No. 21) in Bihār,
Gadhā-Rājaśin (Abbnarn VI, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultan Murād in Mālwa.

Nasir-ud-lāh, son of Mukhtār Beg, was under Shāhjāhān a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fath-ud-lāh, son of Nasir-ud-lāh, was under Shāhjāhān a commander of 500, 50 horse (Pādshāhn I, I, b, 318; II, 752).

Abū ‘l-Faḍl calls Mukhtār Beg the son of Āghā Mulla. This would seem to be the Āghā Mullā Dāwātār, mentioned on p. 398. If so, Mukhtār Beg would be the brother of Ghīyāḥ-ud-Dīn ʿAlī (No. 126). The Āghā Mullā mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Bādi-ʿalā ‘z-Zamān, who under Shāhjāhān was a commander of 500, 100 horse (Pād, 1, b, 327; II, 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. Haydar-ʿAlī ʿArab.

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghānistān (Abbnarn VI, 540, 548).

280. Peshraw Khān [Mihtar Saʿādat].

Mihtar Saʿādat had been brought up in Tabrīz, and was in the service of Shāh Tahmasp, who gave him as a present to Humāyūn. After Humāyūn's death he was promoted and got the title of Peshraw Khān. In the 19th year Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihār, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gaipatī, the great zamīndār (p. 437, note 2). When Jagdulsprāt, the stronghold of the Rāja, was conquered, Gaipatī ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshraw. 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 Rāja, 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 restless, and the man who was in charge of P. 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 kalāwa (p. 135) 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 Gaipatī (Abbnarn VI, 163). In the 25th year he served in Bengal (I.e. p. 289). Later he

Gajpati's brother, Bairl Sāl, had been killed (Abbnarn VI, 162).
was sent to Niẓām al-Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahādur Khān, son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khāndesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Āsīr. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Māliqādī.

Jahāngīr made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the Fareškh-khānā (Quartermaster).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahāngīr 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 lacas of rupees. His son Ryāyat is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the Fareškh-khānā.

281. Qāẓī Ḥasan Qazwīni.

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrat (Akbārn., III, 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qāẓī Ḥusayn), and later in the siege of Āsīr (l.c., III, 825).


He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 380.

Juwaynī is the Arabic form of the Persian Gūjān, the name of a small town1 in Khurāsān, on the road between Bistām and Nishāpūr. It lies, according to the Maʿāṣir in the district of Bayḥaq, of which Sabzvār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets.

Mir Murād belongs to the Sayyids of Juwaynī. As he had been long in the Dakhin, he was also called Dakhīnī. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshī of Lāhor. He had two sons, Qāsim Khān and Ḥāshim Khān.

Qāsim Khān was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islām Khān, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the sūba. Later, he married Manīja Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāngīr. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāngīr asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor it broke. Looking at Qāsim, J. said (metre Ramal) :

كِلَامِهُ نَازَكُ بِذِرَآمِ آخَآرُ نَوَانَتُهُ كَرِ
The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—
when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied:

ٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍ؟

It saw my love-grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Şabadsar of Agra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dakhin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Būgh-i Dahra (Agra), which in honour of Jahāngīr had been called Nūr Manzil, and was soon after made a commander of 5,000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, vide Fida'i Khān.

As Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Shāibān, 1041, or February, A.D. 1632 (Pādeškāna, I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ināyatūl Ilāh and Allah Yār Khān to Hūgli. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power were liberated. One thousand Musulmans died as martyrs for their religion.1

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (i.e., p. 444). The Jāmī's Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Agra was built by him.

283. Šīr Qāsim Badakhshī.

He served in the Dakhin (Akbarnā, III, 830).


Maydāni is the name of an Afghān clan; vide No. 317. Banda 'Alī served in the 9th year with Muhammad Ḥakīm of Kābul, who was attacked by Mirzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān (No. 5) and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years he served in Kābul (Akbarnā, II, 299; III, 477, 540).

The Akbarīnāma (II, 209) also mentions a Banda 'Alī Qurbegī.


He was mentioned above on pp. 336, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mirzā 'Azīz Koka (No. 21). Akbarnā, III, 473.

1 The siege of Hūgli commenced on the 2nd Zī Hiljah, 1041, or 11th June, 1632, and the town was taken on the 14th Rahīb I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Halālpūr, mentioned in the Pādeškāna, as having for some time been the headquarters of the Mogul army, is called on our maps Hukālpūr, and lies N.W. of Hūgli.

The Portuguese church of Bandel (a corruption of bandar) bears the year 1599 on its keystone.
286. Zāhid
288. Yār [Muḥammad]

They have been mentioned above on p. 384. Zāhid, in the end of 1025, served against Dalpat (No. 252).

Regarding Zāhid, vide also a passage from the Tūrkh-i Maṣʿūmī, translated Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I, 246.

289. ʿIzzatā Ilāh Ghujdwānī.

Ghujduwan is a small town in Būkhārā.

The Akbārnāma (III, 548) mentions a Qāẓī ʿIzzatā Ilāh, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afgānīstān.

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. Āltān Qulīj.
291. Jān Qulīj.

Two MSS. have Āltān 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.

Āltān Qulīj is mentioned in the Akbārnāma (III, 554) as having served in Baghāna with Bhrājī, the Rāja who was hard pressed in Fort Molher by his relations. Bhrājī died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

293. Chīn Qulīj

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish qulīj, a sword. Sayfā Ilāh was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Šādiq Khān (No. 43) in Afgānīstān.

Regarding Mīrzā Chīn Qulīj, the Maṣʿūr 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 Pawjdār of Jaunpūr and Bānāras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mīrzā Lāhauf, 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 Jahāngīr 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 Mullâ Muhammad of Thatahâh, a teacher in the employ of Āsafjâh (or Āsaf Khân IV; vide p. 398), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muṣṭâfa was let off, went to Makkah and died.

Mîrzâ Lâhaurî was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (waṣâya). He had a house in Āgra, near the Jama, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The Maʿṣîr 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 Nakîr, 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 Lâhor, he disturbed a Hindî 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 Sâbadar of Lâhor.

The other sons of Qulî Khân, as Qulî Quîlî, Chîn, Qulîj, Bâljû Q., Bayrâm Q., and Jân Q., held mostly respectable mansâbs.

The Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî relates the story differently. Both M. Chîn Qulîj and M. Lâhaurî are described as wicked men. Chîn Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Safar, 1023; Tuzuk, p. 127) and received Jaumpur as jagîr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lâhaurî, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Ahadi to Jaumpur to bring him to court, when Chîn Qulîj fled with him to several zamîndârs. The men of Janângîr Qulî Khân, governor of Bihâr, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chîn died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahângîr Qulî Khân, who sent it with his family and property to Lâhâbâd. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamîndârs (1024; Tuzuk, p. 148).

294. Abû l-Fattâh Atâlíq.

295. Sayyid Bâyazîd of Bârha.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat (Akbârî, III, 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahângîr's reign (1031) he received the title of Muṣṭâfa Khân (Tuzuk, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Shâhjahân's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, 700 horse (Pâd., I, 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the Pâdishâhnâma.
296. Balbhadr, the Ráthor.

297. Abū 'l-Ma‘áli, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir ʿAdl (No. 140).

298. Bāqir Anşári.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year he served under Mán Singh in the expedition to Orísa (Akbarn., III, 267, 641).

299. Bāyazíd Beg Turkmán.

He was at first in Mumáim's service (Akbarn., II, 238, 253). The Pādishāhānāna (1, b., 328) mentions Māhmúd Beg, son of Bāyazíd Beg. Vide No. 335.

300. Sháykh Dáwlat Bakhtyáir.

301. Husayn, the Pakhtiwáli.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qārālúqs under Timúr (vide p. 504) is given in the Tuzuk (p. 290). Jahángír adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief. At present they are common Panjábis (Láhauri-yi mahaq) and speak Panjábi. This is also the case with Dhan turf" (vide No. 392).

Sultán Husayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sultán Māhmúd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above on p. 504. When Jahángír in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Husayn was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahángír promoted him to a mánṣab of 600, 350 horse.

Husayn died in the 18th year (end of 1032; Tuzuk, p. 367). His command and the district of Pakhtí were given to his son Shádmán.

Shádmán served under Dárá Shikoh in Qandahár (beginning of 1052) and was in the 20th year of Sháhjáhán's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse. Pādishāhānāna, II, 293, 733.

The Tuzuk (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhtí, and has a remark on the thick strong beer which the inhabitants made from bread and rice.

302. Kesú Dás, son of Jai Mal.

Vide No. 408. One MS. has Jau Mal, instead of Jai Mal. The Pādishāhānāna (1, b., 310) mentions a Rája Girdhar, son of Kesú Dás, grandson of Jat Mal of Mirítha. The Tuzuk frequently mentions a Kesú Dás Márú (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mírza Khán of Nishápúr. One MS. has Ján for Khán.

304. Muqaffár, brother of Khán ʿĀlam (No. 58);
My text edition has wrongly Khán-i Aṣ̄am for Khán ʿĀlam.
305. Tulai Dās Jādou.
He served in 992 against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujrāt (Akbar, III, 422). The Akbarnāma (III, 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jādō Rāja Gopāl. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the Tabaqāt as a commander of 2,000.

306. Rahmat Khān, son of Masnad-i ʿĀli.
Masnad-i ʿĀli is an Afghān title, as Majlis-i Majlis, Majlis-i Ikhšiyār, etc. It was the title of Fattū Khān, or Fath Khān, a courtier of Islam Shāh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Ḥusayn Quli Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (Badāʾūnī, II, 161). The Tabaqāt makes him a commander of 2,000. He seems to be the same Fath Khān whom Sulaymān Kārarāyī put in charge of Rehtās in Bilār (Bad., II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Aūd (Akbar, III, 599).
A Rahmat Khān served in the 45th year in the Dakhin. Rahmat Khān's brother, Shāh Muhammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qāsim Koka.
He served in 993 against the Yāṣufsīs, and in 996 under Şādiq Khān, against the Tārikhs (Akbar, III, 490, 552).
The Tāzuk (p. 159) mentions a Yār Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308. Bahādur Gohlot.

309. Dawlat Khān Lodi.
He was a Lodi Afghān of the Shāhū-khayl clan, and was at first in the service of ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). When ʿAbdūr-Raḥīm (No. 29) married the daughter of ʿAziz, Dawlat Khān was transferred to ʿAbdūr-Raḥīm's service, and ʿAziz, in sending him to his son-in-law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (Khān Khānān)." Dawlat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrāt (p. 355, l. 24, where for Dost Khān, as given in the Maʾāṣir, we have to read Dawlat Khān), in Thatha and the Dakhin. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1,000. Sulṭān Dānyāl won him over, and made him a commander of 2,000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Shaʿbān, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (Akbar, 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."

Dawlat Khān's eldest son, whom the Maʾāṣir calls Maḥmūd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolis near Pāl, and perished.
Dawlat's second son is the renowned Pir Khan, 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 Ma'āṣir 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 Sultān Dānyāl, who treated him like a friend, and called him "son". On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahāngir's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Shāhān Khān (Tuzuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a mānsab of 5,000, and received the title of Khān Jahān, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khān Khānān. Although Jahāngir treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khān Jahān never got his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwīz, Rājā Mān Singh and Sharīf Khān (No. 331) were sent to the Dakhin to reinforce the Khān Khānān and matters took an unfavourable turn, Khān Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12,000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahāngir 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 Burhānpūr, Kh. J. moved to Bālaghat, where the imperial army was. At Mulkāpur, a great fight took place with Malik ṢAmbar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinis, lost heavily. The Khān Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bālaghat. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dakhin corps, and ṢAbd ul-lāh Khān the Gujrat army, upon Daulatābād (under No. 273). Malik ṢAmbar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khān Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and ṢAbd ul-lāh, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died off, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhānpūr.

Kh. J. accused the Khān Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bijāpur in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power. This Jahāngir agreed to, and the Khān-i Aṣgam (No. 21) and Khān ṢĀlam (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 Khán-i Aśgám and Kh. J. received Thálner as jägír, and was ordered to remain at Ilíchpúr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in so friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahár, Kh. J. was made governor of Multán. Two years later, in the 17th year, Sháh ʻAbbás took Qandahár after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Sháh ʻAbbás, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurrám was appointed to reconquer Qandahár, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multán to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Afgáns tribes from near Qandahár came to him in Multán, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankás, and each foot soldier two tankás per diem to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Isláhán, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahángír would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Afgáns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Sháhjáhán rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahár was not undertaken. The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khán Súr, 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 Ágra, and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khán-i Aśgám, he was made governor of Gujrát, and when Mahábat Khán was sent to Bengal, he was appointed atáliq to Prince Parvíz, whom he joined at Burhánpúr.

In 1635, the 21st year, Parvíz died, and the Dákhín was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khán, son of Malik ʻAmbar, to Bálághát. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Hamíd Khán Habáşi, the minister of the Nizám Sháh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of húns though the revenue was 55 krorás of dámís (Pádisháhí, I, 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdárs and Thánahdárs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizám Sháh and repair to Burhánpúr. Only Sipahdár Khán, who stood in Ahmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the emperor.

Soon after, Mahábat Khán joined Sháhjáhán at Junír, and was honoured with the title of Sipahsáláár. On the death of Jahángír, which
took place immediately afterwards, Shāhjuhān sent Jân Niṣār Khān to Kh. J., to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Šūbadār of the Dakhīn; but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Jân Niṣār without answer. He intended to rebel. It is said that he was misled by Daryā Khān Rohīla and Fāzīl Khān, the Diwān of the Dakhīn; Dāwar Bakhs, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryār had proclaimed himself in Lāhor, whilst Shāhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsālār on Mahābat Khān, 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.

Shāhj. sent Mahābat to Māndū, where Kh. J.'s family was. Kh. J. renewed friendly relations with the Niẓām Shāh, and leaving Sikandar Dūtānī in Burhānpūr, he moved with several Amīrs to Māndū, and deposed the governor Muẓaffar Khān Maṣmūrī. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amīrs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Shāhj.; the proclamation of Dāwar Bakhs proved to be a scheme made by Aṣaf Khān in favour of Shāhj., and Kh. J. sent a vakil to court and presented, after Shāhj.'s accession, a most valuable present. The emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Mālwa.

In the second year, after punishing Jhūjhār Singh, Kh. J. came to court and was treated by the emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Shāhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Agra, and several parganas of his jagirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbār, Mirzā Lashkari, son of Mukhlīs Khān, 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 Islam Khān to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an amīn-nāma, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Shāhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Aṣaf Khān 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 Šafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Agra. When passing the Hātyāpūl Darwāza, he humbly threw the reins of his horse over

1 The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Awrangzīb in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. Muṣāṣīr-i ʿĀlamgīrī, p. 77.
his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honour; to rebel is not my intention." On the morning before his flight, Āṣaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Shāhīj 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 Dakhin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjāb. He entered Mālwah, pursued by Ābdāʻ l-lāh Khān and Muzaffar Khān Bārha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājāh. But Jagrāj Bikramjīt, son of Jhūjhar Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumādī, II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryā Khān (a commander of 4,000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (Pādīshāhīn, I, 339; I, b., 296). On arriving in Bāndīr, Kh. J. met Sayyid Muzaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men. During the fight, Māhmūd Khān, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kālinjar, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Ḥasan Khān, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Shēdā, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rājāh, 1040, he was again attacked by Ābdāʻ l-lāh Khān and S. Muzaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mādīnā Singh with a spear. Before Muzaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son Āzīz to pieces (Pādīshāhīn, I, 351). Their heads were sent to Shāhjāhān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7,000 (Pādīshāhīn, I, b., 293). Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Ḥusayn Āzīmat, Māhmūd, and Ḥasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Aṣālāt Khān, a commander of 3,000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muzaffar had left his father and gone to court. Farīd and Jān Jahān

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1 So the Māsīr. The Bibi, Ed. Edition of the Pādīshāhīnāma, I, 348, has Bāndā. So likewise for Sālēsī (Pīlā, I, 296), the Māsīr has Lānhī (Gondwānāh), where Kh. J., after the flight near Dholpūr and his march through the Bundela State, for the first time rested.

Bāndīr lies N.E. of Shāhjān, Shēdā lies N. of Kālinjar, on the Kan.
were captured; Ālam and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. "But none of his sons ever prospered."

The historical work entitled Mukkamāt-‘Alamānī, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khān Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called Ṭūrkī Khān Jahān Lodi.

310. Shāh Muhammad, son of Quraysh Sultān (No. 178).

311. Hasan Khān Miyāna.

He was at first a servant of Sādiq Khān (No. 43), but later he received a mānsab. He died in the Dakhin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is Buhlāl Khān. He rose to a mānsab of 1,500 under Jāhāngīr (l.c., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of Sarbuland Khān. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwāna.

At the accession of Shāhjāhān, B. was made a commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and jagirdār of Bālapūr. He joined Khān Jahān Lodi on his march from Gondwāna to Bālāghāt. When he saw that Khān Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Niẓām Shāh.

A grandson of Buhlāl, Abū ‘l-Muhammad, came in the 12th year of Awrangzib’s reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān (Ma‘āṣ. Ālamgīrī, p. 81).

For other Miyāna Afghāns, vide Pādishāhī, I, 241; Ma‘āṣ. Ālamgīrī, p. 225.

312. Tāhir Beg, son of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

313. Kishn Dās Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahāngīr accountant (mushrīf) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1,000. A short time before he had received the title of Rāja (Tuzuk, p. 110).

314. Mān Singh Kachhwāha.

The Akbarnāma (III, 333, 335) mentions a Mān Singh Darbārī.

315. Mir Gādārī, son of Mir Abū Turāb.

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmī Sayyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather, Mir Ghayīsī ‘d-Dīn, had come to Gujrat during the reign of Qutb ‘d-Dīn, grandson of Sultān Aḥmad (the founder of Aḥmadābād); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Shāh ‘Imām Shīrāzī (Shāfawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrat, where he arrived during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd
Bigara. He settled with his son Kamâl ud-Din (Abû Turâb’s father) in Champânir-Mahmûdâbâd, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (darâiya kitâb). Kamâl ud-Din also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family has for a long time been attached to the Sîsila-yi Maqhrîbiyya, or Maqrizî (Western) Sect, the “lamp” of which was the saintly Shaykh Ahmad-i Khâtû. The name “Salâmî Sayyids” is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary salâm, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abû Turâb 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 Ištîmâd Khân (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar’s departure for Kambhâyat, the rebel Naţîyâr ‘l-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 (qadâm-i sharîf, or qadâm-i mubârak); vide p. 207. The “turâk” of his return is khayr ‘l-aqdâm (A.H. 987), or “the best of footprints.” The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalâl-i Bukhârî at the time of Sultân Firuz had brought to Dilkât. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great éclat, Abû Turâb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When Ištîmâd was made governor of Gujrat, Abû Turâb followed him as Amin of the Šabâ, accompanied by his sons Mir Muhibb ud-Din ‘Ilâh and Mir Shari ‘ud-Din.

Abû Turâb died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadâbâd.

His third son Mir Gadâ-i, though he held a mansâb, adopted the saintly

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1 The word is generally pronounced jahâr, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (gâhû), because Mahmûd’s army conquered on one day the forts of Champânir and Jûrâgâr. But Jahângir in his “Memoire,” says that jahâr means burât-i borsâh, “having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,” which Sultân Mahmûd is said to have had (Tuzuk, p. 212).

Champânir, according to Bird, is also called Mahmûdâbâd. The Ma’âzî has Champânir-Mahmûdâbâd.

2 Born A.H. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwâl, 849, Shaykh Ahmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Ahmadâbâd. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the shade which he had, as one of the four Gujrat Ahmad, in the foundation of Ahmadâbâd (founded 7th Zil Qâda, 813). Khadim ‘l-Azîf (Lâhor), p. 957.

Khâtû, where Shaykh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Iâh-i Maqrizî (died A.H. 776) is near of Nagor.
mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year he served in the Dakhin.

316. Qāsim Khwāja, son of Khwāja ʿAbd-al-Bārī. Vide No. 320.


In MSS. he is often wrongly called Yād ʿAli.

The word nādū is an Arabic Imperative, meaning "call". It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nādū ʿAlī yā maḥṣar ʿl-ṣājī ʿdb.
Tajūd-hū ʿwun ʿat kullu ʿl-maṣāʿ ʿdb.
Kullu ḥamīn wā ḥammīn sa-yanjali
Bi-mubwati-kā yā Muḥammad, bi-nilayūti-kā yā ʿAli,
Yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī.

Call upon ʿAli in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,
Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions.
Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish.
Through thy prophetship, O Muḥammad, through thy saintliness,
O ʿAlī.

O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī!
The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 26th year Nādī ʿAli served against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kābul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Tāรกis.

In the 6th year of Jahāṅgrī’s reign, he was made a commander of 1,500, chiefly for his services against the Kābul rebel Aḥdād. In the 10th year he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse. He died in the following year (1026); vide Tuzuk, p. 172. His sons were provided with mansabs.

His son Bīzan (or Bīzān) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (I.e., pp. 307, 309).

The Pādīshāhīnāma (I. b., 322) mentions a Muḥammad Zamān, son of Nādī ʿAli Aṛlāt, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nādī ʿAli is not to be confounded with the Ḥāfiz Nādī ʿAli, who served under Jahāṅgrī as Court Ḥāfiz (Tuzuk, p. 155, and its Dībāja, p. 19), nor with the Nādī ʿAli who served under Shāhjahān (Pādīshāhīn., II. 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.


319. Ghīyāṣ Beg of Tihrān [Iṣtimāl ʿd-Dawla].
His real name is Mirzá Ghiyásu ’d-Dín Muḥammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayás, a corruption of Ghīyās, not of Ayāz (أياض).

Ghiyás Beg’s father was Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of Ḥiyr. He was Vazir to Tāṭār Sulṭān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sharafu ’d-Dīn Ughlū Taklū, who held the office of Beglar Beg of Khurāsān. After Tāṭār Sulṭān’s death, the Khwāja was continued in office by his son Qazāq Khān, and on Qazāq’s death, he was made by Shāh Tahmāsp Vazir of Yazd.1

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharif is said to have died in A.H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwāja Mirzá Ahmad, and Khwājahī Khwāja. The son of Kh. Mirzá Ahmad was the well-known Khwāja Amin Rūzī (أمين رضی), i.e., of the town of Ray of which he was kalāntar, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled Haft Iqlim, A.H.1002. Khwājahī Khwāja had a son of the name of Khwāja Shāpūr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiyās Beg was married to the daughter of Mirzá Ḍalāl ’d-Dawlah, son of Agha Mullā. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahār, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihr “the Sun of Women”), a name which her future title of Nūr Jahān has almost brought into oblivion.2 In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas’ūd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiyās Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fatehpūr Sīkri,3 Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year he was made Divān of Kābul, and was in course of time promoted to a mansab of 1,000, and appointed Divān-i Buḫūtī.

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1 The Dībajā (preface) of the Tarāk (p. 20) and the Ḳāʾālasīm (p. 54) agree verbally in Ghīyās Beg’s history. They do not mention Qasāq Khān. For Ṭaṣīl of the Muʿāṣir, Sayyid Ahmad’s text of the Tarāk has Mātra; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the Iqbalnāme has خوف. “he made him his own Vazir.”

2 The words son of are not in the Muʿāṣir, but in the Tarāk and the Ḳāʾālasīm. Two Aghā Mullās have been mentioned on p. 398, and under Nos. 278, 319, and 376.3

3 It is said that Nūr Jahān at her death in 1655 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A.H. 984; hence Ghiyās Beg’s flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

4 It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nūr Jahān was married by Jahāngīr (in 1620), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

4 Where he had some distant relations, as Jatlar Beg (No. 98).
Regarding Mihr's 'n-Nisâ's marriage with All Quili, vide No. 394. In the beginning of Jahângîr's reign, Ghîyâs Beg received the title of Istimâd 'd-Dawla. In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharif, joined a conspiracy to set Khusraw at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharif was executed, and Istimâd 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 Afkan (under 275) Mihr 'n-Nisâ was sent to court as a prisoner "for the murder of Qutb 'd-Din", and was handed over to Ruqayya Sultân Begum, with whom she lived "unnoticed (ba-nâkâmî) 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 Nur Mahall, and a short time afterwards that of Nur Jahân.

Ghîyâs, in consequence of the marriage, was made Vâkil-i kül, or prime-mnister, and a commander of 6,000, 3,000 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, Ghîyâs fell ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kangra Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the emperor, Nur Jahân asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as answer a verse from Anwari:

آکہ نامینی مادردار اکرم حاضر بود در جبین عالم آر اپس پہ بیدد مہتر
If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead."

He died after a few hours. The Tuzuk (p. 339) mentions the 17th Bahman, 1031 (Rabi' 1, 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 Qâda, 1030.

Ghîyâs Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we saw, showed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful Shikasta hand. Jahângîr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand muforall-i yâqûts. He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. "Chains,

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1 Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather: vide p. 497, No. 278.
2 The Tuzuk and the Iqbalnama have Ruqayya Sultan Begum (p. 309). The Ma'ârij has Salim Sultan Begum (p. 309). The Iqbalnama (p. 56) has wrongly fin for firt.
3 In accordance with the name of her husband Nur 'd-Din Jahângîr.
4 As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (qâshâ) (plumt 1--P.) supposed to possess exhilarating properties. Muforall means an exhilarative.
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 showed much boldness in demanding them.¹

His mausoleum near Ágra has often been described.

Núr Jahán's power over Jahàngír 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 khuṣba (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on farmáns, and even on coins. The jágirs which she held would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30,000. A great portion of her zamindáris lay near Rámsir, S.K. of Ajmír (Tuzuk, p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dá, Dilárán, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of "Sadr of the Women" (sadr-i anús), and when she conferred lands as suyúrgáls, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Sadr of the empire. Núr Jahán is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave out-fits to is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the qa'tr-i jahàngírí (a peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her dudáni for peshuvs (gowns), her pachtolía for orhás (veils), her báda (brocade), kinári (lace), and faráh-í chandáni,² are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahàngír's death and the capture of Shahryáér, fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afsán) Ládli Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahàngír. Sháhjáhán allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.³

She died at Láhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwál, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (Pádishánum., II, 475).⁴ She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

¹ So the Tuzuk and the Ijhláníáma.
² Dúdáni, weighing two dámá; puchtolíqa, weighing five tola. The latter was mentioned on p. 101. Faráh-í chandáni carpets of sandalwood colour.
³ Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs per annum. The highest allowance of Begums on record is that of Mumtáz Mahall, viz 10 lacs per annum. Vide Pádishánum., I, 96.
⁴ In the Pádishánuma, Núr Jahán is again called Núr Mahall.
like Salima Sultan Begum and Zebu ‘u-Nisâ Begum wrote under the assumed name of Maḥfī.

Ghiyâṣ Beg’s sons. The fate of his eldest son Muḥammad Sharif has been alluded to. His second son, Mirzâ Abû ‘l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khân (IV), also called Āṣaf-jâh or Āṣaf-ṣâh, is the father of Muntâz Maḥall (Tâj Bibi), the favourite wife of Shâhjâhân whom European historians occasionally call Nûr Jahân II. He received from Shâhjâhân the title of Yamin‘ d-Dawla and Khân Khânân Sipahsâlâr, and was a commander of 9,000. He died on the 17th Shâbân, 1051, and was buried at Lâhor, north of Jahângir’s tomb. As commander of 9,000 du-aspa and ši-aspa troopers, his salary was 16 krors, 20 lacs of dânis, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jâgîrs 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 mulsars, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, etc., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Lâhor which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dârâ Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his three sons and five daughters. The rest escheated to the State.

Āṣaf Khân was married to a daughter of Mirzâ Ghiyâṣ ‘d-Din ‘Ali Āṣaf Khân II (p. 398).

His eldest son is the renowned Mirzâ Abû Ṭâlib Shâ*ista Khân, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E.I. Company. Shâ*ista was married to a daughter of Īrij Shâhnawâz Khân (No. 255), son of Ābd‘ r-Raḥîm Khân Khânân, by whom he had, however, no children. He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzib’s reign. His eldest son, Abû Ṭâlib, had died before him. His second son was Abû ‘l-Fath Khân. One of his daughters was married to Rûh ‘l-lâh (I), and another to Żâ ‘l-Faqâr Khân Nûsrat-jang.

Āṣaf Khân’s second son, Bahmanîyâr, was in the 20th year of Shâhjâhân, a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (Pâdishtâhân., II, 728).

Ghiyâṣ Beg’s third son is Ibrâhîm Khân Fath-jang, who was the governor of Bihâr (vide note to Kokra under No. 328) and Bengal. He was killed near his son’s tomb during Shâhjâhân’s rebellion. His son had died young and was buried near Râjmahall, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibrâhîm Khân was married to Ḥâji Hûr Parwar Khânum, Nûr Jahân’s maternal aunt (khâla). She lived up to the middle of Awrangzib’s reign, and held Kol Jalâli as âltamghâ.

1 Also called Muḥammad Ťâlib. Fide Pâdishtâhân., II, 248.
An Ahmad Beg Khan is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nur Jahán's brother. He was with Ibráhím Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhākā, where he handed over to Sháhjáhán 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Sháhjáhán's accession he received a high munsab, was made governor of Thathah and Siwistán, and later of Multán. He then returned to court, and received as jāgir the Parganas of Jáis and Amethí, where he died. In the 20th year of Sháhjáhán, he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 horse (Pādisháhán., II, 727).

A sister of Nur Jahán Manija Begum was mentioned under No. 282.

A fourth sister, Khadija Begum, was married to Hákim Beg, a nobleman of Jahángír's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable:

1. Khwája Muhammad Sharif (d. 964).
2. Khwája Mírza Ahmad (d. 1381).

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5. Mirzá Ahmed b. Báfí (executed)

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5. Mírza Abú Tálib (d. 1605)
6. Mírza Ísá Khán (d. 1606)

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1. Mírza Abú Ísá Khán (IV) (d. 1631).
2. Mírza Ísá Khán (d. 1606)
3. Mírza Abú Ísá Khán (d. 1606)
4. Mírza Abú Ísá Khán (d. 1606)
5. Mírza Abú Ísá Khán (d. 1606)
6. Mírza Abú Ísá Khán (d. 1606)

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321. Sharaf Beg, of Shíráz.
322. Ibráhím Quli, son of Ismá'il Quli Khan (No. 46).

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XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty,
323. Abú Ísá Khán, son of Muhammad Túbúbí, the Mughul.
324. Beg Muhammad Toqábí.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrat and was present in the fight near Maisán, S.E. of Patán, in which Sher Khán Fáliádi was defeated, and also against Mughal of Gujrat (Abkárs., III, 423).

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1 It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharif.
Regarding Toghā', vide No. 129.

325. Imām Qulī Shighāli.

The Akbarnāma (III, 628) mentions an Imām Qulī, who, in the 37th year served under Sultān Murād in Mālwa.

The meaning of Shighāli is unclear to me. A Muhammad Qulī Shighāli played a part in Badakhshān history (Akbarnāma, III, 132, 249).

326. Safdar Beg, son of Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhtā Begī (No. 66).

A Safdar Khān served, in the 21st year, against Daudā of Bundi (vide under No. 96).

327. Khwāja Sulaymān of Shīrāz.

He has been mentioned on p. 383 and under No. 172.

328. Barḵhurdār [Mirzā Khān Āṣlam], son of Ḥabd′r-Raḥmān Dulday (No. 186).

Mirzā Barḵhurdār was in the 40th year of Akbar’s reign a commander of 250. His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat. This Bihār Zamīndār was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy peskāsh, 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 Jahlānīr was fond of him, he released him after his accession, and made him Qūshbegī, or superintendent of the aviary. In the fourth

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1 Dalpat is called in the Akbarnamee ʿUjjainiya, for which the MSS. have various readings, as ʿUjjainiya, etc. Under Shāhjahān, Dalpat’s successor was Rāja Pratāb, who in the 1st year received a mansab of 1,200, 1,000 horse (Pādišāhī, I, 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the ʿUjjainiya Rājas was Bhojpūr, west of Āra and north of Bāhrām (Sassarum), a pargana in Sārkār, Rohtā, Bihār. Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shāhjahān’s reign when ʿAbd-ul-ʿAllāh Khān Frūzjang besieged and conquered Bhojpūr (8th Zilla-Hajja, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shāhj’s order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to ʿAbd-ul-ʿAllāh’s grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the Pādišāhīname (I, b., pp. 271 to 274).

The maps show a small place of the name of Pratāb near Bhojpūr.

It is said that the Bhojpūr Rājas call themselves ʿUjjainiya, because they claim descent from the ancient Rājas of Ujjain in Mālwa.

In the 17th year of Shāhjahān, Ḍharnīdhar ʿUjjainiya is mentioned to have served in the second expedition against Pālgāmūz, Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

2 If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnamee, 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 (Akbarnāma, III, 825).

3 Grand Falconer or superintendent of the qūsh-kāzar or mews.—P.]
year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khân ʿAlam (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Shâh ʿAbbâs of Persia sent Yaḍgâr ʿAlî Sultan Tâlish as ambassador to Āgra, 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 ʿAlamârâ-ı Sikandari, the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Hirât and Qum, caused by the absence of the Shâh in Āzerbâijân on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one-half of the suite were sent back. In 1027 the Shâh 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 Kalânîr on his way to Kashmir. Jahângîr was so pleased that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5,000, 3,000 horse.

The author of the Pâdishehânâma (I, 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he had not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On Shah Jahân’s accession, B. was made a commander of 6,000, 5,000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihâr, vide M. Rustam Šafawi. But as he was given to koknâr (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Shâhj, returned from Burhânpûr to Āgra, B. was pensioned off, as he was old and given to opium and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (Pâdishehân., I, 426). He died a natural death at Āgra. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwâja Barkhurdâr, a brother of ʿAbduʿ ʿlâh Khân Fîrûz-jang.

B.’s brother Mirzâ ʿAbduʿ-ʾs-Subhân (No. 349) was Fawjdar of Ilâhâbâd. He was then sent to Kabul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Áfrîdîs (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

ʿAbduʿ-ʾs-Subhân’s son, Sherzâd Khân Bahâdur, was killed in the last fight with Khân Jahân Lodi at Schodah (vide under No. 309). Pâdishehân., I, 349.

329. Mir Maṣūm of Bhakkar.

Mir Maṣūm belongs to a family of Tirmizi Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bukhârâ, and settled at Qandahâr, where his ancestors were mutawallîs (trustees) of the shrine of Bâbâ Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mir Sayyid Šafâʿî, settled in Bhakkar, and received favours from Sultan Maḥmûd (vide under No. 47). He was related by marriage to
the Sayyids of Swistán. Mīr Maṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mulla Muḥammad of Kingrī, S.W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrát, where Shaykh Is-haqq-i Fārūqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwāja Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad, then Diwan of Gujrát. Niẓām was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled Tabaqat-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 masnāb. In the 40th year he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to Iran, where he was received with distinction by Shāh ‘Abbās.

On his return from Iran, in 1015, Jahāngīr sent him as Amin to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar a command of 1,000.

From the Akbarnāma (III, 416, 423, 546) and Bird’s History of Gujrāt (p. 426) we see that M. M. served in 992 (end of the 28th year) in Gujrāt, was present in the fight of Maisānā, and in the final expedition against Mūzaffar in Kachh.

M. M. is well known as a poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of Nāmī. He composed a Diwan, a Maṣnawi entitled Maṣdan-i-bashr in the metre of Niẓām’s Makhranj, the Tāarih-i Sindhi, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called Mufriḍī-i Maṣūmī. The author of the Riyāz ‘sh-Shuṣarā says that he composed a Khamsa, and the Taqī by Taqī (vide under No. 352) says the same, viz., one maṣnawi corresponding to the Makhranj, the Hsun o Nāz to the Yūsuf Zulaykha, the Parī Sūrat to the Lailī Majnūn, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnāma. Badā’i’ūn (died 1004) only alludes to the Hsun o Nāz, though he gives no title (III, 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyāz ‘sh-Shuṣarā says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Iṣfahān and Tabriz, 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 Āgra, on the Jāmī Mosque of Fatehpūr Sikrī, in Fort Māndū (vide under No. 52 and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Dibāja, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the
side of the entrance to Salim-i Chishti's shrine at Fatehpur Sikri, the last words of which are:—""Said and written by Muhammad Ma'sum poetically styled Namí, son of Sayyid Saif-i of Termiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bábá Hasan Abdâl, who was born at Sabzwâr and settled at Qandahâr."" Dowson, in his edition of Elliot's Historians, mentions Kîrmân as the residence of Sayyid Saif-i, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Tarikh-i Sindh, regarding the saint Bábá Ḥasan Abdâl, who lived under Mîrzâ Shâhrûkh, son of Timûr. The town of Ḥasan Abdâl in the Panjâb, east of Aṭâk, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Sakhar 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 Satyâsur (سَتَبَسَر). "‘It is one of the wonders of the world, and its Târîkh is contained in the words كَنْتُ دِرَائِي,‘‘ water-dome, which gives a.h. 1007.

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 (mutamazzî). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jâgîr lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Târîkh-i Sindh, was Mir Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusrav's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahângîr 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 Chakalinais, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahângîr is said to have left Mir Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakshâbi of Qandahâr, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Sâbahdars. 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 Dakhin; but as his jâgîr did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bâkkâr, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited. He died in 1644. Some of his children settled in Multân.

330. Khwaaja Malik 'All, Mir Shab.

His title of Mir Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 232).

332. Shāh Muhammad, son of Sa'īd Khān, the Gakkhar.
For his relations, vide under No. 247.
333. Rahīm Qul, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).
334. Sher Beg, Yasawulbāshī.
Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 623).

XXII. Commanders of Two Hundred.

335. Ittikhar Beg, son of Bāyāzīd Beg (No. 299).
He was alive in the end of A.H. 1007 (Akbarn., III, 804).
336. Pratāb Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).
He was mentioned under No. 160.
337. Husayn Khān Qazwīnī. Vide No. 281.
338. Yādghūr Husayn, son of Qabūl Khān (No. 137).
He was mentioned under No. 137. In the 31st year he served under Qāsim Khān in Kashmir. The Yādghūr Husayn 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, 500 horse, for his services in the Dakhin. Vide also Padishāhīnāma, I, b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.

He is not to be confounded with Khwāja Yādghūr, a brother of ʻAbdu l-Lāh Khān Firūz-jang.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrāt and Kachh against Fath Khān, the younger son of Amin Khān Ghūrī and Muḥaffār, and in the 36th year against Muḥaffār and the Jām. Akbarn., III, 553, 621.

340. Muhammad Khān Turkmān.
341. Nizām-ʻd-Dīn Ahmad, son of Shāh Muhammad Khān (No. 95).
He is not to be confounded with the author of the Tabāqāt.
342. Sakat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).
Vide No. 256.
343. ʻImād-ʻl-Mulk.
The Akbarnāma mentions a Qāzī ʻImād-ʻl-Mulk, who in the end of 984 (31st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. Sharīf-ʻl-Sarmādī.
He was a poet. Vide below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.
345. Qarā Bahr, son of Qarātāq.
Qarātāq, whose name in the Akbarnāma is spelled Qarātāq, was killed by Gajpātī in the same fight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farḥāt Khān (No. 145), was slain (No. 145).
346. Tātar Beg, son of ʿAlī Muhammad Asp. (No. 258).
347. Khwāja Muḥibb ʿAlī of Khawāf.
Vide No. 159, note.

Ardīstān is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, 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. Badāʾoni (III, 169) and the Tuzuk (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrāt and Kachh. Akbarn., III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahāngir he was made a commander of 3,000, 1,000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Hāhābād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Hakim’s death reached J. on the 22nd Jamāda I. 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from qurhak-yi shuṣh, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (yaktaser) 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. ʿAbd ALLĀH ʿs-Sabḥān, son of ʿAbd ALLĀH ʿr-Rajmān, Duldāy (No. 186).
He was mentioned under No. 328.
350. Qāsim Beg of Tabriz.

He served in the 36th year under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa, and died on the 23rd Abān (end of) 1007; vide Akbarn., III, 628, 803. Vide below under the learned men of Akbar’s reign.
351. Shāhīf (Amir ALLĀH ʿl-Umarā), son of Khwāja ʿAbd ALLĀH ʿs-Ṣamad (No. 266).

Muḥammad Shāhīf was the school companion of Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Hāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, Shāhīf 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 Salīm, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salīm 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 Jahāngīr, true to his promise, made him Amīrū I-Umarā, Vakīl, entrusted him with the great seal (ṣūrūk) and allowed him to select his jagīr 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 Amīrū I-Umarā and a commander of 5,000. My father never did more."

Sharīf seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghāns from India; but the Khān-i Aṣam (No. 21) warned Jahāngīr against so unwise a step. Though Sh.'s position at court was higher than that of Mirzā ʿAzīz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill ʿAzīz for the part he had played in Khusrāw's rebellion. But ʿAzīz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharīf, and invite him to his house. The Khān-i Aṣam did so, and invited him and the other Amīrs. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blondest way, "I say, Nawāb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father Ablu ʿṢamad, the Mīlū, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in." Khān Jahān (vide under 309) and Mahābat Khān could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahāngīr heard of it, he said to Sh., "The Khān cannot bridle his tongue; but don't fall out with him."

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kābul, but fell so ill that he had to be left in Lāhor, Aṣaf Khān (No. 98) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khān Khānān (No. 29). It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahāngīr was on the point of making him retire, when Khān Jahān interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dakhin, 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 Diwān. His takhballūṣ is Fārisī (Baddāsūnī, III, 310).

Sh.'s eldest son, Shāhāb Khāb, died when young. A Sarāsī near Lakhnau, about a kos from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mirzā Gul and Mirzā Jārū ʿllāh used to play with Jahāngīr at chess and nard; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jārū ʿllāh was married to Miṣrī Begam, a daughter of Aṣaf Khān (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Aṣaf's death, Jahāngīr made him divorce his wife,
and married her to Mirzā Lashkari (No. 375), son of Mirzā Yusuf Kān (under No. 35).

Both brothers followed Mahābat Kān to Kābul, where they died.

352. Taqiya of Shustar.

Taqiya is the Irānī from for Taqi. The Tabaqāt calls him Taqi Muḥammad. Badāʾonī (III, 206) has Taqiya ḍ-Dīn and says that he was a good poet and a well-educated man. At Akbar’s order he undertook a prose version of the Shāhāmā. He is represented as a ‘murid’ or disciple of Akbar’s Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr’s reign (1017) when he received for his attainments the title of Muḥarrīkh Khān (Tuzuk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition we have to read Shushtarī for the meaningless Shamaherī).

Taqiya is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqīya of Bahlān (a village near Isfahān), who, according to the Mirāʾ-ī Ḥall, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign to India. He is the author of the rare Taḵīra, or Lives of Poets, entitled Ḥaṣafū ṭʿAraṯāt, and of the Dictionary entitled Surma-yi Sulaymān, which the lexicographer Muḥammad Ḥusayn used for his Burhān-i Qāǧī.

353. Khwāja ʿAbū ʿIsā Mad of Kāshān.

354. Ḥakīm ʿUṭūrullāh, son of Mullā ʿAbū ʿr-Razzāq of Gilān.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Badāʾonī (III, 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

355. Sher Afkān sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

356. Amānūr ʿĀlāʾ Amānūr ʿĀlāʾ died in the 45th year of Akbar’s reign at Burhānpūr. “He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age; and died from excessive wine-drinking.” Akbarnāma, III, 835.

357. Salīm Quli sons of Ismāʿīl Quli Khān (No. 46).

358. Khalīl Quli Khalīl Quli (No. 68).

359. Wali Beg, son of Pāyandā Khān (No. 68).

He served under Qāṣīm Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir.

360. Beg Muḥammad Uighūr.

361. Muḥammad Yāsawūl.

When Akbar during the first Gujrātī war (p. 480, note 2) had left Patna for Chotāna (Rajab, 960) it was reported that Muḥaffar of Gujrāt had fled from Sher Khān Fūlādī and was concealed in the neighbourhood; vide under No. 67. Akbar therefore sent Muḥammad the Yāsawūl and Farīd the Qarāwūl, and afterwards Abū ʿl-Qāṣīm Namakīn (No. 199) and Kāram ʿAlī, in search of him. Muḥammad had not gone far when he
found the *chahr* and *sāyabān* (p. 52) which Muẓaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Muẓaffar himself in a field. Mir Khān took him to Akbar.

362. Sarmast Khān, son of Dastam Khān (No. 79).
363. Sayyid Abū 'l-Hasan, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ṣAdl (No. 140).
364. Sayyid ṢUḤāmān 'l-Wahīd, son of the Mir ṣAdl’s brother.
365. Khwāja Beg Mīrzā, son of Maṣṣūm Beg.
366. Sakrā, brother of Rānā Pratāb.

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udaï Singh, son of Rānā Sāṅkā (died a.h. 934). When his brother Pratāb, also called Rānā Kīkā, was attacked by Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahāngir’s reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Pārwiz against Rānā Amrā, Pratāb’s successor. In the end of the same year he served against Dalpat (vide under No. 44), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2,500, 1,000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a mansāb of 3,000, 2,000 horse.

The *Akbarānāma* mentions another son of Udaï 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 Khān Zamān when he heard that Udaï Singh had assisted the rebellious Mīrzās. He therefore resolved to punish the Rānā, and on a hunting tour in Pargana Bārī 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. Udaipūr was invaded, and Chitor surrendered.

367. Shādī Be Umark] sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).
368. Bāqi Be Uzhak] sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).

They have been mentioned above. From the *Akbarānāma* (III, 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jagīr in Handia, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yūnān Beg, brother of Murād Khān (No. 51).
Some MSS. have Mīrzā Khān for Murād Khān.
370. Shaykh Kābīr Ṣur Chishti [Shuja‘at Khān, Rustam-i Zamān].

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1 He is not to be confounded with another Shaykh Kābīr, who in the 25th year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kābal; and in the 32nd year, against the Tārīs under Mahāb. Khān (No. 83). He died in the 36th year, in the war with the Jām and Muẓaffar of Gujār (Akbarānā, III, 283, 498, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him the son of Mākumān Kābīr).
2 Khālī Khān, calls him wrongly (I, 273) Shuja‘ Khān and Rustam Khān.
The *Mā'āṣir* calls him "an inhabitant of Manu". He was a relation of Islam Khan-i Chishti, and received the title of Shuja'at Khan from Prince Salim, who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (*Tuzuk*, p. 12). He served under Khan Jahān (*vide under No. 309*) in the Dakhin as *harīneal*, an office which the Sayyids of Bārha claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with Usman. During the fight he wounded U's elephant, when the Afghan chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Wali Khan, Usman's brother, and Mamrez Khan, Usman's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kabir, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh. K. to Islam Khan in Jahāngirangar (Dhākkā), 6th Safar, 1021 (*Tuzuk*, p. 104).

Jahāngir gave him for his bravery the title of *Rustam-i Zamān*. The *Mā'āṣir* says that Islam Khan did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afghans, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road they were executed by Abū i lāhī Khan 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 Islam Khan appointed Sh. K. to Orīsā, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Usman's relations.

**Note on the death of Usman Lohānī.**

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of Usman. Khwāja Usman, according to the *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, was the second son of Miyān Isā Khan Lohānī, who after the death of Quṭlū Khan was the leader of the Afghāns in Orīsā and Southern Bengal. Quṭlū left three sons—Nasīb Shāh, Lodī Khan, Jamāl Khan. Isā Khan left five sons, Khwāja, Sulaymān, Usman, Wali, Ibrahīm. Stewart makes Usman a son of Quṭlū (*History of Bengal*, p. 133). Sulaymān "reigned" for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Bāja Mān Singh (*vide No. 244*) held lands near the Brāhmmaputra, and subjected the Rājas of the adjacent countries. Usman succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Orīsā and Sātgāw, 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" (Tipārah 1), the vilāyat-i Dhākā, or District of Dhākā, and Dhākā itself. The fight with ʿUsmān took place on Sunday, 9th Muḥarram, 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 Ujjāl. 2 Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrikkha river" in Orīsā, which is impossible, as Shujāʿat Khān arrived again in Dhākā on the 6th Safar, 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 Shujāʿat, who had been strengthened by a corps under ʿAbduʾs-Salām, son of Muṣʿazzam Khān (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Islām besieged Wali in the Mahalls where ʿUsmān used to live, between the battlefield, and Dhākā, and afterwards in the Fort of Dhākā itself. Wali, on his submission, was sent to court with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from ʿUsmān, received a title of jāgīr, and was made a commander of 1,000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the Māʿṣīr, 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, Islām Khān’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 Afghān prisoners.

The Makhzan also says that ʿUsmān, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favour, was carried off by Wali in a litter and buried on the road. When Shujāʿat came up to the place where he had been buried, he had ʿUsmān’s corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

ʿUsmān is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laet (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: 

Rex (Jahāngīr) codem tempore misit Tuziul ghanum Chiech zoden (Shujāʿat Khān Shaykhshāda) ad Tsalanghanum (Islām Khān) qui Bengales praecerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odīae (Orīsā) mitteret. Sed Osmanchenus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annos regionem quae Odīam et Daeck (between Orīsā and Dhākā, i.e., the Sunderban) interjacent, tenuerat et limites regni incursuerat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit; Daeck oppugnaturus. Tsalanchenus autem praemiserit adversus ipsum

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1 According to Princep’s Useful Tables, the 9th Muharram was a Monday, not a Sunday, Tuzuk, p. 102.

2 There are several Ujjāls mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Maḥmūda-bād (Bosnah) and Sirkār Bāzdīk (Mymensing-Bogra).
(Uṣmān) Tzeziad chunum, una cum Mirza Iftager et Ethaman chano (Iltikhrār Khān and Ihtimām Khān) et alii multis Omearawvis, cum religiuis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsecuens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter uramque exercitum, Eftager et Mierick Zilaier (Mirak Jalāir—not in the Tuzuk) tam acerim impressionem decerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimam elephantum in illos emissit, ita ut regis vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Eftager caederetur; Tzeziad quasnam autem et ipse elephantho insidens, ut impetum ferocientis belluae, declinaret, et suo defecit, et huius propter, ita ut aegreg a suis et certamine subsuderetur, et regis passim fugam exspescerent; actumque fusset de regis, nisi inapnatus casus proelium restituisse: miles quidem saucius humi jōcans, cuius Osmano, qui elephantho vehabatur, oculos globo trajectit, et quo vulnere paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius sta fuerunt consternati ut statim de fuga cogitarent. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restituitis, cernunt promii Tzaianchano perscripsero: qui biduo post locum venti ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzeziatiano e vulnere defuncto, magis itineribus fratrem (Wali Khān) et biduam atque liberam Osmani assecutus, vivos ceptit, eosque cum equestribus et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daecck Bengulac metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno ... (the year is left out).

De Laet says that Shujāʿ at Khān died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The Muṣābir says that he was on horseback when Uṣmān’s elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls Gajpati, and Stewart Bukhta (?), 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. Shukr al-Ilāh (Zafar Khān), son of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34). He was mentioned above on p. 369. 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 Khān.

1 The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khān (p. 497). Iltikhrār Khān, Sayyid ‘Abd ‘Abd ar-Rahimeh, Shāykh ‘Abd ar-Rahimeh, brother’s son of Muqarrab Khān, Muqarrab Khān, and Ihtimām Khān, as under Shujāʿat’s command. Sayyid ‘Abd (the Tuzuk, p. 132, l. 4 from below, has wrongly Sayyid ‘Ala’), Iltikhrār, and Shāykh ‘Abd as-Salām were killed. Later, ‘Abd ‘Abd ‘Abd ‘Abd al-Salām, son of Muqarrab Khān (No. 260) joined and pursued Uṣmān.
As his sister was married to Jahāngīr (vide under No. 37, and note 2, to No. 225) Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Lāhor for Kābul, he halted at Mawza 6 Ahro,*i, near Fort Atak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khātars (p. 506, note 2) and Dilahzāk (note to No. 247). Zafār was appointed to Atak, vice Ḥāmīd Beg Khān (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Lāhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahāngīr’s return from Kābul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a mansab of 2,000, 1,000 horse. In the 7th year he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse, and governor of Bihār. 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.” 

Maʿāḍir.

From the Taqūk (p. 343) we see that Zafār Khān died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāngīr made his son Saʿādat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Saʿādat Khān, his son. He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahāngīr’s reign a commander of 1,500, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Shāhjahān’s accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3,000 horse. He again served in Kābul, and under Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakh-shān, was made commandant of Tirmiz and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhān Quli Khān, ruler of Bukhārā (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahār wars, was in the 29th year Fawjdār of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kābul.

In 1069, the second near of Awrangażīb’s reign, he was killed by his son Sherullāh. Mahābat Khān, Ṣūbahdār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. Mir ʿAbd al-Mūmin, son of Mir Samarqandi.
Mir Samarqandi was a learned man who came during Bayrām’s regency of Āgra. **Badaʾini**, III, 149.
375. Lashkari, son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35). **Vide** above, p. 405, and for his wife under No. 351.
376. Agha Mullā Qazwīnī, **Vide** No. 278.
377. Muhammad ʿAlī of Jām.

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1 The Maʿāḍir has ʻArabi ی زیب : the Taqūk, p. 48, ʻArabi لی. I cannot find it on the map. It is described as a green flat spot. The Khātars and Dilahzāks are estimated in the Taqūk at 7 to 8,000 families.
Jâm is a place in Khorásân, famous for its Bâbâ Shaykhâ melons. It has given name to the two poets Pur Bâhâ and the renowned ’Abdulr‘ahmân Jâmî.

378. Mathurâ Dâs, the Khâtîr.
379. Sathurâ Dâs, his son.
The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sultan Murâd in Kâbul. Akbar., III, 333.

381. Kallâ, the Kachhwâха.
He served in 989 under Prince Murâd in Kâbul.

382. Sayyid Darwish, son of Shams-i Bukhâri.
A Shaykh Junayd served under Shihâb Khan (No. 26) in Gujrat. He was killed in the Khaibar catastrophe (Akbar., III, 190, 498).

384. Sayyid Abû L-hâq, son of Mirzâ Rafîq ‘d-Din-i ’Safawi.
He was mentioned under No. 149. In the 36th year he served against the Jâm and Mu’affar of Gujrat.
His father Rafîq ‘d-Din was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Agra in 954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Mu‘imn ‘d-Din, author of a commentary to the Qur‘an entitled Tafsîr-i Ma‘ânî.

385. Fath Khân, superintendent of the leopards.
In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abû ’l-Faqîl 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 Fattû Khan Afgân. Fattû is the same as Fath. His title is Masnad-i ‘Ali, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. Secondly, Fath Khân Filbân, who when young was Akbar’s elephant driver (jîlûn). He was subsequently made Amir, and according to my two MSS. of the Tabâqât, died in 990. But Badâ‘onî (II, 352) mentions Fath Khân Filbân as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qâsim Khân (No. 59) on his march to Kashmîr; but the Akbarnâma, in the corresponding passage (III, 512) calls him Fath Khân Masnad-i ‘Ali. Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khân Bahâdur. A Fath Khân Taghlûq was mentioned under No. 187.

386. Muqim Khân, son of Shuja’at Khân (No. 51).
He served in the siege of Asîr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin. Akbar., III, 825, 865.

387. Lâla, son of Râja Bîr Bâr (No. 83).
The Akbarnamah (III, 865) calls him the eldest son of Raja Bir Bar. Vide under 85.


389. Habii Yasa'wul.
Habii is an abbreviation of Habib.


391. Dost Muhammad, son of Babu Dost.

392. Shahrurk Dantori.

Dantur, Dhantur or Dhantiwar, is a district near the Kashmiri frontier. The Tuzuk (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantur, during Akbar's reign, was ruled over by Shahrurk, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahangir's) by his son Bahadur. Bahadur was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahabat in Bangash.

393. Sher Muhammad.
He served in 993 in the Dakhin. Akbarn., III, 472.

A Sher Muhammad Divana was mentioned on p. 322. He had at first been in the service of Khwaja Muazzam, brother of Akbar's mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaumpur, engaged with the rebellion of Khann Zamun, Sher Muhammad Divana plundered several places in Pargana Samana, the faqir of which was Mullah Nuruddin Dindir Khan. The Mullah had left his vakil Mir Dost Muhammed in Samana. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Miler, when he was surprised by the Mullah at a place called Dhanur in Samana. Sh. M. D. fled, but his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and threw him down. He was captured and executed, a.h. 973, Akbarn., II, 332.

394. Ali Quil [Beg. Istajlo, Sher Afkan Khan].
He was the safarchi or table-attendant of Islamil II, king of Persia. After his death he went over Qandahar to India, and met at Multan, the Khan Khanan (No. 29), who was on his march to Thatha. At his recommendation, he received a mungab. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihrun Nissa (the future Nur Jahan), daughter of Mirza Ghiaas Tahrani (No. 319). Ghiaas's wife had access to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salim saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to Ali Quil.

\[1\] Vida Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India, p. 131. It lies on the Dor River, near Nawaahura.
\[2\] Safa-chi.—P.
Ali Quli accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rānā, and received from him the title of Sher Afsar Khān. On his accession, he received Bardwān as tuyūl. His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khābugū (No. 275) was related on p. 551. The Ma'āṣir says that when he went to meet the Šubahdār, his mother put a helmet (dubalqahā) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

Ali Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihran*n-Nisā, was later married to Prince Shahrūyār, Jahāngīr's fifth son.

Jahāngīr, in the Tuzuk, expresses his joy at A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell." Khāft Khān (I, p. 367) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nūr Jahān's mother. According to her, Sher Afsan was not killed by Qutbudd Dīn's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihran*n-Nisā had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well. "Having heard the sad news, Sher Afsan went to the heavenly mansions."

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahram Saqqā (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwān.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahān killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tuzuk, p. 186) and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngīr to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafīs. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment:

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman she is in the array of men a zan-i sher afsan," i.e., either the wife of Sher Afsan, or a woman who throws down (afsan) tigers (sher).


396. Sanwaldas Jadon. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul. In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhai. 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 Rāja Gopāl Jādon's brother (vide No. 305) and Abū 'l-Faḍl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. *Akbarn.*, III, 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwāja Zahir u'd-Dīn, son of Shaykh Khalīl u'llāh.

He served in the 31st year under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin.

His father is also called Shāh Khalīl u'llāh. He served in the 10th year against Khān Zamān, and under Mumūn Khān in Bengal and Orisā, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 407).

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mir Khalīl u'llāh of Yazd and his son Mir Zahir u'd-Dīn, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhor. The history of this noble family is given in the *Makārī*.

398. Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim of Nishāpur.

399. Hājī Muhammad Ardistānī.

400. Muhammad Khān, son of Tarson Khān's sister (No. 32).

401. Khwāja Muqīm, son of Khwāja Mīrākī.

He served under Azīz Koka in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993 he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Tāhir Sayf u'l-Mulūk (No. 201) in Fort Ghorāgāhī by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made *Bakhshī*. *Akbarn.*, III, 418, 470, 610.

*Vide* Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, pp. 248, 251.

402. Qādir Quli, foster-brother of Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrat. *Akbarn.*, III, 621.

403. Firūza, a slave of the emperor Humāyūn.

Badā'oni (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humāyūn, who brought him up with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144).

Badā'oni also says that he was a Langā.


405. Zayn u'd-Dīn Sāli.

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

406. Mir Sharif of Kolāb.

407. Pahār Khān, the Balāch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjān Hādā (No. 96),
and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was tūhādār of Ghāzipūr, and hunted down Maṣūm Khān Faranghūdī, after the latter had plundered Muhammadābād (vide under No. 175). In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisānā, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fulādī was defeated. Akbarnāma, III, 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., states in his "Memoir of the Ghazepoor District" (p. 80) that Fawjdār Pahār Khān is still remembered in Ghāzipūr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

408. Keshā Dās, the Rāthor.

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year) he served in Gujrāt. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salim (vide under No. 4). From the Akbarnāma, III, 623, it appears that he is the son of Rāy Rāy Singh's brother (No. 44.) and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. Sayyid Lād Bārha.

In 993, Sayyid Lād served with the preceding in Gujrāt, and in the 46th year, in the Dakhin.

410. Nasir Mā'in.

Mā'in (힌...) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rājpūts, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Dūsāb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced is ʻĪsā Khān Mā'n. He served under Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh." Mā'ināsīr.

411. Sānga, the Pūwar.

412. Qābil, son of ʻAtīq.

413. Aḍwand | Zamindārs of Orīsā.

414. Sundār.

415. Nūram, foster-brother of Mirzā Ibrāhīm.

He served in the 31st year against the Afghāns on Mount Terāh, and in 1000, under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīsā. Akbarnāma, III, 532, 642.

Mirzā Ibrāhīm was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.

The above list of grandees includes the names of such Manşābdārs 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
Do. 120
Do. 100, or Yūzbāshīs
Do. 80
Do. 60
Do. 50
Do. 40
Do. 30, or Tarkushbands
Do. 20
Do. 10

53 1 250 91 204 16 260 39 250 224

[Total, 1,388 Mansabdarís below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mansabs 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 Vakils, or prime-ministers:
Bayrâm Khán (No. 10); Munṣim Khán (No. 11); Arga Khán (No. 15); Bahādur Khán (No. 22); Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khān Khānān Mirza Khán (No. 29); Khán-i Aṣyām Mirzā 3 Koka (No. 21).

The following have been Vazírs or ministers of finances:
Mīr 4 ʿAzīz ʾl-lāh Turhātī; Khwāja Jalāʾu ʿd-Dīn Mahmūd 2 of Khurāsān (No. 65); Khwāja Muḥāsin ʿd-Dīn Farangkhūdī (No. 128); Khwāja ʿAbduʾl-Majīd ʿAsaf Khán (No. 49); Vazīr Khán (No. 41); Muẓaffar Khán (No. 37); Rāja Todar Māl (No. 39); Khwāja Shāh Mansūr of Shīrāz (No. 122); Quli Khán (No. 42); Khwāja Shamsu ʿd-Dīn Khwāfī (No. 159).

The following have been Bakhshās:
Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khwāja Tāhir of Sijistān (No. 111); Mawlānā Ḥabī Biḥzādī, 5 Mawlānā Darwish Muḥammad of Mashhad;

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1 Abū ʾl-Pazl's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged.
2 The MSS. and my text have wrong Muḥīd for Mahmūd.
3 Some MSS. have Ḥabī instead of Ḥabī (an abbreviation for Habīb).
Mawlānā 'Ishqī, Muḥīm of Khurāsān (No. 410); Sultān Māhmūd of Badāwīshān; Lashkar Khān (No. 90); Shāhīzā Khān (No. 80); Rāy Purukhotam; Shaykh Fārid-i Bulhārī (No. 99); Qāzī 'Alī of Baghādā; Ja‘far Beg ʿAṣaf Khān (No. 98); Khwāja Niẓām ‘d-Dīn Aḥmad; Khwājā ‘Abdu ‘l-Lāh (No. 258).

The following have been Sādīrs:

Mir Fatḥ ‘l-Lāh; Shaykh Gādārī, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i Kambū; Khwājā Muhammad Shāhī, descendant in the third generation from Khwāja ‘Abd ‘Abd ‘l-Bāqī; Shaykha ‘Abd ‘n-Nabī; Sultān Khwāja (No. 108); Sadr Jāhān (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar's Manṣabdārs.

The principal facts which Abū ‘l-Faẓl’s list of Grandees discloses are, first, that there were very few Hindūstānī Musulmānī in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghāns; secondly, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindū Amīrs, as among the 415 Manṣabdārs there are 51 Hindūs.

The Manṣabdārs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mir Shāh Abū ‘l-Maqālī; Khwāja Maṣḥūlū, brother of Akbar’s mother; Bābā Khān Qāshāl; Maṣ‘ūm-i Kābulī (p. 476, note); ʿArab Bāḥādur; Jabārī, etc. But there are also several left out, as Khiyar Khwāja (p. 394, note 2), Sultān Ḥusayn Jalā‘īr (vide under No. 64), Kamāl Khān the Gakhbar (vide p. 507), Mir Ghūṭ (p. 464), Nawrang Khān, son of Qutb ‘d-Dīn Khān (No. 28), Mirzā Qulī (p. 418), Rāja Aṣkāran (under No. 174), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abū ‘l-Faẓl’s list with that in the Tabaqāt, or the careful lists of Shāhjahān’s grandees in the Pādishāhānāma, we observe that Abū ‘l-Faẓl has only given the manṣab, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (tābīnān). In other words, Abū ‘l-Faẓl has merely given the zālī rank (p. 251). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Niẓām ‘d-Dīn in the Tabaqāt, which may advantageously be given here. Niẓām gives only manṣabdārs of higher rank, viz.:

---

1 Regarding him vide Akbarsāmu, III, 210. He was of Ghaznī.
2 The Historian.
3 Vide pp. 280 to 288. Regarding Maulānā ‘Abd ‘l-Bāqī, who was Sadr in the fifth year, vide Akbarsāmu, II, 143.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Tabaqūt</th>
<th>In Abū ’l-Faḍī’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Mīrzā Shāhrukh, 5,000</td>
<td>7; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tardī Beg Khān</td>
<td>12; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mūsīm Khān</td>
<td>11; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mīrzā Rustam, 5,000</td>
<td>9; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mīrzā Khān Khānān</td>
<td>29; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān</td>
<td>13; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ʿAdham Khān</td>
<td>19; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Shams al-ʿd-Dīn Muḥammat Atga Khān</td>
<td>15; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Muḥammat ʿAzīz Kokultāsh, 5,000</td>
<td>21; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bahādur Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>No. 22; 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Muḥammat Qulī Khān Barlās</td>
<td>31; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Shihāb al-ʿd-Dīn Ahmad Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>26; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Saʿīd Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>25; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pīr Muḥammat Khān</td>
<td>20; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 5,000</td>
<td>27; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Mān Singh, 5,000</td>
<td>30; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Khwāja ʿAbd al-ʿl-Majīd ʿAṣaf Khān, maintained 20,000 horse</td>
<td>49; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Sikandar Khān Uzbek</td>
<td>48; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. ʿAbd al-ʿlāh Khān Uzbek</td>
<td>14; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Qiyā Khān Gung</td>
<td>33; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Yūsuf Muḥammat Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td>18; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Zayn Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td>34; 4,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Shujāʿ āt Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>51; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 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 Abū ’l-Faḍī shared, of the names “Muḥammat... Ahmad.”

2. Mentioned in the Tabaqat as belonging to the Usūrīs—a kibār, “the great Amir,” i.e., probably, the commanders of 5,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Rank</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Sháh Budágh Khán</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ibrahím Khán Uzbak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tamás Muḥammad Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Váźir Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Muḥammad Murád Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Ashraf Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mahdí Qásim Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Muḥammad Qásim Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Khwája Sultán SÁli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Rája Todar Mal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Mirzá Yásuft Khán Ráwári</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mirzá Qulí Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āṯf</td>
<td>vide p. 418.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Muğaffar Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ĥáydar Muḥammad Khán</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Sháhámm Krán Jalá’ír</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Ismá’íl Sultán Duldáw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Muḥammad Khán Jalá’ír</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āṯf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Khán-i Ālam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Qutb-ud-Din Muḥammad Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td>maintained 5,000 horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Muḥíb Ûlái Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Qulí Khán</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Muḥammad Sádīq Khán</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Mirzá Júni Beg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Ismá’íl Qulí Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Iṣtimád Khán Gujráti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Rája Ráy Singh, of Bikhánír and Nagor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Sharíf Muḥammad Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Sháh Fakhrid-Dín Naqábat Khán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Habíb Ûlái Khán</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Sháh Qulí Mahram</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mentioned in the Tabaqat as belonging to the Usámá-í kháir, "the great Amír." I.e., probably the commanders of 5,000.
2 He got insane. Tabaqát.
3 MS., 1,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Title</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Year of Service</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Muḥbīb ʿAlī Khān Raḥtaṣī</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics; vide p. 466.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Muṣīn ʿd-Dīn Ahmad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 128; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Iṣṭīmād Khān Khwājāsārā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>119; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Dastām Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics; vide p. 507, and under No. 247.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tāhīr Khān Mīr Farāghat</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 94; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Sayyīd Ḥāmid of Bukhārā</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>78; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sayyīd Muḥmād Khān, Bahra</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>75; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sayyīd Aḥmad Khān, Bahra</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>91; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Qarā Bahādur Khān</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>179; 700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Bāqī Muḥammad Khān Koka</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>60; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sayyīd Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>140; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Maṣʿūm Khān Faranghūdī</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>157; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Nawrang Khān</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics; vide p. 354.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Shāh Muḥammad Khān Atgah, younger brother of Shams dʿDīn Atgah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Maṭlāb Khān</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 83; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Shaykh Ibrāhīm</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>82; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>ʿAlī Qulī Khān</td>
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<td>124; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tolak Khān Qūchān</td>
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<td></td>
<td>158; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Shāh Beg Khān Kābulī</td>
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<td></td>
<td>57; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fattū Khān Afgān</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics; vide No. 385.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Fath Khān Fīlbān</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āinformatics; vide under No. 385.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Samānṣī Khān Mughul</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 100; 1,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Bāḥū Mankli</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>202; 700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Darwīṣ Muḥammad Uzbak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>81; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Shāhḥāz Khān Kambā</td>
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<td></td>
<td>80; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Khwāja Jahān Khurāsānī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>110; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The MSS. of the Tabqat also have wrongly Rastam Khān.
2 MS. Bahādur Khān.
3 This is probably a mistake of the author of the Tabqat.
### In the Tabaqat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Horse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Muḥammad Qāsim Khān</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Muẓaffar Husayn Mirzā</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Rāja Jagannāth</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Rāja Āskaran</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Rāya Lonkaran</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Mādhūr Singh, &quot;brother of R. Mān Singh&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Sayf Khān Koka</td>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Ghiyāṣd-Dīn ʿAlī Āṣaf Khān</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Pāyanda Khān Mughul</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Mubārak Khān, the Gakkarh</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Bāz Bahādur Afghān</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Mirak Khān Jīnjān (†)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Sayyid Qāsim Bārha</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Rāja Kangār</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Muḥammad Husayn Lashkar Khān, kept 2,000 horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Husayn Khān Tukriyah</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Jalāl Khān, the Gakkarh</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Saʿūd Khān, the Gakkarh</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Isḥābār Khān, Eumuch</td>
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<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Khwājah Tāhir Muḥammad Tātār Khān</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>Moth Rāja</td>
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<td>Miḥtar Khān Khāṣa Khayl</td>
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<td>Saṭhār Khān, Khāṣa Khayl</td>
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<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Bahār Khān, Khāṣa Khayl</td>
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</table>

### In Abū ʿl-Fażl’s list.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in; vide No. 174</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in; vide No. 265</td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
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<td>38</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>vide</em> under No. 134</td>
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<tr>
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<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>vide</em> p. 508, and under No. 247</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Å̲ in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The same as No. 37 on p. 508?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>Farhat Khan Khāsa Khayl,</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>Rāy Sāl Darbārī,</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114.</td>
<td>Rāy Durgā, 1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>Mirak Khan Bahādur,</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116.</td>
<td>Shāh Muḥammad Qalāṭī</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2,000, vide under No. 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>Maqṣūd 5'Alī Kor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>Ikhlās Khan, the Eunuch,</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>Mīhr 5'Alī Sildoz, 1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>Khudāwānd Khan Dakhnī,</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>Mīr Muḥtazā Dakhnī, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>Hasan Khan, a Batāni Afghān, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>Nayyar Beg, son of Sa'īd, the Ghakhtar, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>247; 500. vide under No. 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>Rāja Gopāl, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>Qiyā Khan, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>184; 700, vide under No. 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>Sayyid Hāshim Bārbha, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>143; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127.</td>
<td>Razawai Khan, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>141; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>Rāja Bīr Bal, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>85; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129.</td>
<td>Shaykh Farūd-i Bukhārī, 1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>99; 1,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130.</td>
<td>Rāja Surjan, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>96; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131.</td>
<td>Ja'far Beg, Āṣaf Khan, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>98; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td>Rāja Rūṣi Bairāgī, 1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>118; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133.</td>
<td>Fāzil Khan, 1,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>156; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.</td>
<td>Shāh Quṭb Khan Nāranjī, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>231; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
<td>Shaykh Muḥammad Khan Bukhārī, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>77; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136.</td>
<td>Lāl Khan Badakhshi</td>
<td></td>
<td>209; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137.</td>
<td>Khanjar Beg Chaghīā</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āgin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138.</td>
<td>Makhnūs Khan, 2,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>70; 2,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139.</td>
<td>Sānī Khan Arlāt</td>
<td></td>
<td>216; 500.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 MS. 1,000.
2 He died in the explosion of a mine before Chāltar.
3 He belongs to the old Amīls of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished
   man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well-known Amānī by
   him, dar bāb-i akhārā, on the subject of dancing girls. "Tabaqāt. Vide Akbar nāma,
   II. 82.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Mīrza Husayn Khān</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Jagat Singh, 1,500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Mīrza Najīb Khān</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>ʿAlī Dost Khān, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Sultān Ḥusayn Khān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shirāzī</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Salīm Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Sayyīd Chhājī Bārba</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Dargār Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Hājī Mūsā Sīstānī, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Muhammad Zamān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Khurrām Khān, 2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Muhammad Qulī Toqhāy, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Muḥājīd Khān, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Sultān Ibrāhīm Awhālī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Shāh Ghāzī Khān Turkmān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Sheroya, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Kākār ʿAlī Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Naqlī Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Beg Nūrin Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Qutbū Qadam Khān, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Jalāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Shīmāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Mīrzādā ʿAlī Khān</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Sayyīd ʿAbdul ʿĪlāh Khān</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Mir Sharīf-ī Āmulī, 1,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>Farrukh Khān</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Dost Khān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001</td>
<td>Jaʿfar Khān Turkmān, 1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 He was a servant of Humāyūn. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1,000, and died at Lāhor." One MS. calls him ʿAlī Dost Khān Nūrisī, the other has Bārbstī, an unusual title for the Mughal period.

2 Mūsā Sīstānī is the brother of Mīrzā Yūsūf Khān (No. 25). He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and was killed in Gadīkā, Taḥqīqāt.

3 According to the Taḥqīqāt, he was dead in 1000. Fīlīd Abūl ḡarb, 118, 108, 284, 287.

4 He is not to be confounded with Mīrzā Khurrām (No. 177). Mīrzādā ʿAlī Khān was the son of Ṭūnūsh Khān, one of Humāyūn's courtiers. He was killed at Kāhootām. Abū-l ḡarb, 113, 146, 168.

5 He was the ḍālī, or maternal uncle, of the author of the Taḥqīqāt, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kūmān." ʿAbdul ʿĪlāh Khān, one of Humāyūn's courtiers. He was killed at Konīhāmār. Abū-l ḡarb, 113, 146, 168.

6 One MS. calls him ʿAbdul ʿĪlāh Khān, the other ʿAbdul ʿĪlāh Khān. "He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and is now (a.d. 1001) dead."
169. Rāy Manohar .......................... No. 265 ; 400.
170. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahim of Lakhnow 197 ; 700.
171. Mirza Abū 'l-Muẓaffar 240 ; 500.
172. Rāj Singh, son of Rāja Āskaran 174 ; 1,000.
173. Rāy Patr Dās .......................... 196 ; 700.
175. Muḥammad Khān Niyyāzī 239 ; 500.
176. Rām Dās Kachhwāha 238 ; 500.
177. Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim .......................... 251 ; 500.
179. Shams-ud-Dīn Husayn, son of Aṣam Khān 163 ; 1,000.
180. Khvāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī 159 ; 1,000.
181. Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husayn Injū, 1,000 164 ; 1,000.
182. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ilāh Khān, son of Muhammad Ghaws, 1,000 173 ; 1,000.
183. Sayyid Rājū Bārha, 1,000 165 ; 1,000.
184. Mednī Rāy Chauhān, 1,000 198 ; 700.
185. Mir Tāhir Ragawi, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān 236 ; 500.
186. Tāsh Beg Kābūl .......................... 172 ; 1,000.
187. Aḥmad Beg Kābūl, keeps 700 horse 191 ; 700.
188. Sher Khvāja .............................. 176 ; 800.
189. Muhammad Qult Turkmān 203 ; 600.
190. Mirzā ʿAlī Alamshāhī 3 237 ; 500.
191. Wazīr Jamīl .............................. 200 ; 700.
192. Rāy Bhoj, 1,000 175 ; 1,000.
193. Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān 204 ; 600.
194. Mir Sadr Jahān .......................... 194 ; 700.
195. Hasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmārī 167 ; 1,000.
196. Shāhāmīn, son of ʿAzīz Koka 233 ; 500.
197. Rāja Mukatmān Bhadaurya 249 ; 500.
198. Bāqī Safarchī, son of Tāhir Khān Farūghat not in the A*īm; vide No. 94.

1 "He is the brother of ʿAlamshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." 2 Tabaqāt. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded under No. 237. 3 Or Safar-īMī-P.
In the *Tabaqat*.

199. Faridun Barlas . . . . No. 227; 500.

200. Bahludur Khan Qurdar, a Tarin
Afghun . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 269; 400.

201. Shikeh Basyazid-i Chishti . . . . 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abū 'l-Faḍī classes among the commanders of 400. Nīgām, however, adds the following note to his own list—"Let it be known that the title of Amīr is given to all such as hold Mansabs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank."

The Historian Badā*oni* has not given a list of Amīrs, 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 Amīrs, as Nīgām 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 Mansabdārs whose names Abū 'l-Faḍī has not given, because the *A'in list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahabat Khān, Khān Jahān Lodi (vide under No. 309), and 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firuz-jang.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahāngīr's reign; but the Dutch traveller De Laet, in his work on India (p. 151) has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahāngīr's Mansabdārs, which may be compared with the lists in the *A'in and the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 717). Leaving out the princes, whose mansabs were above 5,000, we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders of</th>
<th>Under Akbar (A'in)</th>
<th>Under Jahāngīr (De Laet)</th>
<th>Under Shāhjahān (Pādishāhnāma)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commanders</td>
<td>Under Akbar (Å* in)</td>
<td>Under Jahângîr (De Laët)</td>
<td>Under Shâhjahân (Pâdishâhnâma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>not specified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>not specified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>245</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>397</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>2,064</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Aḥādîs under Jahângîr, De Laët fixes as follows:

- Chahâraspas: 741
- Sihaspas: 1,322
- Duaspas: 1,428
- Yakaspas: 950

4,441 Aḥādia.
Under Shâhjahân, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mansâbs above 5,000. There is no Hindû among them. De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amirâs were Hindûs. But we may compare the lists of the Āʿīn and the Pâdishâhnâma.

We find under Akbar:

- among 252 mansâbdârs from 5,000 to 500: 32 Hindûs,
- among 163 mansâbdârs from 400 to 200: 25 Hindûs.

Under Shâhjahân (20th year of his reign), we have:

- among 12 mansâbdârs above 5,000: no Hindûs,
- among 580 mansâbdârs from 5,000 to 500: 110 Hindûs.

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the Pâdishâhnâma. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindûs and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my "Chapter from Muhammadan History," Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

Āʿīn 30 (continued).

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME.

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty, who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention. And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world. The first class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views, fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty. The second class pay less attention to the external world, but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge. The third class do not step beyond the arena of observation (nazar) and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony. The fourth class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof. The fifth class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony. Each class has many subdivisions.

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people. The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings; but truthfulness helps on the pen.
First Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds.

1. Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.¹

 Vide under No. 253. The Taḥqūqūt also mentions a Shaykh Mubārak of Alwar, and a Sayyyid Mubārak of Gwālyār.

2. Shaykh Nizām.

Abū ʿl-Faḍl either means the renowned Nizām ʿd-Dīn of Amethī, near Lakhnau, of the Chishti sect, who died a.m. 979; or Nizām ʿd-Dīn of Nārnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaykh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtī, and died at Jaunpūr in 970.


Died at Ahmadābād in 998. The Taḥqūqūt mentions a contemporary, Shaykh Wajīh ʿd-Dīn Gujrātī, who died in 995.

5. Shaykh Ruḥn ʿd-Dīn.

He was the son of Shaykh ʿAbd ʿl-Quddūs of Gango. Badāʾonī saw him at Dīhlī at the time of Bayrām's fall.


7. Shaykh Jalāl ʿd-Dīn.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (khālīfa) of ʿAbd ʿl-Quddūs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaykh Ilāhīyya.

Ilāhīyya is Hindūstānī for the Persian Ilāhīād, “given (diyā) by God,” “Theodore.” He lived at Khayrābād and died in 993.


“Mawlānā Ḥusām ʿd-Dīn Surkh of Lāhor. He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious.” Taḥqūqūt.

10. Shaykh ʿAbd ʿl-Ghāfūr.

He belongs to Aṅgāmpūr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of ʿAbd ʿl-Quddūs. Died in 995.

11. Shaykh Panjū.

He was wrongly called Bechū on p. 110, note 3. He died in 969.

12. Mawlānā Iṣmāʿīl.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Ḥusayn, who taught in Humāyūn's Madrāsa at Dīhlī. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

¹ The notes are taken from the Taḥqūqūt, the third volume of Badāʾonī, and the Mīr at ʿl-ṢĀḥīm.
17. Damūdar Bhat.

Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.
22. Shaykh Ruknū ’d-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḥamān (the bow maker).
23. Shaykh Amānū ’Ilāh.
24. Khwāja Ābdū ’sh-Shahīd.
He is the son of Khwāja Ḫusain Khwāja, son of the renowned Khwāja
Aḥrār. Vide No. 17 and No. 108. He died in 982, and was
buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and
held a jagīr in Pargana ジュマリ in the Bāri Duāb, where he maintained
two thousand poor.
25. Shaykh Mūsā.
He was a smith (āhungar), and performed many miracles. He died
in the beginning of Aḥkar’s reign, and was buried at Lāhor. The elder
brother of Shaykh Salīm-i Chishti also was called Shaykh Mūsā; vide
under No. 82. Vide also below, No. 102.
28. Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun.
The Tabaqūt calls him Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun Majzūb of Lāhor.
29. Shaykh Burhān.
He lived as a recluse in Kālpī, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats,
denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the
Qurān. He was a Mahdawi. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred
years, and was buried in his cell.
Shaykh Kipūr Majzūb of Gwālīyār, a Husaynī Sayyid, was at first a
soldier, then turned a bhikshū, and supplied widows and the poor with
water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.
32. Shaykh Dāʾūd.
He is called Jhannīwāl from Jhannī near Lāhor. His ancestors had
come from Arabia and settled at Sitpūr in Multān, where Dāʾūd was born.
Badāʾoni (III, p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in
982.

1 Badāʾoni (III, p. 131) mentions a Zaynū ’d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamānur.
33. Shaykh Salim-i Chishti.
He was a descendant of Shaykh Farid-i Shakarganj, and lived in Fatehpur Sikri highly honoured by Akbar. Jahangir was called after him Salim. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above.

34. Shaykh Muhammed Ghaws of Gwályar.

*Vide* No. 173.

35. Rám Bhadr.

36. Jadrúp.

*Third Class.*—Such as know philosophy and theology.¹

37. Mir Fathu'lláh of Shíraz.

*Vide* pp. 34, 110, 208, 284. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhlil* of Fáriqí; *vide* Badá'oni, III, 292. His two sons were Mir Taqi and Mir Shariif.

38. Mir Murtazá.
He is not to be confounded with Mir Murtazá, No. 162. Mir Murtazá Sharif of Shíraz died in 974 at Dihli, and was buried at the side of the poet Khusraw, 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 Dakhin to Ágra. *Vide* Akbaránáma, II, 278, 337.

He came in 968 from Mawara 'n-nahr to Ágra. *Bad*., II, 49. He died in Kábul in 970; *i.e*., III, 152.

40. Háfiz of Táshkand.
He is also called Háfiz Kumaki. He came in 977 from Táshkand to India, and was looked upon in Mawara 'n-nahr 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 Gujrát to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazirship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. *Vide* Badá'oni, II, 187.

41. Mawlána Sháh Muhammed.

*Vide* p. 112; *Bad*., II, 295, ll.

42. Mawlána Alá'éd-Dín.
He came from Láristán, and is hence called Lári. He was the son of Mawlána Kamálud-Dín Husayn and studied under Mawlána Jalál Dawwání Sháhi. He was for some time Akbar’s teacher. Once at a darbár he placed himself before the Kháán-i A’qam, when the Mir Tozak

¹ *Maqábul o maqábul, pr. that which is based on reason (qáf) and traditional testimony (nasl).*
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 4,000 bighas as sayyārghāl in Sambhal, where he died.

43. Ḥakīm Miṣrī. Vide No. 254.

44. Mawlānā Shaykh Husayn (of Ajmīr).
He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Muṣīn-i Chishti of Ajmīr, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. Badā'oni, III, 87.

45. Mawlānā Mīr Kalān.
He died in 981, and was buried at Āgra. He was Jahāngīr's first teacher. Bad., II, 170.

46. Ghāzi Khān. Vide No. 144.

47. Mawlānā Ṣaṭāqī.
He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Ṭabāqāt calls him Mulla Ṣādāq Ḥalwāʾī. Badā'oni (III, 255, where the Ed. Bibl. India has wrongly Ḥalwānī) puts him among the poets.

Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition; Other Histories only mention one Mawlānā of that name.

Fourth Class.—Such as know philosophy (ṣaqlī kalām).¹


50. Mawlānā ʿAbdā' I.-Bāqī.
He was a Śadr; vide pp. 282, 528 [and Akbarwāna, II, 143].

51. Mirzā Muṣīs.
He was an Uzbek, came from Māwārā ʿn-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmiʿ Masjīd of Muṣīn ʿd-Dīn Farankhūdī (vide No. 128) at Āgra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. Vide Bad., II, 187.

52. Mawlānāzāda Shukr.

53. Mawlānā Muḥammad.
He lived at Lāhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badā'oni (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muṣīt.

¹ This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. ʿAbdu'l-Faqī evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.
Abū 'l-Faḍl, however, means perhaps Mawlānā Muḥammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shi'ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abū 'l-Faḍl, to 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 Sūrat. Mīrūṭ. But Badā'īni tells quite a different story; vide p. 198.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qāsim Beg.

*Vide* No. 350, p. 112. The Tabaqāt also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the ʿaqīḍa ʿulūm.

55. Mawlānā Nūrū dāl-Dīn Tarkhān.

*Vide* under No. 393. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Muthawalli of Humayūn's tomb in Dihli, where he died.

The Tabaqāt says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Maṣāfir, he was born in Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar, and was a private friend of Humayūn's, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to ʿIrāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the takhallus of "Nūrī". He is also called "Nūrī of Safīdūn", because he held Safīdūn for some time as jāgīr. Akbar gave him the title of Khān, and later that of Tarkhān, and appointed him to Samānāh.

56. Nārāyn.
57. Madhūbhat.
58. Sribhat.
59. Bālūn Nāth.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balḥadhr Misr.
62. Bāsūdev Misr.
63. Bāmanbhṭ.

64. Bidyānīwās.
65. Gurnāṭh.
66. Gopīnāṭh.
68. Bhāṭṭāchāhrīj.
69. Bhagirat Bhāṭṭāchāhrīj.
70. Kāshi Nāṭh Bhāṭṭāchāhrīj.

Physicians:

72. Ḥakīm Mī l-Mulk.

His name is Shamsu dāl-Dīn and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gilān on the Caspian, to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innova-

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1 The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; vide p. 363. The Maṣāfir has some verses made by Nūrī on his empty title.
tions commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died.

73. Mulla Mir.

The Tabaqat calls him Mulla Mir Tabib of Hairat, grandson of Mulla Abd al-Ḥay Yazdi.  
74. Ḥakim Abū l-Faṭḥ. Vide No. 112, p. 468.  
75. Ḥakim Zahir Beg. Vide No. 150, p. 490.  
77. Ḥakim Ḥasan.  
He also came from Gilan. His knowledge, says Bada’uni (III, 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Ḥakim Aristū.  
79. Ḥakim Faṭḥ al-‘llāh.  
He also came from Gilan, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy. He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qanun. In the first year of Jahangir’s reign he was a Commander of 1,000, three hundred horse (Tuzuk, p. 34). The Fudishāhnāma (I, b., 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Faṭḥ al-‘llāh, was a doctor at Shājahān’s court.

80. Ḥakim Masihī al-Mulk.  
He came from the Dakhin, where he had gone from Shiraz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sultān Murād. He died in Mālwa.

81. Ḥakim Jalāl al-Din Muẓaffar. Vide No. 348, p. 582.  
82. Ḥakim Luṭf al-‘llāh. Vide No. 354, p. 584.  
83. Ḥakim Sayf al-Mulk Lang.  
Bada’uni and the Tabaqat call him Sayf al-Mulkān. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of Sayf al-Ḥukumā, “the sword of the doctors.” He came from Dāmiwand, and was in Agra during Bayram’s regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the takhallus of “Shuja’ī.” He is not to be confused with No. 201, p. 528.

84. Ḥakim Humām. Vide No. 205, p. 529.  
86. Ḥakim Shīfātī.  
The Mirāt mentions a Ḥakim Shīfātī, who in his poetical writings calls himself Muẓaffar ibn-i Muhammad Al-busaynī As-shīfātī. He was born at Iṣfahān, and was a friend of Shāh ʿAbdās-ī Safawi. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his Masnavī in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 795).
87. Ḥakīm Niṣmatu 'llāh.
88. Ḥakīm Dawāṭi.

Dawāṭi was also the takḥallus of No. 85.
89. Ḥakīm Ţalab ʿAlī.
90. Ḥakīm ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥīm.
91. Ḥakīm Rūḥu 'llāh.
92. Ḥakīm Fakhr ʿd-Dīn ʿAlī.
93. Ḥakīm Is-lāq.
94. Shaykh Ḥasan, and 95. Shaykh Bīnā.

Shaykh Ḥasan of Pānīpat, and his son Shaykh Bīnā were renowned surgeons. Instead of "Bīnā", the MSS. have various readings. The Muṣāfir has Phaniyā, the Tabaqāt Bhanīyā.

Shaykh Bīnā’s son is the well-known Shaykh Ḥasan, or Hassū, who under Jahāngīr’s rose to great honours, and received the title of Muqarrab Khān. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassū was physician to Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5,000 and governor of Gujrat, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Surat. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027) he was made governor of Bihār, and in the 16th, governor of Āgra. In the beginning of Shāhjahān’s reign, he was pensioned off, and received the Pargana of Kayrāna, his birthplace, as jāgīr. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharafu ʿd-Dīn of Pānīpat, and died at the age of ninety. In Kayrāna, 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 Kayrāna mangoes, according to the Muṣāfir, have since been famous in Dīḥī.

Muqarrab’s son, Rīzāu ʿllāh, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800. Awrangzeb made him a Khān. He died in the 16th year of Awrangzeb.

Muqarrab’s adopted son is Masihā-i Kairānawi. His real name was Saʿdāu ʿllāh. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sītā. Rāmchandra’s wife.

96. Mahaṭeved. 98. Nārāyin.
97. Bhim Nāṭh. 99. Sīwaijī.¹

¹ The Tabaqāt mentions a few other Hindī doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar’s reign, viz. Bihrāǧū, Durgā Mal, Chandr Sen ("an excellent surgeon"), and Illī (one MS. has Abī),
Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naqîl).¹

100. Miyan Hâtîm.
He lived at Sambhal. The historian Badâ‘oni, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hâtîm died in 969.

101. Miyan Jamâl Khân.
He was Muftî of Dihlî and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambî.

102. Mawlânâ ‘Abdu’l-Qâdir.
He was the pupil of Shaykh Hâmîd Qâdirî (buried at Hâmîdpûr, near Multân), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Mûsâ, regarding the right of succession. ‘Abdu’l-Qâdir used to say the nafî-prayers² in the audience-hall of Fâthpûr Sîkri, 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 ‘Abdu’l-Qâdir went back to Uchh. Shaykh Mûsâ did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. Vide below, Nos. 109, 131.

The Mîrs-ût mentions a Mawlânâ ‘Abdu’l-Qâdir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar’s age.

103. Shaykh Ahmad.
The Tabaqût mentions a Shaykh Háji Aḥmad of Lâhor, and a Shaykh Aḥmad Háji Pûlîdi Majûb of Sind.

This is the title of Mawlânâ ‘Abdu’l-Îlâh of Sûltânûn pûr, author of the <Aṣmat-i Anbiyâ, and a commentary to the Shamsî ‘l-Nabi. Humâyûn gave him the titles of Mahdìdûm¹ ‘l-Mulk and Shaykh ‘l-Islâm. He was a bigoted Sunnî, and looked upon Abû ‘l-Faţîl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujràt after his return from Makkah.

The Tabaqût says, he lived at Lâhor and was a learned man.
The Mîrs-ût mentions another Mawlânâ ‘Abdu’l-Salâm of Lâhor, who was a great lawyer (faqîh) and wrote a commentary to Bâzîwî. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shâhjahân’s reign.

106. Qâzi Şâdir¹ ‘d-Dîn.
Qâzi Şâdir¹ ‘d-Dîn Qurayshî ‘Abhâsî of Jâlîndhâr was the pupil of Mahdìdûm¹ ‘l-Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held such broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven

¹ As religious law, Hadîs, history, etc.
² Voluntary prayers.
from court, he was sent as Qāżī to Bharōch, where he died. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrāt.

107. Mawlānā Saʿadu ʿllāh.

He lived at Biyana, 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. Mawlānā Iaḥāq.

He was the son of Shaykh Kākū, and lived at Lāhor. Shaykh Saʿadu ʿllāh Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.

110. Mir Nūr ʿllāh.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Ḥakīm Abū ʿl-Fath. He was a Shiʿah, but practised taqīya among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Ḥanīfa. When Shaykh Muʿīn Qāzi of Lāhor retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahāngīr's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word and was executed.

111. Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Qādir.

He was Akbar's teacher (ākhūnd). Vide No. 242, p. 542.
112. Qāzi Abdu ʿl-Samī.

He was a Miyānkāli, and according to Badāoni (II, 314) played chess for money and drank wine. Akbar made him in 990. Qāziyā ʿl-Quẓāt, in place of Qāzi Jalālu ʿd-Dīn Mūltānī (No. 122). Vide Akbarnāma, III, 593.

113. Mawlānā Qāsim.

The Ṭabaqat mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār.

114. Qāzi Ḥasan. Vide No. 281, p. 359
115. Mullā Kamāl.

The Ṭabaqāt mentions a Shaykh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salīm.

117. Mullā ʿAlam. Vide p. 159; note.

He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled Fawātīḥ ʿl-Wilāyāt. Bad., II, 337.


He was the son of Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh ʿAbdu ʿl-Qudūfūs

1 Miyānkāli is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā.
of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Ḥadīṣ. When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brähman, the details of which are related in Badaʾiʿonī (III, 80) led to the Shaykh's deposal.

Badaʾiʿonī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the Mirāḥat in 992. ʿAbd-al-Nabi's family traced their descent from Abū Ḥanīfa.

119. Shaykh Bhik.

The Tabaqāt has also "Bhik", while Badaʾiʿonī (III, 24) has "Bhikan". Shaykh Bhik lived in Kākor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaykh Abū l-Fath.

Shaykh Abū l-Fath of Gujrāt was the son-in-law of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawi. He was in Āgra at the time of Bayrām Khān.

121. Shaykh Bahāʾuḍ-Dīn Muftī.

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man.


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. Shaykh Ziyāʾuḍ-Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyāʾuḍ-Allāh were intended; vide No. 173.


125. Shaykh ʿUmar.


127. Mawlānā Jamāl.

The Tabaqāt has a Mulla Jamāl, a learned man of Multān. Badaʾiʿonī (III, 108) mentions a Mawlānā Jamāl of Alī, which is said to be a Māhalla of Lābor.

128. Shaykh Ahmadī.

Shaykh Ahmadī Fayyāz of Amethi, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Niẓām-ud-Dīn of Amethi (p. 607).

129. Shaykh ʿAbd-al-Ghānī.

He was born at Badaʾon and lived afterwards in Dihli a retired life. The Khān Khānān visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid.

1 Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tazk (p. 91, l. 1) from below) mentions that Jahāngīr when a child read the Ḥadīṣ under "Shaykh ʿAbd-al-Ghānī, whose fate is related in the Akhbarnāma." This is a mistake for ʿAbd-al-Nabi (No. 118).
He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the
_Nuzhat_ 'l-Arvāh, and several treatises on the technical terms (ṣīḥāhoc)
of the Ṣafī, one of which goes by the name of Sanābāl.
The _Tabaqāt_ mentions a Mullā Ismā'īl Muftī of Lāhor, and a Mullā
Ismā'īl of Awadh.
133. Mullā Abhā 'l-Qādir.
This is the historian Badā'īnī. Abū 'l-Fażl also calls him Mullā in
the _Akbarnāma._
134. Mawlānā Šadr Jahān.
This seems a repetition of No. 131.
135. Shaykh Jawhār.
136. Shaykh Munawwar.
Vide p. 112. He was born at Lāhor, and was noted for his memory
and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the _Masāḥirīq_ 'l-ānwar
(Ḥadīṣ), the _Badiyya_ 'l-bayān, the _Irshād-i Qāzī_ etc. When the learned
were banished from court, he was imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he
died in 1011.
His son, Shaykh Kabīr, was also renowned for his learning. He died
in 1026, in Āhmadābād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great
Āhmadābādī saint Shāh ʿĀlam. _Mīrād_.
137. Qāšī Ibrāhīm.
Vide pp. 181, 183, 198. _Badā'īnī_ and the _Tabaqāt_ mention a Ḥājī
Ibrāhīm of Āgra, a teacher of the Ḥadīṣ.
139. Bijāi Sen Sūr.
140. Bhān Chand.

Ā* in 30 (continued).

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right
to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible
realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But
many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter
it away from a wish to possess inferior store; they pass their time in
praising the mean-minded, or soil their language with invectives against
the wise. If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed;
for by this means lofty ideas are understood.
He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart.¹

Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action.²

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. Poets 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 dīnān, or have written a masna'ī. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz-i Fayṣī.

(Vide p. 548.)

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 Mālik 'sh-shu'arā or king of the poets.³ He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Fayṣī, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Faygāzi, as he himself says in his "Nal Daman":—

Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was "Fayṣī".
But as I now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the "Faygāzi" of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love).⁴
His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius. He was

¹ I.e. gives men something valuable.
² Saints perform wonderful actions (karāmat), prophets perform miracles (mu'jahid). Both in miracles, but the ēnānat are less in degree than the mu'jahid. Whenever the emperors spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "karāmat, karāmat", "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!" De Laët.
³ (1) azāī of Mashhad (vide below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Fayṣī got it. Under Jahāngīr Tālib of Amlī was mālik 'sh-shu'arā, and under Shāhjahān, Muhammad Jān Qudri and, after him, Abū Tālib Kašmīrī. Awrangzīb hated poetry as much as he hated history and music.
⁴ Fayṣī is an Arabic word meaning "abundance". Fayṣī would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. Faygāzi is the intensive form of Fayṣī, giving super-abundantly. Faygāzi, originally, is the abstract noun, "the act of giving superabundantly," and then becomes a title.

The form of Faygāzi agrees with the form of 'Allāhī Abū 'l-Faṣl's takhallus, and some historians, as Rādī et al., have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of Fayṣī to Faygāzi.
eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawā'īl* "Yilhām*" ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the *Qur'ān* in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the *Sūrat* "Yikhrās*" contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty, and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends, and foes; and the poor were comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He studied medicine deeply, 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. But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

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1 I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the *Manārīd* *Yikhrās* became the latter also be written as *sawā'īl*, without the use of dotted letters. The *Manārīd* was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasa and Maulawi Muhammad Sahib of Masmā. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words *lāh*, *salām*, *Gīm* "Yilhām*, *Adam*, *Muhammad*, *kalām*, *Yish*, *ahā*, *basā*, etc., and possesses little interest. Fayzī displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

2 This is the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, which commences with the words *Qul hām-e "ahad*. The letters added give 1002; Fayzī, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever *tāriqā* was found out by Mir Haydar, Muḥammad Y of Kāshān, poetically styled *Kasāfī*. Vide below, the 31st poet.

3 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.

4 *Thārīk*, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *salām*. Abū 'l-Fazl wishes to say that Fayzī was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

5 Abū 'l-Fazl kept his promise, and collected, two years after Fayzī's death, the stray leaves of the *Murāja* "Yadārā" (p. 94) regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abū 'l-Fazl in the 3rd book of his *Mahlābāt*. The same book contains an elegy on Fayzī's death.

MSS. of Fayzī's *Nāl Dāmān* are very numerous. His Diwan, exclusive of the *Qusūs*, was lithographed at Dihlī, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubābī (by Fayzī), which shows that the words *Dīnār* + Fayzī contain the *tāriqā*, i.e., A.H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The *Mirā* "Y-Cālūm* says that Fayzī composed 101 books. Raddi* con estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abū 'l-Fazl at 50,000. The *Aḥbar* (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Fayzī's works. Daghistānī says in his *Rūjās* + sh-shurūd that Fayzī was a pupil of Khwāja Husayn Sanāīi of Mashhad, and it seems that Abū 'l-Fazl has for this reason placed Sanāā immediately after Fayzī. The same writer remarks that Fayzī is in Persia often wrongly called *Fayzī Dāshān*.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Fayzī's works.

39
not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write
down some of his verses.

Extracts from Fuyzi's Qasidas (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 dress of human understanding is unfit to be used
as the philosopher's stone.
8. Man's so-called foresight and guiding reason wander about
bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.
9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first
letter of the alphabet of Thy love.
10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being,
is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.
11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are
both eager for union with Thees; 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 \(^1\) of saints \(^2\)
14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my rest-
lessness (qutrub) \(^3\) will end in madness.

\(^1\) Literally, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.
\(^2\) My text has fitnat; but several MSS. of Fuyzi's Qasidas have qutrub, which signifies
incipient madness, restlessness of thought.
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).³

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,⁴ 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, are the fond 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 (الكسير اكبري).

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (mushtarī)⁵ thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; set 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.

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.
⁵ This is a pun. Mushtarī also means Jupiter, one of the planets,
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 (mukurvar).

12. O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain; thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes.

13. If on this hunting-ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phoenix with sparrow feathers.¹

14. Do not be proud (farbih) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dest thou not know that people praise a waist (miyân) when it is thin? ²

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 shouldest not count thy steps [i.e., thou shouldest 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 ³ 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.

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 shows no friendship.

23. * There is no one that understands me; for were I understood,

¹ i.e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.
² Proud, in Persian farbih, pr. fat. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The Pun on farbih and miyân cannot be translated.
³ As a hypocrite does.
⁴ The next verses are šakhriga (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 Bâddik, to erect in Alexandria a tower 300 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.
I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its Hindūstān 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 masterpiece 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 sījā in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Fayzī's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

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 Sulaymān.1

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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.
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 flies before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment.

7. I am the simple Fayzi; 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 Fayzi, 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. 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]!

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1 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 Khurram:

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I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul,
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.
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.

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I walk on a path [the path of love], where every footstep is concealed; I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.

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Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness.

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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.

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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.

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1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine; they made Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

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.

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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 pears 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, show 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.

4 Masih (the "Messiah") and Khizr (Elias) tasted the water of life (eh's langah). 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.
Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.¹

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. Fayzi, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims, who go to the Ka'ba; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.²

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.³

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.
2. I show 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.
2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really know what good luck is have never tried their good fortune with golden chains.⁴

¹ Fidé, p. 573, note 4. 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.
² Fayzi is ahead of his co-religionists.
³ The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Fayzi 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.
⁴ To the true Sufi existence and non-existence are indifferent: he finds rest in Him. But none can find this rest unless he gives away his riches.
The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my book (bāyāz) to the white dawn of morn.  

O Fayži, is there anyone 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 Kaʿba with stones from Mount Sinai!
2. The wall (hāfiz) of the Kaʿba is broken, and the basis of the qibla 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 Kaʿba, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.
2. We might throw down this Kaʿba which Hajjāj 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 Fayži, 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.

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to

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1: Observe the pun in the text on sūchē, bāyāz, and maṣūnakūda.
2: The street where the lovely boy lives. Can anyone walk in the street of love without losing his patience?
3: If the ābās (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islām would be pulled down; for Muḥammadūdān would have no qibla left, i.e., no place where to turn the face in prayer.
4: When a man is in love, he loses his faith, and becomes a kāfīr. Thus Khurāw says—Kāfīr-i sīaknī, mūṣulmānī darbār alīst, etc., "I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islām?" So Fayži 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.
Zulaykhā! It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.¹

I cannot show ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with—sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through an aperture so small as the pupil of my eye 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 the companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) "Hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents)."²

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookest 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 Fayżī, I am so high-minded that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

¹ When Zulaykhā, wife of Potipher, had fallen in love with Yūsuf (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 summoned Yūsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, "Mā huwa lamaaa?" "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 Zulaykhā 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)" is a proverb, and expressed that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfill. The friends tell Fayżī 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 foolhardiness 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 shows 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'ba will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches.¹

1. Behold the garb of Fayzi's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven.
2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Fayzi's heart: it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Fayzi what no mortal enemy would have done.

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.
1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdas; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love).

2. Walk on, Fayzī, 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 inquire 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 Laylī had had no desire to be with Majnūn, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel?

2. If anyone prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Haram [the temple of Makkah]?

3. Love has robbed Fayzī 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.

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1 A lover has no patience; hence he tears the collar of his coat.

2 Each man shows in his own peculiar way that he is in love. Laylī rode about in a restless way; some people show their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah; I worship idols.
1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the ʿId, and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs of the last thirty days.

2. Take Fayḍī’s Dīwān to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

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 Fayḍī’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 Kaʿba; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rubūsīs.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call ūf ṭūb [possessor of the sciences], and our guide on the path of religion.

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God’s light. How then can we call him a shadow?

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness.

Who even by day once 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.

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1 The ʿĪd ʿĪṣṭ, or feast, after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramāzān. Fayḍī, like a bad Mahāmāmī, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

2 Done by me by not having fasted.

3 Fayḍī means the heart.

4 A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the Mirʾāt ʿAlām to the poet Yabhāʾ of Kāshān, who, during the reign of Shāhjāhān was occupied, with a poetical paraphrase of the Pudšakhlāna,
Thy old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.¹

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,² give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

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.³

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 surma-sellers.⁴

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.⁵

O Fāyẕī, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.⁶

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Fāyẕī, 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.

¹ This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.
² Kings receive a light immediately from God; see p. III of Abu 1-Fazl’s Preface.
³ Mahābrā, pl. of mahāra, according to the Bahā’-i Ājam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of haft jash (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.
⁴ Lovers are silent in polite society. Surma is the well-known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.
⁵ The disciples of Akbar’s divine faith have burnt the Qurʾān. They are different from the Ǧulānī faqīḥ, the learned of the age.
⁶ Articles to be conveyed away are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Fāyẕī wishes to leave the house of his old nature.
A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing. Cut off a piece from thy heart, and put it on thine eye.

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinth bed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.
I sit upon this throne as the Sulaymān of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave the body, as long as the heart remains!
A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is kushta.

O Fayżī, 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 thy 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 on the ocean with a handful of dust.
I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate; he is killed that throws himself on me.

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dregs; 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.
He held the office of a magistrate and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

1 For thy heart is pure and transparent.
2 Solomon understood the language of the birds.
3 Kushta, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.
4 My text has arābē. Arābē is the plural of râb, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of külkastar, or râk-sofē, the head man of a place, Germ. Amtmann; hence arābē, the office of a magistrate.
2. Khwāja Husayn Sanāʾi of Mashhad.¹

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 Ruhāʾ 'l-quds is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].²

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

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

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.

¹ The author of the Ātashkāda yi Āzem says that Khwāja Husayn was the son of Ghiyāt Mirzā, and was in the service of Suhān Ibrāhīm Mirzā Šādawī. But in his own Diwān he is said to describe himself as the son of Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm of Mashhad, and the diwan of the Ātashkāda is a bad reading for dīwan.

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 Aḥṣārī's extracts confirm. Neither does Badāʾuni (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The Fakhrādī again praises his poems. The Mirʾāzī's Ḥārām says that "he was in the service of Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Shāh Tahmāsp. On the accession of Shāh Ismāʿīl II, Sanāʾī presented an ode, but Ismāʿīl was offended, as the poem did not mention his name, and accused the poet of having originally written it in honour of Ibrāhīm Mirzā. Sanāʾī fled to Hindustān, and was well received at court. He died at Lāher in A.H. 1000. His Diwān Shkandfardnāma, and Shkandfardnāma, are well known." Spranger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 378) says that he died in 966. The Muḥtarrā Ruhānī states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mirzā Bāqir, son of Mir ʿArabshāh. It was mentioned on p. 619, note 3, that Fāyż looked upon him as his teacher.

² Ruhāʾ 'l-quds, the spirit of holiness. Maryam, the Virgin Mary.

³ So strange is the boy whom I love.

⁴ This verse is unintelligible to me.
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.\(^1\)

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.\(^2\)

O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise my hand to my collar?\(^3\)

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying\(^4\)

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'ba, expect to fine 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 Sanā'I'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 inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.\(^5\)

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. Zulaykhalā 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 [Yūsuf] 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.

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\(^1\) Or we may read ārmanā instead of gārmanā, when the meaning would be, "the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting."

\(^2\) This second reading is too far fetched and for practical reason may be dismissed—P.

\(^3\) There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.

\(^4\) The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. Vide p. 630, note 1.

\(^5\) The remaining hemistich is not clear.

\(^6\) The Zendakhā calls him Mr Huznī, and says he left Persia with the intention of paying his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The Zendakhā (p. 101 of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Jumābūd, and was a merchant. The Šaft Êftes says he was pupil of Qāsim-ī Kāhlī (the next poet).
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 Ayāz or a Mahmūd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.1

1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to show 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. Qāsim-i Kāli.2

He is known as Miyān Kāli. He knew something of the ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people 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

1 Ayāz was a slave of Mahmūd of Ghānī, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Māzārīs entitled Mahmūd o Ayāz.

2 Kāli, "granny," is his tēkhālas. Amīr Chos (III, 172) says that he versified in crude and the ideas stolen from others; but yet his poems are not without merit. He was well read in the exegesis of the Qur'ān, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of šulā; he wrote on music, and was clever in tārākā and riddles. He had visited several Shāhīs of renown, among them the great poet Jānī (died a.m. 899). 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 Payši,"
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 for terrestrial goods in prayer to God’s throne.

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of Khizr.¹

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow; perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me.²

1. When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant.

Kālī wrote a Masnavī entitled gul-afshār, a reply or jwāb, to the Basān, and completed a zafāh. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humāyūn and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The Asakhlaqi-i Āzar (Calculta edition, p. 250) calls him “Mīrzā Abū ‘l-Qásim of Kābul”, and says that he was born in Turkistān, and brought up in Kābul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistān, Kālī was well received by Humāyūn.

The same work calls him a Gulistāna Sayyid—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of “Mīrzā” we should read “Mir”.

The Ḥafi Jafis has a lengthy note on Kālī. Amin of Ray (p. 512) says that Kālī’s name is Sayyid Najib d-Dīn Muhammad, his khanja being Abū ‘l-Qásim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jāmīl, and afterwards Hashim of Kirmān, who was called Shah Jahāṅgīr. He went via Bakhshar to Hindūstān. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pugilist, and would not mind fighting 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 Khwājas do; whose formula is: “bakh dar aṣa, nigar dar gudam, khawat dar anjāras, tafṣir dar usman.” “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 “fit,” or elephant, was to occur (Abū ‘l-Fatīr has given three verses of it), Akbar gave him one lac of tankah, 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 Banārās, as he was fond of Bahādur Khān (No. 22). Subsequently, he lived at Āgra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it ʿAbdul-Jalālī (7). He died on the 2nd Rabī‘ II, 988. Fāyż’s tārīgh (Rabū‘Gī metre):

give 2nd Rabī‘ II, 978, unless we read 988, because Mawlānā Qāsim of Būkhārā, a pupil of Kālī expressed the tārīgh by the words:

“Mulla Qāsim-i Kālī died,” which gives 988. Vide also Ishā’inama-yi Jahāṅgīr, p. 5 and above, p. 219.

Abū ‘l-Fatīr calls him Misqāt Kālī, Miyānkī (vide p. 615) is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Būkhārā.

¹ Khīzr is the “Wandering Jew” of the East.
² A verse often quoted to this day in India.
2. Wherever I go I, like the elephant, throw dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.

3. The elephant taming king is Jalâl-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

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 Sūfis.

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?³

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame anyone; for this is blameworthy.

¹ Badâlī at (III, 170) says that Ghazâlî fled from Irân to the Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khân Zamân (No. 13, p. 335) 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 Malîk 'ab-Shâqîd. He accompanied the emperor in the Gujârât war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar's orders, he was buried at Sârak, near Ahmadâbâd. Fazî's clever tâliyân on his death in a letter, "the year 980." At his death he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The Mirâj inscription mentions two books written by him, entitled Asrî-ı Mârîm and Bushâhî-ı Taqî, to which the Haft Iqîla adds a third, the Mirâj-ı I-Rûyât. Badâlî at and the Mirâj estimate his verses at 40 to 50,000; the Haft Iqîla at 70,000; the Tahâqî-ı Akbari, at 100,000. The Astâkhâda-ı Asrî (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen works containing 4,000 verses, and that he died from a febrile during the reign of Tahmâsp-ı Safawî. Fide Sprunger's Catalogue, pp. 61, 141, where particular will be found regarding Ghazâlî's works. Sprunger adds that his Ghamzâli, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the doubtful.² Badâlî at relates a story that Khân Zamân sent him one thousand rupees to the Dakhin with a couplet, for which said Badâlî, III, 179, where the asr-ı Ghâsid refers to the in Ghâsid's name, because  stands for 1,000.

The Haft Iqîla mentions another Ghazâlî.³ This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badâlî at (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazâlî's Diwân.
1. O Ghazâli, 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. In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom, no genealogical tree is required.

2. For such a thing as love is, a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous—he must possess decorum.

1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure." The Šûfi says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff."

2. The lover says, "My grief is my old-friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

1. If thy heart, whilst in the Kašba, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Kašba 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. ʿUrff of Shirāz.

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

1 The Mašqir-i Rahimi (MS. As. Soc. Bengal, p. 537) says that ʿUrff’s name was Khwaja Savyadi (سّاّف) Muhammad. Theaβalius ʿUrff has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Dâregus to the Magistrate of Shirāz had to look after Sharīʿah and ʿUrff matters. He went by sea to the Dakhin, where, according to the Haft Iltis his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Faithpur Shirī, where Ḥakim ʿAbd-ʿl-Fath of Gligah (No. 112) took an interest in him. When the Ḥakim died, ʿUrff became an attendant on Ḥakim ʿAbd-ʿl-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and was also introduced at court. He died at Lahor, in Shāhwar, a.m. 999, according to the Haft Iltis and several MSS. of the Tadabbur, of dysentery (is-bāf). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14,000 verses, which at the Khān Khānān’s order were arranged by Sadrī of Isfahān. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Sāhir of Isfahān, and buried in his holy ground at Najaf (Sarqāzah). 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 thrice of his death—

2 ʿUrff, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qasidas, 270 Ghazals, 700 Qittas and Rahāşās; see also Spranger's Catalogue, p. 589.

The Tashkira by Aâl Quâl Khân-d Daghhestâni calls ʿUrff Jamāl al-Dîn, and says that he was much liked by Prince Sâlim towards whom ʿUrff’s attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

ʿUrff was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. Badrāvâni says (III, 258), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Fâyūl, who spent the revenue of
Cling to the hem of a heart which saddened at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If someone 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 Ṣūrūfī for the homeliness of his well-known poems.

his jagîr in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Fāyżī. Ḥākîm Kâshâ (vide under 205) preferred Ṣūrūfī's ghazals to his odes. His Maqâwal, Mâjâsâc a-Tâkîr, is often wrongly called Mâjâsâc 'A-Tâkîr.

One day Ṣūrūfī called on Fāyżī, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-bred children of his family". Fāyżī replied, "Their names are Ṣūrūfī" (i.e., well known). Mubârak (God bless us), rejoined Ṣūrūfī, to the intense disgust of Fāyżī, whose father's name was Mubârak.

Spranger (Catalogue, p. 128) states on the authority of the Taqīra Hanâcheh-Bâhâr that Ṣūrūfī's name was Khwâjah Sayyâlī (بیاس), a mistake for Sayyâlī. The Mâshâ-'âtîra also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyâlî Muhammad. Taqī's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong in the dates. There exist several lithographs of Ṣūrūfī's Odes. The Calcutta printed edition of A.D. 1294 contains a Commentary by Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Bâhîm (author of the Arabic Dictionary Muntahal Arab) of Safi'pâr.
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.

O Urfi, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindus may burn thee.

If thou wostest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush for thyself, as if thou didst not know thyself.

Urfi has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open. He did not knock at another door.

To pine for the arrival of young spring shows 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 Zalykha'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 Shaykh and Brähman shall be scrutinized,
2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,
2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain; be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

1. O Urfi, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?
2. Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee; but hast thou taken it with thee?
7. Mayli of Hirât.

His name was Mirzá Quli. He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

Since I have become famous through my love, I shun all whom I see; for I am afraid lest my going to anyone 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 to the foot of a bird, even if it be 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."

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1 The Nařa mentions 979 and Taqi 983, as the year in which Mayli came to India (Spranger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The Āmūshāda says, he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghstānī, he belonged to the Jalāyr clan, lived under Tahmūsp, and was in the service of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mirzâ, after whose death he went to India. The Tabarsi-ākārī says that he was in the service of Nawrang Khān (pp. 334, 529); and Bada’oni adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Māhvā when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the Āmūshāda says that he was one of his favourite poets.
1. Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything; for every one of them has from a beggar become a Croesus 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 Qazvin.

He is a man of profound thought, has learnt a good deal, and describes very well the events of past ages. As an accountant he is unrivalled. From his knowledge of human nature he learns to mirth and is fond of jokes. He was so fortunate to obtain the title of Āṣaf Khān, and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty.1

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 an 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 show me thy face so boldly, Happiness! Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.

1 His biography was given above, No. 98. Vide also 'Ajā'ibātān-ai. Jahāngirī, p. 5; Dabestân, p. 387. His faqīh was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abī ʿAbd Allāh’s extracts. The Maqāmāt by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mīrād Zaynʿ Allāh-Abīdīn, regarding whom vide above, p. 433, and Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 120, where for 1212 read a.H. 1091.
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 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.

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. Khwaja Husayn of Marw.²

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humayun, and was also during this reign highly favoured.

1. The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings.

2. Creation's preface is a sheet of my book; the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen.

10. Hayati of Gilan.³

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 Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he smelled the scent of Joseph's coat, which a messenger was bringing to Egypt. When the coat was applied to his eye, he recovered his sight.

² Khwaja Husayn was a pupil of MawlaAli Shah M. Din Ibrahīm and the renowned Ibn Hajr of Makkah (Haft Iqān). Abū 'l-Fadl's remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Husayn's Odes on the birth of Jahangir and Prince Murshid, given in full by Badā'īn (II, pp. 120, 122) for which the Khwaja got two hoes of tankas. The odes are peculiar, as each hemistich is a chronogram.

³ The Ḥaṭīr-i Rahimī says that Mullā Hayati was born at Rashid in Gilan and belonged to the immense group, i.e., common people of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Ḥakim Abū 'l-Fath-i Gilānī (No. 112), at Court, got a jagir, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khan Khānān in the Dakhin wars, and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhānpūr where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the Mir'āt, 'l-Adwām was called Masjid-i Mullā Hayati. He was still alive in 1624, when the Ḥaṭīr-i Rahimī was composed.

The Taḥārī and Badā'īn praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the ahl-i ṭurāb-i dardnawādān, i.e., he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) translates this: "He was a friend of Dardmand."
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 waylaid.

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 bazaar.
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 Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.
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. 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. I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate.

2. Perhaps I may go a step back to myself; it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself.

11. Shikebi of Isphahan.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

1 The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix. 11. Thou rebukest man and canest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight; viz., the fire, where the word Khamud seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sa’di’s preface to the Gulistan —

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.

The Muṣṭāṣrī Rāhīn says that Mullah Shikebi was the son of Zahir ‘d-Dīn ʿAbd’l-lah Imām of Isphahan. He studied under Amīr Taqī ’d-Dīn Muhammad of Shīrāz, but left his native town for Hīrāz when young, and became acquainted with the poets Sanāʾi, Mayīl, and Wāli Dastkī Bayzafī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khān Khānān.

The Muṣṭāṣrī says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhīn to Āgra, where Mahābat Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Isphān; but Jahāngīr would not let him go, and appointed him Sa’d of Dīhī. He died there at the age of sixty-seven, in 1622, the 3rd of Diqār of his death being Ḍahr e-Dawla Rizā. Another Chronogram, Shaikhurs, gives only 1622. For his Shaikhūr, ʿAbd’l-Rahīm gave him 18,000, or, according to the Haft Jālim, 10,000 rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Muṣṭāṣrī’s Last word mentions a Masnawi on the conquest of Thatha (a.p. 999-1000), for which ʿAbd’l-Beg and ʿAbd’l-Rahīm gave him one thousand Ashrafī. I do not know whether this Masnawi is the same as the Masnawi written by Shikebi in the Khajarw Shīrīn metre. [The As. Soc. of Bengal has a MS. of the Kulliyat-i Sa’dī in Shikebi’s handwriting. — E.]
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.

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 Sepœnd. People even nowadays put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. [Note p. 146, note 1.]
12. Anis Shâmilū.¹

His real name is Yol Quili. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, viz., that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.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 Ma'âla-e-Abbâṣâbī says that Yol Quili Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Šâmilū Turkmān. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to Āli Quili Khân Šâmilū, the Persian governor of Hirât, where he made the acquaintance of Shâkebl and Mahwi. He wrote at first under the tajdâii of Jâhî; but the Persian prince Sultan ibrâhîm Mîrzâ gave him the name of Anîs, under which he is known in literature. When Hirât was conquered by Ābâd-e Ilâh Khân, king of Turkistan and Mawarâ 'n-nahr, Anîs was captured by an Ushak soldier and carried off to Mawarâ 'n-nahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mîrzâ Ābâd-e-Abbâs Khân Khânân, who made him his Mir Āargs, and later his Mir Abbâsli. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhâyli Jâhî (p. 356). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Buchhânpûr in 1014. There exists a Maqâwil by him in the Khurasân-Shirin metre, also a Dīwân, and several Qasidas in praise of the Khân Khânân.

The Calcutta edition of the Ahsâkâba-yi Āsîr (p. 19) calls him wrongly Āli Quili Beg, and his Hirât patron Āli Naqî Khân, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.

² I.e., our garments are always tucked up (Arab. tashâ'ir), 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 for ever in the ambush.

13. Naziri of Nishapur.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.

Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me; I either rejoice in my sweetheart, or grieve for him.

¹ The heart should not ask, but patiently love.
² Muhammad Husayn Naziri of Nishapur left his home for Kachan, where he engaged in poetical contests (maqāla) with several poets, as Fahmi, Hātim, etc. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mirzū Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Rehman Khan Khanān. In 1012, he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very poor. On his return to India, he lived at Ahmadabad in Gujrat, where he died in 1022. The Tarikh (p. 91) says: "I [Jahāngir] had called Naziri of Nishapur to court. He is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and lives [end of 1019] in Gujrat where he is a merchant. He now came and presented me with an ensalām in imitation of a Qashka by Anvari. I gave him one thousand rupees, a horse, and a dress of honour." The
If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, the 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, Nāgīrī, 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.

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.

Maṣā'ir-i Rāhīmī says that Nāgīrī was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Agra in 1022 at Ahmadabād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mū'ātkūn 'l-Ālam, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a compleat by the great Persian poet Sāyīb, quoted by Dāghistānī:

O Sāyīb, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Nāgīrī?

*Urūf* seen does not approach Nāgīrī in genius.

The Tārīkh of Nāgīrī's death lies in the hemistich: "Az āzān doft Hassān 'l-Ālam, shakh!" "The Hassān of Persia has gone from this world, alas!"—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Hassān. This gives a. h. 1022; the other tārīkh, given by Dāghistānī, marāsī dā'īn-yi bānū Sāzān, "where is the centre of the circle of conviviality," only gives 1021. unless we count the hāmār in 1022 as one, which is occasionally done in tārīňā. Dāghistānī also mentions a poet Sawādī of Gujarāt, a pious man, who was in Nāgīrī's service. On the death of his master, he guarded his tomb, and died in a. h. 1031.
1. From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which Ka'ba swore, into a Farangi Church.

2. The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.

3. The ship of love alone is a true resting-place; step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters.

4. Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.

14. Darwish Bahrâm.¹

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayât tribe. The prophet Khîzîr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazaar 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 that 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. Sayrafi [Sarî] of Kashmir.²

His name is Shaykh Ya'qûb. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn 'Arabî, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Husayn of Khwârazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

¹ Bahrâm's takhallus is Suqû, i.e., water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khîzîr (Elias). Khîzîr 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 Bayât tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Azarbaijân, Erivan, Tîhirân, Fârs, and Nîshâpûr.

Bahrâm is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwân near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, see my "Arabic and Persian Inscriptions," Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871, pt. 1, pp. 231 to 255.

² Shaykh Husayn of Khwârazm, Ya'qûb's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad Â ingresar Hájl, and died in Syria in 956 or 958.

Shaykh Ya'qûb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajar, the great teacher of the Hâdîs, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem.
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 boy has brought the love-sick man into a strange position; from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabāḥi, the Chaghtāi. 1

He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of Amir Khusraw, 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 overpowercd under its sorrow. Who shall now inform me, of my wretched state!

as a learned man and a poet. He was liked by Humayun and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badauni. His death took place on the 12th of Qa'da, 1009, and Badauni found as tārīkh the words Shaykh i ummu bad, "he was the Shaykh of nations." A complete Khamasa, a treatise on the Muqaddam, or riddle, and numerous Sufistic Rubā'is 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 Qur'ān, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. vide above, p. 101, and under the poets.

His takhallus is variously given as sayyafi and sayfi. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badauni (III, 148). Both words occur as takhallus; thus there was a Qazi Sayyafi, encomiast of Firuz Shah. vide also poet No. 21.

Sabahi means "a man that drinks wine in the morning." The real name of the poet is not given in the Taziras in which I have access. Badauni says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the Mirzâ-i-i Khur machinery calls him a rast (profligate). He died at Agra in 973, and Fayzi found as tārīkh the words 'yismi mu afar." Sabahi, the wine-bibber," Dighistani says, he was from Samarkand, and the Ashkandas calls him "Badauni shahri," but says that he is known as Humu, or from Hirât.

The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Badauni, III, 150, under Atashi.

If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from Ashaf, Jami's pupil, who has a verse:

دیلم تو، غیر نه، نه می‌خوری را
پاک‌گردان، لدانه، بیان ملموری را
17. Mushfiq of Bulkhāra.¹

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 chīra and the ṭakauchīya.²

18. Śālihī.³

His name is Muḥammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Nizām'ūl-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.

¹ Badā'ouni (III, 328) says that he was originally from Marse, and came twice to India. For his Qasidas, some called him "the Salāmān of the age"; and Dāriṣṭānī says that under ʿAbd al-ʿllāh Khān he was Malik 'Abd-sh-šāhārā. According to the Ḥaft Iqṣīṣ, he was born and died at Bulkhāra. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Ḏwān was collected in 983. From the Akbarānama (Lucknow edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfiq was presented to Akbar at Fāk Patān in the end of 983. He died in 994 (Vāmīnī's Bokhārī, p. 221).

² This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Ḥāfiz sent from Shīrāz to Sulṭān Ghīyās of Bengal (Metro Murātī).

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets. When this Persian sugar (the poem) reaches Bengal.

³ Abū ʿī-Fāzī has meddled with Mushfiq's verse; for the Ḥaft Iqṣīṣ gives instead of ʾaṣḵās-āt-i digur the words ʾaṣḵās-āt-i sigā; hence the verse is "India's flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (chīra) and a takāuchīya." This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies. The takāuchīya was described above on p. 94; the big head of a fly looks like a turban, and its straight wings like the straight Indian coat (chālaya). It may be that Abū ʿī-Fāzī substituted the words ʾaṣḵās-āt-i digur, the "dear ones of the country", with a satirical reference to the "learned", whom he always calls ʿalayi ʿarīn uṣūmī yūrīn "turban-wearing empty-headed", in which case we would have to translate "the simplest of the country".

The verse is better given by Badā'ouni (III, 329).

* Badā'ouni calls him "Hirāwī" (from Hirā, 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 Āṭashkānī says that he was a descendant of Estāfāwī ʿAbd al-ʿllāh Marwārīd Kirmānī, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

Spranger (Catalogue, p. 50) calls him wrongly Muḥammad Mir Beg. The Akushkod and the MSS. have Muḥammad Mirak; and thus also his name occurs in the Mušīr-i Ḳabīrī.
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, Sālib, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mazhari of Kashmir.¹

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ʿIraq. 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 Layli’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 ʿIraq he was in company with Muḥtaṣim and Wahshī. After his return to India, Mazhari was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahār of Kashmir, which employment he held in 1004 (Badiʾ ʿon). He had turned Shiʾah, and as his father was a Sunnī, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazhari died in 1018. All Taḏkirov praise his poems.
² The eyes of the beautiful boy are crocus-like or almond-shaped; the chin is like an apple; the black locks, like sandal—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.
20. Maḥwī of Hamadān. ¹

His name is Mughīs. 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 Maḥwī, beckon to a friend, and ring the bell of the caravan.
2. The stage is yet far and the night is near. O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

1. A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings.
2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

1. O Maḥwī, 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.

¹ Mr. Mughīs, according to the Maṣʿūdī Bahāʾī, was born in Asadābād (Hamadān), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardābīl, where he studied for four years at the "Astāna-yi Safawīya." From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbālā, and Hirat. Mawlānā Shīkhī and Arīā (pp. 648, 649) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (mashāʿiʿa) with Mawlānā Sāḥibī (فارسی). He embarked at Bandar Jārin for India, and was patronized by the Khatū Kāshān. After receiving from him much money, he went back to Shirāz, where the author of the Maṣʿūdī saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbālā, and returned to Hamadān, where he died in 1010. He lies buried in the Maybūr of the Sāyyids at Asadābād. The author of the Maṣʿūdī edited Maḥwī's Ḳuḥa'; it is during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Maḥwī is best known as a Ḳuḥa; his writer: Abu ʿl-Faḍl’s extracts also are all Ḳuḥa's.

The Anākhīnā says that he is often called Nishāpūrī, because he was long in that town.

The Maṣʿūdī mentions a Maḥwī whose name was Mir Maḥmūd, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akhūz's Munshi.
21. Sarf of Sawaih.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 bazaar, 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'ba, 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 desire² is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qarari of Gilan.³

His name is Nur ¹d-Din. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomaniac seized him: he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū ¹l-Fath, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

¹ The MSS. of the A¹nsi call him " Sayraf ", but the metre of several verses given in the Ma'âṣir-i Rabī' shows that his takhallus is " Sarf ".

According to the Ātaškada, his name is Salah ¹d-Din, and he was a relation of Salīm of Sawaih. He was a pupil of Muhtashim of Kāshān. The author of Hoff Iqlim says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing tâzîqays. He lived in the Dakhin, and went to Lāhor, to present Akbar with a Qasida; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The Ma'âṣir-i Rabī' states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadshâh, made Fayzi's acquaintance in the Dakhin, and went with the Khān-i Aṣgam (p. 553) to Makkah. According to Baha'is, he came with the Historian Nakmis ¹d-Din Ahmad from Gujrat to Lāhor, and accompanied Fayzi to the Dakhin, where he died. Spee (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name Čahāhuddin; but the Ātaškada (the only work in which I have found his full name) has Salāh ¹d-Din.

² The road of love (the ideal Ka'ba) is as difficult as the road to the Ka'ba 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 Nur ¹d-Din Muhammad came in 983 with his brothers Abū ¹l-Fath (p. 486) and Humām (p. 529) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Nur ¹d-Din 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 camel, 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 story of Napoleon I, who in Egypt had often to form squares against the hostile cavalry, and then invariably gave orders to place the
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, of, what God forbid, 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.  

My madness and ecstasy do not rise 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 Brahmanical thread.  
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. 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.

Ankurs and the savans in the middle.) Akbar, to punish him, sent him on active service to Bengal, where he perished in the disturbances, in which Muṣaffar Khān (p. 373) lost his life. ‘Inā’ī’s ed., II. 211; III. 312.

Abū ‘l-Faṣl is sarcastic in referring to Nūr al-Dīn’s manomana. Nūr al-Dīn wished to say that Abū ‘l-Faṣl was a man of intense worldliness (‘ilāhī ‘d-dawra) and Humān longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (‘ilāhī ‘ādām), whilst he himself was a “true lover” (‘ilāhī ‘ʾanwālī, one who feels after God).

The Atashkālah adds that Nūr al-Dīn had been in Gīlān in the service of Khān Ahmad Khān, and that he went, after the overthrow of Gīlān, to Qazwin.

1. Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.
4. Love has made the poet a heathen.
1. The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me; like my sweet-heart, I have become an enemy to myself.
2. I have killed myself, and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders.  

23. Ḥtābī of Najaf.

He possesses harmony of thought; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!
2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islam, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmān.
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’ba candle at the idol temple’s fate.
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 Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.
2 Sayyid Muhammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dakhin, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindustān, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahābād. He looked bold and slovenly (saddāk u mubassar). When asked whether he had in the Dakhin made satires on Shāh Fathu’l-lāh, he said, “In the Dakhin, I would not have looked at a fellow like him.” Akbar, who made much of Fathu’l-lāh, was annoyed, impressed Ħtābī, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and Ħtābī was sent for ten years (or according to the Ṭabāqāt, for two years) to Fort Quālāyār. At the request of Prince Sālim and several courtesans, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Lāhār. But he was as bad as before. The emperor gave him 1,000 rupees, and ordered Quil Khān (p. 380) to send him from Sibrat to Hijāz; but Ħtābī escaped, went to the Dakhin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever kāthib and letter-writer. Badā’i’witi, III, 276.
3 The Āṭashkhāda says that he came from Ghulpāgān (or ab→n). Dīghātānī calls him “Mir Ħtābī”. Ħtābī means “worthy of reproach”; compare ṣamūt. The Ṭabāqāt ascribes this verse to a poet called Rukn ad-Dīn, whose takkullūs is not given in my MS.
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. 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 caravan has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word "faithfulness" produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings 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. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth while to ill-treat thy loves?


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. In allusion to the gurgling noise in the neck of the bottle.

2. The caravan of love.

3. The messenger, because he comes from the beloved boy, and the letter, because it declines the request of a rendezvous.

4. According to the Mir As-At 'Ali Ahamad, Mulla Muhammad was called Saffi, from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed as Saffi Sahib; 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 Ahmadabad, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari. The Mir As-At and the Haft Igita praise his verses, and the former quotes from a Sapadshah of his. The Atashkada wrongly puts him under Isfahan, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mulla Jami—which is impossible.
1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.

2. If it be possible pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muḥammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand," said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet."


His name is Sayyid Ṣāliḥ, and he is the son of Mīr Mānṣūr. He was born and educated in Tābrīz, and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting.

The beauty of idols is the Kaʿba 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.

26. Waqūṭī of Nishāpūr.

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.

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1 Judāʾī had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of "Nādir-i-Mulk" and had already served under Humāyūn. He left a Diwān; but he has also been accused of having stolen Askhtī Diwān (vide below, the 37th poet).
2 The Ātashkadeh and Taqī's Taḵkira mention another Judāʾī of Sāwāh.
3 Muhammad Sharif, Waqūṭī belonged, according to the Māsūr-i Ṣaḥrānī, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amir Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time a master under Shah Ẓahmāk. He died in 1902.
4 Bahāʾī (III, p. 378) says that Sharif was a relation of Shihāb Khān (p. 332). "His name was Muhammad Sharif. Also, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharif-i ‘Ammul, pp. 176, 432; and the poet Sharīf-i Sarmādī, mentioned below, No. 53—two archheretics in the eyes of Bahāʾī]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Bagāhšīān (p. 362, note 2) nor to the Šahšāh, he holds an intermediate place between these accursed and damned sects; for he strenuously fights the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (badshāḵ). One day, he came to me at Shimbūr on the Kashmir frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmir. Seeing large blocks of
1. I do not care for health. O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!

2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khusravi of Qāsin.

He is a relation of [the poet] Mīrzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābid, in Khurāsān]. He writes Shikasta 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 surma for my eyes.

The lions of the Haram should not stain their paws with my blood. O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery; for the word "rest" is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaykh Raḥīm.

He traces his descent from Zain al-Dīn Khāfi. He pretended to be a Sūfī.

The Ataikhāna quotes the same verse as Abū 'l-Fażl. Ṣadda-ṣi fats, he left a well-known divān. In Dīghistānī, two Raḥānīs are mentioned: one Mawlānā Raḥānī, "known in literary circles’; and another Raḥānī from Ardishāk. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 38) calls him Raḥānī; and says that, according to the Nādīrīs, he died in 1660.

Zayn al-Dīn Khāfi, from whom Raḥānī traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of the Shawkān, a.h. 538. He was first buried at Mālīn (or Bālin), then at Darwīshābād, then at Hīrāt. His biography is given in Jami's Nafrān 'l-Uṣūn, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zayn al-Dīn Tālibādī, mentioned above.
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. Wafâ’î of Isfahân.  

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 Yusuf. 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.

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. Shaykh Saiî.  

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazâ’îr. He has acquired some knowledge.

1 Râdâ’â-i says (III; p. 385) that Wafâ’î was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lâhore, and entered the service of Zayn Khân (p. 367). According to the Atashkâda, he belonged to the Châshâiya Kurd; and was brought up at Isfahân; his Rubâ’îs are good. Mâghâstârî calls him a Turk, and states that Wafâ’î at first was an uthâsâh (a man who ironed clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called Wafâ’î-Lâqî Lâr. "The blind Wafâ’î-Lâr."  
2 "His impudent flattery was proverbial." Mâghâstârî.  
3 As, for example, love, grief.  
4 i.e., a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from that side.  
5 Râdâ’â-i also calls him Jazâ’îrî, i.e., from the islands. His father, Shaykh Ibrahîm, was a distinguished lawyer and was looked upon by the Shâhs as a Mufti. He lived in Mâshhad, where Saiî was born. Saiî received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dakhin to Hindustân, and is at present [in 1664] in Bengaî.
1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sāqī, and like the Kašba, 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. Raffi of Kāshān.

His name is Ḥaydar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica* and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and tārikhs.

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 renounce 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. Ghayrati of Shirāz.

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.

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1. His full name, according to Taqī-yi Awwalī, is Amir Baḥīṣ ʿd-Dīn Ḥaydar. He was a Tabākhi Sayyid of Kāshān. The *Muḥarrar-i Rāhīm* states that he left Persia in 980, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrat in company with Khwāja Habīb-ʿl-Lāh to Lāhore, and was well received by Akbar. For the tāriḵ, mentioned above on p. 619, note 2, Faṣīl gave him 10,000 rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mulkān coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lakhs of rupees, but also (as Baḥīṣ most piteously remarks) the copies of Faṣīl's poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Springer (Catalogue, p. 58) says that Ḥaydar 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 Khān Khānān alone, he got, at various times, about a lākh. After some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makka and Madīna, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh ʿAbbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the Ātashkūda he died in a.n. 1032, the *tārīḵ* of his death being the Arabic words, "*ma baḥīṣ zalik fi maṣlūḥ.*" His son, Mir Ḥākim-i Sanjar, is mentioned on the next page; and Tāhir-i Naṣrābādī mentions in his Tājīk a son of the name of Mir Maḥīm, a friend of Mullā Ayā. MSS. often give his name wrongly *Abū Ḥanīf*, Raffi.

2. The Ātashkūda says that Ghayrati travelled about in Čīrāq, went to Hindūstān, and lived after his return in Kāshān, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family. From fear of the boy's relations, he went to Shirāz, where he died.

3. Because the heart only was broken.
The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.¹

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 Musalmāns.

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.

I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.²

33. Hālati of Tūrān.²

His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man.

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.

¹ That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.
² 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.
³ Radā' wasi says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of Wālī M. Yādgār traced his descent from Sulṭān Sanjār; but the Tulyaqi calls him a Chaghtāi. He served in Akbar's army.
⁴ His son Jālāl Khān had the taqāllāds of Baqā'ī, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself Rasulī. 'The blackguard.' He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault, and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lāhore, where he was executed by the Kotwāl.

The Albūramah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 436) says that Yādgār served in 929 in Kābul. He is not to be confounded with Mir Hālati of Gilān.
34. Sanjar of Kāshān.

He is the son of Mir Ḥaydar, the riddle-writer. He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances.

I came from the monastery of the Guebres, and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a wailing gong under my arm.  

I am jealous and I shall die from the aggressions of fickle lovers. I am a fresh plant, but shall die from the heap of rubbish about me.

I, too, have at last perished in the century of thy love. Alas! none is now left of Majnūn's tribe.

Sorrows rush from every side on my heart without first knocking at the door. I cannot help it; my house lies on the highway.

35. Jaḥši.

His name is Pādishāh Quli, and he is the son of Shāh Quli Khān Nāranjī of Kurdistān, near Baghdād.

See how extremely jealous I am. My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes me bewilderment.

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1 Sanjar came in A.H. 1000 from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 662 (7)). For some crime, "to mention which is not proper," Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Ahmadābād; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibrāhīm Ẓādī Shāh of Biljāpur. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Shāh Ẓādī of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Biljāpur, in A.H. 1021. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. *Ma'ṣūri-i Fāhidī.*

The Kāshānī ʿAmīr and Mr. T. W. Beal of Agra, the learned author of the *Miftāḥ-i-Tuwārīkh,* give the following verse as tārīḵ of Sanjar's death (metre Maṣūrī):—

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella, of which the words pādishāh-i sukhnas give 1023; but as the pādishāh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract a 1, or 2; for the figure of the Arabic 1, if inverted, looks like an umbrella.

2 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.

3 The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnūn.

4 The Taḵkiras give no details regarding Jaḥši. His father has been mentioned above on p. 537; and from the Akbar asās (III, p. 512) we know that Pādishāh Quli served in Kashmir under Qāsim Khān (p. 415). "Jaḥši" means "attractive"; a similar taškhil is "Maṭzhū," "one who is attracted by God's love."

Baḥā'ī (III, 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abū ʿAṣīr to Pādishāh Quli's father.
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. Tashbih of Kāshān.¹

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Māhmūdis; but I know nothing of his origin, nor of his present condition. The Masnavi entitled “Zarrah o Khurshid”, “the Atom and the Sun”, is written by him.

Dust of the graveyard, rise for once to joy? Thou enclosest a corpse like mine, slain by his hand and his dagger.

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt; I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth.

¹ The Ṣafawī calls him Istāḥlah. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindūkush he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Fāqīh, and did not visit kings. Dīghīštānī says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindūkush a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Ḭadhīm Chisrī (III, 204) has the following notice of him, "He came twice or three times to Hindūkush, and returned home. Just now (s.u. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresies, advising them to follow the fates of the Basākhwāns (vide infra, p. 502). He told Shāhī Ṣālih that he was a Mājūshā, 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 monotheism might remain. He also wrote a pamphlet in honour of Abū Ṣafī according to the manner of the Ṣafawī sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation (tazqiq) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Ḫākim Chisrī (vide supra, p. 537) discovered that "Tashbih" has the same numerical value (727) as "Tazqiq", "the hypocrite." Tashbih has composed a Dīnān. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abū Ṣafī’s presence, a pamphlet on Mājūshā of Basākhwān, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows:—" O God! who art praiseworthy (Mā ’ṣūd) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee. There is no other God but Allah. Praise be to God, whose mercies are visible in all his works, who has shown the existence of all his works... The text is unintelligible. He knows Himself; but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. Questions: What is meant by "nature"? Answer: what people call creation or nature, is God, etc. Hear his name and fame, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of this lying is, of course, the four natures. At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following:—"This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mājūshā M.I. r. 6A, 1. 6, A, a, r. T. ah, b, b, h, h, the Amlid, the last, the representative." And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelievers! "The Atom and the Sun" is a mystical subject. The atoms of dust dance in the sun’s rays 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.
Pass some day by the bazaar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.¹

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihī a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.²

1. I am that Tashbihī who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a graveyard.
2. I like to dwell in a graveyard, because dwelling in a graveyard 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.²

37. Ashkī of Qum.⁴

He is a Tabāṭīḥā 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.

¹ This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word "retribution" leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbihī 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 buoy up his crimes.
² "The sun looks round like a loaf; the warm oven is the heat of the day."
³ In allusion to a game, in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another, and another party has to find where the ring is. "The ring is with Tashbihī," i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.
⁴ We know from the Haft Iklīm that Mir Ashkī was the son of Mir Sayyid Āli Muhtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashkī's elder brother Mir Husnī also is known as a poet. Ghasāli's fame and success (vide p. 634) attracted Ashkī to India, but he did not meet Ghasāli. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Dūkānīs to Mir Ḫudā'ī (vide p. 600) to arrange. Mir Ḫudā'ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Ṭariqī of Sawākh alludes to this in the following epigram:

Than hast killed poor Ashkī; And I wonder at thy crime being hidden, With thee four Dūkānīs of his remained, And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Daghstānī says that Ashkī died in Mir Ḫudā'ī's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghasāli; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iklīm is preferable.

Budā'ī says that Ashkī's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (taṭādās) the poet, Ṭaṣfī. He died at Āgra.
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.

Ashki, I think my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.¹

38. Asiri of Ray.²

His name is Amir Qâzî. 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 breast.

39. Fahmi of Ray [Tihraî].³

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes; do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern.

¹ So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashki, when he declares his love.
² Asiri was, according to Bashâ'ois, an educated man, and the best pupil of Hakim I. Mulk (p. 611). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find much favour with the emperor. He therefore returned to Ray, his home, where he died (i.e., before A.H. 1004).
³ Bashâ'ois gives three poets of the name of Fahmi — 1. Fahmi of Tihraî, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2. Fahmi of Samarqand, son of Nâdirî, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3. Fahmi of Astarâbâd, who died at Dihlî. The Ma'âsi-i Radî mentions a Fahmi of Hormuz (Ormuz) well known in Lâr and Hormuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khân Khânjâd, got a present, and returned. Dâqiqistânî mentions a fifth Fahmi from Kâshân, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the Fahshâ'il and Dâqiqistânî ascribe the same verse to Fahmi-yi Tihraî, which Abû 'l-Fażî gives to Fahmi of Ray, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abû 'l-Fażî had made a mistake in calling him "of Ray", because no Tughîs follows him.
I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation. Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient.

40. Qaydī of Shirāz.¹

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.

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, a 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 hat had no power to gaze at the sun; else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen.

¹ Qaydī came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injustice of the Dāgh-e Mahdī-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (vide p. 232) and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Fāqir in the Byōna District, and returned to Fathpūr Sīkri, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qaydī died. He was an excellent poet. Bādūzād.

Dāghistānī says that he was a friend of Urfī, and died in A.H. 992.
41. Payrawi of Sāwah.\(^1\)

His name is Amīr 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 to whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal; forgive me if I worship form.\(^2\)

42. Kāmil of Sabzwār.\(^3\)

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. Payāmi.\(^4\)

His name is 'Amūd's-Salām. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

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\(^1\) Payrawi imitated the poet Āsafi. He wrote a poem on "Form and Ideal", of which Abū 'l-ʿAbī has given the first verse, and completed a Divān of Ujjaini.

\(^2\) This verse, the beginning of Payrawi's "Form and Ideal", contains the rhetorical figure, ishān, because it gives the title of the poem.

\(^3\) Kāmil's father, Khwāja Yahyā, was a grocer (bāqūl) and lived in the Maydān Mahāllah of Sabzwār, in Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbeks took Sabzwār, Mir Yahyā went to India, and left Kāmil, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzwār. At the request of his father, Kāmil came to India, and was frequently with the Khān Khānān. He went afterwards back to Khurāsān and the author of the Maqāṣīd-i Khānān saw him, in 1014, in Hirat. In travelling from Hirat to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khān Khānān's service.

The Huft Ṭilīm says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

\(^4\) Payāmi also mentions him; but he wrongly calls Qudūs "from the town of Qum." He says, Kāmil is a young man and has just come to India (1008); his thoughts are bold.

Payāmi, according to Dāḡjistānī, was a pupil of the renowned ʿAllāmā Dāhwānī. He was for a long time Vazir to Shāh Ṣalāh al-Dīn Mulk al-Mulk al-Mulk al-Mulk al-Mulk. He was afterwards dispersed with, and a Jew of the name of Yaqūb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise; for soon after, Shāh Ṣalāh sent an army under Bāk Virūj Khān to Lār, who conquered the country.
Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?
2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.
2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yūsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazaar.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 Muhammad [Fikri].²

He is a cloth-weaver from Hirât. 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:

¹ Yūsuf means here “life”; pit, “non-existence”; bazaar, “existence.”
² Sayyid Muhammad’s poetical name is Fikri, the “pensive.” He came, according to the Ḥafiṣ ibn Abī Thalib, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubā’is induced people to call him the “Khayyām of the age”; or “Mir Rubā’ī”. He died on his way to Jaunpur, in 973, the hirāf of his death being “Mir Rubā’ī safar namād.”
2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.1

45. Qudsi of Karbalā, Mir Ḥusayn.8

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 instead of me to suffer for one night by being separated from him [the beautiful boy].

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46. Ḥaydār of Tabriz.8

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.

Show no one my black book of sorrows; let no one know my crimes [love].

1 This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalim. I think (metro Rojar) =

ورز قیامت هو کسی است کوئ دانم

در سویح می چشم عورت جالا فیرمامل

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.

8 Daghistān says that Mir Ḥusayn’s father left Karbalā for Sahawāt. Qudsi was a great friend of Muhammad Khān, governor of Hiršt. Beddè and (III, 376) says that Mir Muhammad Shārīf Nisāwī1, Qudsi’s brother, also came to India, and “died a short time ago”. i.e., before A.H. 1004.

8 Ḥaydār was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr (vide above, p. 333). His company, says the Haft Iqlim, was more agreeable than his poems. The Masnavī which he wrote in imitation of Sa’dī’s Bustān is inspired, and remained unknown, though he made money in India, he said =

۳۳ میل کوکور خُنذ شالی و عَام معلوم

اِنَّا لَلْه و لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ

ظَهَرَ عَجَر ِتَطیِّع وَانْخِطَابُ مَعْلُوم

۳۳ میل معلوم و خُلُق آنْم معلوم

On his second return to India he found a patron in the Khān-i Aqsān (p. 343), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khān Atga (p. 337) 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 Khān Khānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrat (p. 254), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkhej. He returned to Khānān, the governor of which town, Āgha Khāzir Nahāwandi (brother of the author of The Madāgar-i Bahāsī) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rum, he settled in Iraq, at a place called in the MSS. خُر , which for its excellent climate and fruits had
O Ḥaydari, 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.

47. Sāmri.

He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous; and my shame [love] has rendered me well known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears.

48. Farebi of Ray (†). 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

no equal in ʿIrāq or Khurāsān. About that time Shāh ʿAbbās came to the place to hunt pheasants (ḵmrg). [Ḵבک is the Chaker partridge of India.—P.] It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a darwāsh, who, notwithstanding that the king had gone personally to his home, 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 Ḥaydarī's influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from Ḥaydarī; 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. Ḥaydarī died there, beloved by all, in a.m. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled Lišān ʿl-ʿarbān in praise of his teacher, the poet Lišānī, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled Ṣaḥar ʿl-ʿarbān, "the Slip of the Tongue," which was written by his base pupil Mir Šarfī-ī Tabrizī. The Maḥāfīz-i Bahānī gives a few passages from the book.

Dāghistānī says that the poet Darwāsh Ḥaydar of Yezd, mentioned in Taqīkās, is very likely the same as Mawālīn Haydarī of Tabriz, who is sometimes called "Yazdī" from his friendship with Wāshī of Yazd.

Sāmri, Haydarī's son, came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khān Khānān Mīr Šāhīn of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dakhin wars, when with Shahmawzī Khān, the son of his patron.

¹ The second verse shows that the taqīdās of the poet is Shāpūr. Farebi is scarcely known. With the exception of Dāghistānī's work, which merely mentions that Farebi lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Taqīkās. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 52) mentions a Farebi of Bubhārā; but as he is said to have died in a.m. 944, he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the Aṭār have Ray, Rāhī, and Dišī, or leave out the word, as Dāghistānī has done. Ḥayzi is the usual form of the adjective derived from "Ray" the well-known town in Khurāsān.
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 beasts.
2. Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love], I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean.

49. Fusūnī of Shīrāz.¹

His name is Maḥmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

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?²

¹ Abū 'l-Fażl says that Fusūnī was from Shīrāz; Baddā'sai and Taqī call him Yāsdi; and Dāghistānī and the Atashkāda says that he came from Tahrih. Baddā'sai says: that Fusūnī came over Tātāsh and entered the service of the emperor, and Dāghistānī adds that he also served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as Muntawī. The Mīrzās ʿl-ʿĀlam mentions a Fusūnī, who was an Amlū under Jahāngīr and had the title of Aḥsan Khān.
² The original contains a pun on ʿabād gird and gurād, which I cannot imitate.
50. Nādirī of Turshāhī.¹

I am as if blind and wander about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Nādirī, I complain of no one; I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

51. Nawī of Mashhad.²

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 Mansūr’s love, do not grieve, O heart. Not every weak-minded man is fit to love.³

¹ The author of the Haft Iqāla says that Nādirī went two years before the completion of the Haft Iqāla, i.e., in 1000, to India; but he does not know what became of him.

² Dāghestānī mentions three poets of the name of Nādirī: (1) Nādirī of Samarqand, who came to Humāyūn in India. (2) a Nādirī from Shustar; and (3) a Nādirī from Sayākot, Turshāh, or Turshah, lies near Nishāpur.

³ Mūllā Muhammad Rūsūkh comes from Khābūshān near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the Mā‘āṣır-i Ruhānī, he found a patron in Mirza Yusuf Khān of Mashhad (p. 369); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khān Khānān (p. 334) and stayed with him and Prince Dānūr at Burhānpūr. For his Sādāmat, the Khān Khānān gave him an elephant and a present of 10,000 rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. Some people say that his poems are like the skater or dancer, i.e., you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khāzīn-i Sā‘ī Amīrā says that his Maqāṣī entitled Sā‘ī Ṣā‘ī 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 Sottar. Nawī had not yet arranged his Qāsidās and Ghazalās in form of a divān, when he died in 1019, at Burhānpūr.

⁴ Baḍrānī says that he claims descent from Hazrat Shāykh Hājī Muhammad of Khābūshān; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and in 1004 (in the youngest prince.

⁵ Mansur attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed, And al-haqq “I am God.”—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Mansur of weakness, because he proclaimed his love; he should have kept it to himself, as is proper for true lovers (vide p. 625, note 1).
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, Nawātī, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.  

52. Bábā Tālib of Isfahān.  
He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.  
I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.  
It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.  
I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.  
1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste, and yet 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 havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.  

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1 The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woful figure; but does not become one with him.  
2 Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sun rays are in love with the sun.  
3 According to the Haft Iqbal, Bábā Tālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. The Ma'tās-i Bahā'ī says that he was often in the company of Hākīm Abū l-Faṭṭāḥ (p. 468). Zayn Khān Karkah (327), Abū l-Faṭḥ, and Shaykh Fayyūsī, at present, i.e. in 1025, he is Sādir of Gujrat. Bābu'naī says that he was nearly eight (twenty!) years in Kashmir, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar's service. The emperor once sent him as ambassador to Āṣfā'ī Hāy, ruler of Little Tibet. On his return he gave Abū l-Faṭḥ a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Abbāsarān. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The Jāmi' al-Dawr (Bibliotheca Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bábā Tālib died in the end of Jahāngīr's reign, more than a hundred years old.  
4 Fard p. 560, note 1.  
5 This Bābā' praised Jahāngīr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. Jāmi' al-Dawr, loc. cit.
33. Sarmadi of Isfahān.¹

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.

Fortune has been faithful in my time; I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulness.

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. Dakhıl of Isfahān.²

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

¹ Muhammad Sharif was mentioned above on p. 581, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Bodá̤'i says that he was at first Chanahi nawab, and is at present (i.e., 1004) with Sharif-ı Amuli (p. 502) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the taqhallas of "Fayzi" : but in order to avoid opposition to Fayzi, Abú ʿl-Ḥasıl's brother, he chose that of Sarmadī. Bodá̤'i looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bod. 11, 333). From the Aḥbarāmah, we see that Sharif served in the 31st year in Kashmir, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrat. In 1000 he was sent to Bengal with Sharif-ı Amuli, and in the beginning of 1001 we find him fighting in Orisk against Rām Chandra, Bāja of Khurdā. Dakhilāni says he died in the Dakhil.

² The Muṣāfer-i Rāshid 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 ʿ1-Mulik Maqšūd ʿAll, proprietor of Werkopa², twelve farsakhs from Isfahān. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Dakhilāni; but the author appears to have corrected the d to a w.) His mother's father was the great Shaykh Abū ʿl-Qāsim, who had...
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'ba 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. Qāsim Arslān 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!

such influence with Tahmāsp that several legacies (mawāf) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawallī. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so manyervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, etc., collected around him, that people persuaded Tahmāsp that Abū 'l-Qāsim was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was, therefore, blinded, and lived a retired life in the village. Some time after he presented a poem to Tahmāsp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the Ma’āsoor has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhpāyā. In his retirement he used to write under the name de plume of Amur, and employed Dakhil to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhil a taste for poetry, and he received from Abū 'l-Qāsim the title of "Dakhil." After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Ahmad went to Iṣfahān, where he gained a reputation as a poet. In 997, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1003 he went to the Dakhan, and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Ma’āsoor-i Rashīd was written. He also was a good soldier.

1 Arslān is Qāsim's own de plume. He chose this name, because his father claimed descent from Arslān Jāgh, an Amir of Māhūd of Ghazni. The family came from Tūs, and Qāsim was brought up in Tajikistan. He was a good poet, and excelled in tafṣīl. Bedi'ou'shī quotes one ode written by Arslān on the Mountain of Ajmīr. He died in 996, probably in Lāhor. Dāghistānī says he died at Almādābād. Vide p. 100,
56. Ghayūrī of Ḥiṣār.\(^1\)

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

When longing directs its way to that door [love] it overthrows all possibility of returning:

1. The door of Shāh 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.\(^2\)

57. Qāsimī of Māzandarān.\(^3\)

He lives as a Faqīr, and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yūsuf; Yūsuf 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? \(^4\)

58. Sherī.\(^5\)

He belongs to a Panjābī family of Shaykhs. 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.

\(^1\) Ghayūrī is called in the Akbarānas Mūllā Ghayūrī, and Dāghistānī calls him (Ghayūrī of Kābul). This shows that he came from Bīzar in Kābul and not from Ḥiṣār Fīrūz. The Hefz Jāfīrī tells us that Ghayūrī was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muhammad Hākin, Akbar’s brother and king of Kābul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar’s service, and was a Yūsufshī, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bīr Bar, in the Khaybar Pass, in the Akbarānas (under 34, p. 367).

\(^2\) Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; see p. 217.

\(^3\) Dāghistānī mentions a Qāsim of Māzandarān. Qāsimī seems to be an unknown poet.

\(^4\) Mūllā Sherī has been mentioned above, pp. 112, 207, 212, 214. He was born in Kokūwāl in the Panjāb (Bīr Dāsh). His father’s name was Mawlānā Yāḥyā. He belonged to a tribe called in Būdā ‘unī;” ‘Mājī.” Sherī was killed with Bīr Bar, in 994, in the Khaybar Pass.
The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.
2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahi of Nishāpur.

His name is Khwāja Jān. He is a good man,

1. O Rahi, 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; Ṣamīr of Iṣfahān; Wāḥshī of Bāfā; Muḥtashīm of Kāshān; Malik of Qum; Zuhūrī of Shīrāz; Wāli Dāshīt Baγāzī; Ṣekī; Ṣābrī; Fīgārī; Ḫūrūrī; Qāğī Nūrī of Iṣfahān; Sāfī of Bām; Tawfī of Tābrīz; and Rashki of Hamadān.

Ā*in 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

1 We have to distinguish qāmūs, singers, from ḥaṭṭamāz, chanters, and akbarāz, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwālyār, Mashhad, Tābrīz, and Kashmir. A few come from Tramāzānīa. The schools in Kashmir had been founded by Ḥāfiz and Ṣurāzī musicians patronized by Zayn‘-u-Abīl, king of Kashmir. The fame of Gwālyār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rāja Mān Tāwar. During his reign the famous Nā‘īb Bahshā, whose melodies are only second to those of Tāsus. Bahshā also lived at the court of Rāja Bīrānājī, Mān’s son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went in Rāja Kīr of Kīttānjar. Not long afterwards he accepted a call to Gjīrāt, where he remained at the court of Sulṭān Bahshā (A.D. 1526 to 1530). Islām Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rūm Dīs and Mahāpītār. Both entered subsequently Akbar’s service. Mahāpītār was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Üpār.
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.

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. Miýán Tánsen, of Gwályáär. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bába Rámdáš, of Gwályáär, a singer.
3. Subbhán Khán, of Gwályáär, a singer.
4. Srgyán Khán, of Gwályáär, a singer.
5. Miýán Chand, of Gwályáär, a singer.
7. Muḥammad Khán, Dhári, sings.
8. Bir Mandal Khán, of Gwályáär, plays on the sarmandal.
10. Shiháb Khán, of Gwályáär, performs on the bín.
11. Da*ūd Dhári, sings.
12. Sarod Khán, of Gwályáär, sings.
16. Ustá Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (nay).

1 Regarding Tánsen, or Tánsín, or Tánsín, vide p. 445. Bágu Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tákás as a present. Ibáhán Sír in vain persuaded Tánsen to come to Agra. Abd ʻl-Faráí mentions below his son Tántaráng Khán; and the Pádišálá-násir (II. 5—on interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bálás.
2 Bódí (II. 43) says, Bágu Dáá came from Láhóó. He appears to have been with Bagyán Khán during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lakh of tákás, empty as Bagyán's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Isám Sháh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tánsen. His son Sír Dáá is mentioned below.
3 Dhári means "a singer," "a musician."
4 Jahángîr says in the Zádihat that Láí Kálqwánt (or Kálqwánt, 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 comrades, on his death, poisoned herself with opium. I have rarely seen such an attachment among Muḥammadan women."
17. Nānak Jarjū, of Gwālīyār, a singer.
18. Purbin Khān, his son, plays on the bûn.
19. Sūr Dās, son of Bāhū Rām Dās, a singer.
20. Chând Khān, of Gwālīyār, sings.
21. Rangsen, of Āgra, sings.
22. Shaykh Dāwan Dhārī,¹ performs on the karnā.
23. Raḥmat-i lāh, brother of Mullā Is-hāq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mir Sayyid ʿAlī, of Mashhad, plays on the qhichak.
25. Ustā Yūsuf, of Hirāt, plays on the tambūra.
26. Qāsim, surnamed Koh-bār,² has invented an instrument intermediate between the qūbūz and the rubāb.
27. Tāsh Beg, of Qipchāq, plays on the qūbūz.
28. Sultan Hāfiz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahram Quli, of Hirāt, plays on the qhichak.
30. Sultan Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the tambūra.
31. Ustā Shāh Muḥammad, plays on the surnā.
32. Ustā Muḥammad Amīn plays on the tambūra.
33. Hāfiz Khwāja ʿAlī, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mir ʿAbdul-lāh, brother of Mir ʿAbdul-i Hay, plays the Qānūn.
35. Pirzāda,² nephew of Mir Dāwām, of Khūrāsān, sings and chants.
36. Ustā Muḥammad Husayn, plays on the tambūra. ³

¹ Dhārī means "a singer", "a musician.
² Koh-bār, as we know from the Fī ḫaṣḥaḥāta (I, b., p. 333) is the name of a Chaghātāi tribe. The Naqī-i Mākhūr mentions a poet of the name of Muḥammad Qāsim Kohbar, whose name de-planes was Šāh. Vide Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 50 (where we have to read Koh-bār for Gāh-pa).
³ Pirzāda, according to Baqī-ʾosr (III, 318) was from Sahawār. He wrote poems under the pseudonym of Liwāʾī. He was killed in 908 at Lāhor, by a wall falling on him.
⁴ The Muḥāṣṣer-i Nabīmi mentions the following musicians in the service of the Khān Khānān—Agā Muhammad ʿAlī, son of Hājī Ismāʿīl, of Tābriz; Mawlawā ʿAbdullāh, of Tābriz; Ustād Mīrza ʿAlī Fāṭḥābād Mawlānā Sharaf of Nīshāpūr, a brother of the poet Naṣīr (p. 549), Muḥammad Mūmin, alias Ḥāfiz, a tambūra-player; and Ḥāfiz Naqr, from Transoxiana, a good singer.

The Tavaqā and the Ḥabīlāhāne mention the following singers of Jahāngīr's reign—Jahāngīr Ḍād; Char Kūsan; Pārstoṭīl; Khurrandād; Māhūs; Hamza.

During Shāh Jahan's reign we find Jagānāth, who received from Shāh Jahan the title of Kāna;² Darang Khān; and Lāl Khān, who got the title of Qanānumdir (ocean of excellence). Lāl Khān was son-in-law to Rākī, son of Tānsen. Jagānāth and Darang Khān were both weighed in silver, and received each 4,500 rupees.

Awrangzib abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court historians. Music is against the Muhammadan law. Khāfī Khān (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 Jharokha (the window where the emperors used to show themselves daily to the people), and waited so long as to attract Awrangzib'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 Jharokha also was abolished.

END OF VOLUME I.
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 31, note 1.

TCHAHL MAH. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, see p. 376.

Page 35, note 2.

QULJl KHAN. The correct year of his death is given on p. 381.

Page 36, line 20.

BABAHHUE. This word is not in the Dictionaries; but there is no doubt that it means "White Agate". The word is also mentioned in the 4th Book (my Text Edition, II, 60), where it is said that all the weights used at court for weighing jewels were made of "transparent Bábághúri". Táhir Naṣirábbádi, in his Tájí, under Jalál, has the following. "When the case came on," he said to Mirzá Taqí, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bábághúri threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

Page 46, middle.

SALARIES OF THE BEGÁNS. Under Sháhjáhán and Awrangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtáz Maháll had 10 lakhs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lakhs, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzib gave the "Begam Sáhir" 12 lakhs per annum.

Regarding Núr Jákán's pension, see p. 574, note 3.

Page 49, note 7.

GILBAFAH BEGÁN. From Badámi, II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, i.e. she was Hámáyún's sister. She was married to Khán Khwája; see pp. 207, 394.

Page 58, line 4, from top.

Soró. Soró is the correct name of a town and Purghana is Sirkár Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (Allgarh), near the Ganges.

Page 58, line 14, from below.

PAHÁN. This I believe to be a mistake for "Pathón" or "Pathánkot". The MSS. have "Pathán" or "Pathánkot", but as the initial s in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with 3 and reversely. The spelling بیتہن, Pathán, for Pathán, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.
KILLS. Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S., informs me that गिला is to the present day the Kashmiri term for cherries.

Page 75, line 7.

MANUSC. This partly confirms Elliot's note under Gul (Beaum's Edition, Races of the N.W. Provinces, II. p. 335) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary.

Page 77, line 7, from below.

PÁR LEAVES. In the 3rd Book of the Àśīn (Text, p. 416. l. 29) Abú ʾl-Faqī mentions another kind of pār, called Maḥār or Maḥā, grown in Bihār.

Page 84, line 7.

QATĪRĪ. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is Fāmuṇī. According to Marco Polo, Fāmuṇī was a state in Sumātra, probably the modern Barōs.

Page 87, note.

ZHRĀD. This should be ZHRĀD, for ze'-r bād, i.e. "under the wind"; backward, the Persian translation, as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay Bāhā neqá, "below the wind," by which the Malaya designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumātra.

Khāī Khān (I. p. 11) couples ZHRĀD with Khātā, over both of which Tūlā Khān, son of Chinīs Khān, ruled.

Page 93, note 6.

I have since seen the spelling كرکرکرک which brings us a step nearer to etymology. Tānī means "supplica"; and čerk means "fur".

Page 93, line 2, from below.

AHMĀDĀBĀD. The commas after Ahmadābād may be wrong. Ahmadābād is often called Ahmadābād-i Gujārī.

Page 94, line 17.

GHĪYĀS-ʾt NAṢIRKHĀN. We know from the Taṣkira of Tāhir Nasirābādī that Ghīyās was born in Yazd. "The world has not since seen a weaver like him. Besides, he was a good poet. Once he brought a piece of wadājjar brocade, on which there was among other figures that of a bear between two trees, to Shāh ʿAbū al-ʿAbbās (1583-1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghīyās said on the spur of the moment,

"The gentleman looks shrewd 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 Ascension," i.e. a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Nasirābādī quotes some of Ghīyās's verses.
COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abū 'l-Fażl, Chautār was woven in Havell Sahāranpūr. Sirī Sāf and Bhīrānū, in Uharangāon, Khāndesh. Gangājī, in Sīrāj Ghorāghāt, Bengal. Mīhrīkūl, in Allāhābād, and Pāchtoliya was mentioned on p. 574, in connexion with Nūr Jahān.

Page 105, note 2.

ĀDĀM-I HAYT-HĀRAṬ. I find that this expression is much older than Abū 'l-Fażl's time. Thus Zāhīd-i-Din Barunī in his preface to the Tārdīh-i Fīrāzabādī (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalīfā 'Umar lived seven thousand years after Ādām.

Page 107, note 8.

AHRĀR KHĀR. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 423. He died in 993, not 973.

Page 108, note 3.

KHANĀDĀN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the Tāzkīrāt-i-ʾAṣṣībīḥ written by Khānādān in 920 A.H., and yet the Mīrārāt-i-ʿĀlām gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 110, note 3, line 4.

BECNĒ. Though Becnē is a common Hindūstānī name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchū, or Panjā, vide p. 607. Bādānī (II, 54) gives as ṣabāb of his death the words ٥ ١٥٢٠٥٢٧٠٥ and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب), i.e. 971 - 2 = 969. Vide also my Essay on "Bādānī and his Works", Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 123, line 18.

SANRĀM. Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tūrūk (p. 29) that Akbar killed with it Jatmāl, the champion of Chittagong

Page 126, lines 27 to p. 130, line 2.

The reader is requested to substitute the following:—

The elephants are found in the following places. In the Sūhāb of Āgra, in the jungles of Bāigwān and Nūrwar, as far as Bāzār; in the Sūhāb of Bāhābād, in the confines of Pāmāh, (Bhath) Ghorā, Ratānpūr, Nāmāpūr, Sirīguja, and Bāstā; in the Sūhāb of Mārsah, in Handhā, Uchhūd, Chandīrī, Sāntwās, Būjāgarb, Rāsūn, Hoshangābād, Gacb, and Harēgār; in the Sūhāb of Bīhār, about Būhēs and in Gārāhmand; and in the Sūhāb of Bengal, in Oṭāsū and in Sāgān. The elephants from Pāmāh are the best.

Page 179, note 3.

Sulaymān Kararānī reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980.

Page 192, note 1.

Prince Murād was born on the 3rd Muharram, 978. Bādānī, II, 132. Vide below.
In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for May, 1870 (p. 146), I have shown that the unclear words in Radziwiłł’s text are:

\[\text{“the caunabula which is their time of mirth.”}\]

By “caunabula” the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, etc., which they used to exhibit in Agrah and Likhor.

Page 281, line 8.

The Šadr read the khobiḥ in the name of the new king, and thus the jūlās became a fact. **Khāfī Khān**, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.

Page 282, middle.

Mawlānā ʿAbū ʿl-Bāqī. **Fīdī** p. 586, note 3.

Page 221.

**Akbar’s Wives.** For Roppūḥ the diminutive form Roppūḥ is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bāt vide next note.

Sultān Sultān Begum. She is the daughter of Gurlīgh Begum, a daughter of Bāhār. Mīrzā Nur ʿd-Deh Muḥammad, Gurlīgh’s husband, was a Naqshbandi Khāvāja. Gurlīgh Begum must not be confounded with another Gurlīgh Begum, who was the daughter of Mīrzā Kānūn and wife of Ibrāhīm Huṣain Mīrzā (vide p. 516).

Of other women in Akbar’s harem, I may mention (1) the daughter of Qārī ʿIṣā (p. 499); (2) an Armenian woman, Tazak, p. 324. Vide also Keman’s Agrā Guide, p. 38. (3) Qimiyūh Bānū, married by Akbar in the 10th year (**Ahbār**, III, 94); (4) a daughter of Shams ʿd-Deh Chak (**Ahbār**, III, 659).

Sultān Muḥāmād. He was married to a daughter of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (p. 343). Their child, Sultān Rustam, did not live long (**Ahbār**, III, 533, 532).

Sultān Dāvūt. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumāda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confounded 1228 and 1229. His first wife was a daughter of Sultān Khāvāja (p. 466), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Saʿdāt Bānū Begum, who was born in 1000 (**Ahbār**, III, 643).

Page 323.

**Jahangir’s Wives.** An additional list was given on p. 333, note 1. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Muḥārač Chak of Kashmir; (2) a daughter of Huṣain Chak of Kashmir (**Ahbār**, III, 659); (3) another Kashmiri lady, mentioned in **Ahbār**, III, 639.

Page 329, middle.

**Death of Mīrzā Rustam.** Thus the date is given in the **Ma‘ārif-i-Umarī**; but from the **Pādishkhānas** (II, 392) we see that Mīrzā Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Raṣīq I, 1022. The author adds a remark that “the manners (arzāf) of the Mīrzā did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother”.

Page 329, line 4, from below.

Qaṣīṣ ʿUmarī Tūkādī. The correct name is Qaṣīṣ Qaṣāqūnī. The Calcutta Chaghtā’ al-Dictionnaire gives Qaṣāqūnī. Vambéry (History of Bokhara, p. 263, note) mentions
the Ustaflu, Shamlu, Nikallu, Baharlou, Zou 'l-Quad, Kajur, and Afsahr, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurassan. Qarauquimlou means "the black sheep tribe".

Page 332, note 1.
The correct name of the place where Bayram was defeated is Gunahchur, which lies S.E. of Jallindhar. The word Gunahchur, which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badon gives, contains "Philhaar", which lies S.W. of Gunahchur.

Page 342, note.
I do not think that Pir Muhammad came from the Sharwan mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Sharwan Afghan.

Page 343, note.
This note has been corrected on p. 445, line 14, and p. 458, note.

Page 348, line 6, from below.
Zul-Qafr is the name of a Turkman tribe; vide above.

Page 361, last line.
Goganda. Regarding the correct date of the battle, vide p. 460, note 2.

Page 376. Todar Mal. The Ma'asir 'l-Umaru says that Todar Mal was born at Lahor. But it is now certain that Todar Mal was born at Laharpur, in Aush; vide Proceedings Asiatic Society Bengal, September, 1871, p. 178.

Page 402, note 2.
Miyân Kâli. The note is to be cancelled. Miyân Kâli has been explained on p. 615, note.

Page 404, line 4.
Yusuf Khan. Regarding his death, vide Tursk, p. 328. His son Izzat Kân is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pishkashâbâne (1, 6, p. 302) عيزامة خان. His name was یزاق "Illah; hence his title Izzat.

Page 412, line 1.
Qâtim Khan. I dare say the phrase "Chamanârul Khurâsân" merely means that he was Governor of Kâbol.

Page 413, line 24.
Bâqi Khan. He is often called "Khan Bâqi Khan".

Page 423, line 15.
Miss Bank. The spelling "Uigur" is now common; but in India the word is pronounced "Ighur". The query may be cancelled; vide p. 488, note 1.

Page 483, line 9.
Dastan Khan. Vambéry spells "Dastum".
SHAYKH FARI'D-I BUKHĀRĪ. That the name of Fari'd's father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukhārī, may be seen from the short inscription on the "Bukhārī Mosque" in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaykh Lād, at the cost of Fari'd-i Bukhārī, and bears the date 10th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Fari'd's Jāmī'i Masjid in Farāhābād:

1. In the reign of Shah Nūrūddīn, a king who is pious, just, and liberal.
2. Mustaqā Khān, the unique one (fari'd) of the age and faith, erected this religious building.
3. He is honoured, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men (Tāli).
4. As Tāli of this lasting structure, the words Khān-i-Bujāh issued from the pen. This gives 1014 a.h.

Page 466, middle.

KOWĀJA TĀHIR MUHAMMAD. He is mentioned as a Sijistānī on p. 528, among the Bukhāris.

Page 476, note 1.

MA'SŪM KHĀN-I KĀRULleet. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bābā Rājendrālal Mitra, from Rāja Pramatha Nāth, Rāja of Dighaputti, Dighaputti. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputti.

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sultan, the chief of Saffārīd, Abu 'l-Fath Muhammad Khān—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever, O Lord, O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khān, Khān Muhammad, son of Tāli Muhammad Khān Ghaffālī, in the year 939.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (5th Zi Hijjah, 937) ; side p. 486.

Page 485, line 7.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD. Regarding the correct date of his death, side p. 548.

Page 490, line 27.

Sūrat. There is every probability that Sorath, and not Sūrat, is intended.
THE GAKKHAND. Veda pp. 544, 545.

The places Pharsâla and Dângâlî (xî12, not Dângâlî) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakkhar District, are noticed in K. Terry's Voyage to East Indies (London, 1655, p. 88). "Kabares, the principal Cities are called Deloles and Pîrhol; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucusus; it is the extremest part North under the Mogol's sujection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

Page 512, line 1.


Page 532, middle.

Kech Hâji. Regarding Kech Hâji and Kech Bihâr and Mokarram Khân, vide my article on these countries in Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1872, p. 54.

Page 533, line 5.

Chaznin Khân, of Jâlor.

"The Pahlûnpûr family is of Afghan origin, belonging to the Lohanî tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihâr in the reign of Humâyûn. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihllî, and from Akbar Shâh, in A.D. 1597, Chaznin Khân, the chief, obtained the title of Dîwân; for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghan tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Lâhor. In A.D. 1682, Fath Khân Dîwân received the provinces of Jâlor, Sânshor, Pahlûnpûr, and Dîsh from Awrangzib. Fath Khân died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pir Khân, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamâlâll Khân, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rathors of Mârwâr, was compelled, in A.D. 1698, to quit the country (Jâlor), and retire with his family and dependents to Pahlûnpûr, where the family has remained ever since.—Selections, Bombay Government Records, No. XXV.—New Series, p. 13.

Page 601, line 27.

"Ail Qâlî Bhu Istarîf. Vambéry spells Usajî, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; vide p. 687."
ERRATA TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE Ā‘ĪN-I AKBĀRĪ.

Page 28, line 18 from top, for Mañlānā Ṣaḥīḥūd. Read Mañlānā Ṣaḥīḥūd.

281., 9 bottom, p. 226, note.
286., 3 n bottom, vide p. 183, note 2.
293., 1 top, Ḏur (p. 110).
320., 17 bottom, Miṟrā Shāhūrkhī.
333, lines 27, 30 top, ḎAbī ʿl-Fathī.
380, line 18 top, vide p. 336.
390., 14 bottom, Bakšakhar.
402., 20 top, Miṇḍī Qāsim Khān.
406., 7 top, Khwāja Sultān ʿAli.
413., 6 bottom, p. 371, note 2.
449., 3 top, Bahār ʿl-Dīn.
506., 12 top, Jalālā Tārīkhī, p. 441.
507., 19 bottom, p. 220.
526., 18 top, Ḥusain ʿd-Dīn.
532., 11 top, Tagnīl.
534., 16 bottom, Murābādīd.
539., 17 bottom, Ḏodāravī.
542., 30 top, ḎAbī ʿl-Qādīr.
543., 7 top, ʿArjumān Ṣingh.
543., 9 top, ʿArjumān Ṣingh.
573, lines 5, 6 bottom, p. 308.
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614., 18 bottom, vide p. 172.
615., 7 bottom, vide p. 159, note 2.
642., 5 n bottom, pp. 334, 328.
660., 6 bottom, Ṣharīf-ʿl Āmūlī, pp. 176, 452.

670., 18 n bottom, ʿishkilāl.
672., 17 bottom, vide above, p. 333.
682., 17 n bottom, Naṣīrī, p. 549.
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I'lāhī, Jāmī, Jādī, Jādīī; Kāhī,
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Li'āwī; Maḩwī, Maḩwī, Maḩwī,
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*Note: This table is a simplified representation of a complex genealogical tree.*

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### Notes
- Timur was the founder of the Timurid dynasty, which later became the Moghul Empire.
- The table includes major rulers of the Moghul dynasty.
- Each row represents a relationship between rulers, starting from Timur to Bux Ahmed Khan.
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The publication was started in 1849, and consists of an Old and a New Series. The New Series was begun in 1860, and is still running.

The issues in the series consisted originally of fascicles of 96 or 100 pages each, though occasionally numbers were issued of double, triple or larger bulk, and in a few cases even entire works were published under a single issue number. Of late years the single issues are made as much as possible to constitute complete volumes. Several different works are always simultaneously in progress. Each issue bears a consecutive issue number. The Old Series consists of 265 issues; in the New Series till January 1st, 1939, inclusive, 1,531 issues have been published. These 1,796 issues represent 254 different works; these works again represent the following literatures:

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- Rajasthani, Kashmiri, Hindi.
- Tibetan.
- Arabic, Persian.

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PREFACE
(First Edition)

The Ætin-i Akbari is the third volume of the Akbar-nama, by Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayd, 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 Bābar, the Sūr kings, and Humāyūn 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 Ætin-i-Akbari, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times; and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the Ætin (i.e. mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government as it was about A.D. 1580. The contents, therefore, of the Ætin 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 Abū 'l-Fazl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the Aṣīn, 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 Aṣīn 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 Aṣīn stands so unique among Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their
contents, the A'in was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffenthaler, in 1770, published in his Description Géographique de l'Indostan long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtadar Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances; and, as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "Ayeen Akberi", of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London. In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one-fourth of the Fourth Book; and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS. in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his. The magnitude of the task of translating the A'in from uncollated MSS. will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty."

But it is not merely the varied information of the A'in that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself. Abū'l-Fazl'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 Akbarnāmah and the A'in. 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 inquiring minds; and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence
of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom. Abū 'l-Fazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the Akbarnāmah will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that, while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet. No native writer has ever accused him of flattery; and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves—we may pardon Abū 'l-Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero.

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected. The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidably slow.

I am deeply indebted to the Council of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the Aṣīn, 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: Macmillan.
2nd September, 1873.
PREFACE
SECOND EDITION OF BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION
OF THE
Ā'ĪN-I AKBĀRĪ

Some explanation is needed of the present edition. Blochmann's original translation has for some time been out of print. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has asked me to undertake the preparation of a reprint, and I lightly accepted the task, not realizing the amount of labour involved. Blochmann's translation and notes form a work of infinite detail and thorough scholarship; and though it has seldom been necessary to correct, it has often been necessary to investigate. This present edition is, however, in the main a mere reprint. This of itself is no small testimony to Blochmann's thoroughness. The transliteration, however, has been brought into line with a more modern system, and a few additional notes [in square brackets] have been added; those with a suffixed B. are Blochmann's own MS. notes from a printed copy in my possession; I have not incorporated all of them, as many I was unable to decipher. Notes to which a P. is suffixed are my own.

D. C. P.

FLEET, OXFORD,
1857.
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¹ Āḥā, gazelle.—P.
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NOTE

Lieut.-Col. Phillott, who most generously had undertaken to prepare a revised reprint of Blochmann’s translation of the first volume of the Āśīn-i-Akbarī, had progressed to the end of the text when illness precluded him from finishing his labours. What remained to be done was the revision of the index, the correction of the additional notes as already revised by him on the copy, and the entering of the modifications necessary in the proofs of pages xvii to xxxii, and xlix to lxx of the preliminary matter, as also of pages 1 to 10 of the work itself.

For a long time lingering illness prevented the taking of immediate steps to terminate the volume, but in September, 1930, the regretted death of the learned Editor necessitated consideration of the problem of bringing the reprint to a close. The fact that the volume was being printed in England and that no details as to the method of the revision were at the disposal of the office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal caused considerable delay, but ultimately arrangements were made to complete the work in the office of the Society.

Mr. D. K. Das was charged with the revision of the index, involving the changing of all page numbers, and the drawing up of a list of errata found in the body of the reprint during the course of his work. Mr. Das has performed his work with great care and has rendered valuable service in doing so. The new errata are to be found on page 690 of this volume. The plan adopted for the reprint has been explained by the Editor on page xi.

The circumstances explained above are responsible for the date of the Editor’s Preface, as well as for the fact that the date of issue on the title page is given as 1927, whilst the actual publication was not possible till 1939.

The Council of the Society wishes to record its great indebtedness to the late Lieut.-Col. Phillott for his self-sacrificing labour on the present volume, and to pay its grateful homage to the memory of its late Member and Fellow, a devoted friend, a valued helper, and a distinguished scholar.

B. S. GUHA,
General Secretary.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1 Park Street, Calcutta.
12th July, 1939.
LIST OF PLATES
IN THE
FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
ĀʾĪN-I-AKBĀRĪ

PLATES I TO III. THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT, p. 18.
1. 2. Preparation of acids.—3. Washing of ashes.—4, 8, 10, 12, melting and refining.—
5. Weighing.—6, 8. Making of plates.

PLATE IV. THE IMPERIAL CAMP (p. 50).

1. The Imperial Harem (kabristān-i īspārā).—At the right hand side is the De-Abdāzīnīs
Mumīl; side p. 56.
2. Open space with a canopy (shāmābhān).

"The aquatory resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and

5. The Naqīrū-Īslām, pp. 49, 50.

All, or distance from the Harem to the camp light = 1,500 yards;

AC = 300 yards; p. 49.

6. The house where the saddles were kept (sīn-īkābān).
7. The Imperial stables (ṣamāh).
8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.
9. Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables.
10. The Imperial Office (dāṣīr).
11. Tent for pākīs and carts.
12. Artillery tent (mā−hāmān).
13. Tent where the hunting leopards were kept (chīlābān).
14. The Tents of Maryam Makhānī (Akhūr’s mother), Gulbadān Begum (Hamdīyūn’s

15. The tents of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr), to the right of the Imperial Harem.
16. The tents of Sultān Murād, to the left of the Imperial Harem; p. 50.
17. Store rooms and workshops (bābāhān).
18. Tent for keeping basins (ṣafībāhān).
19. Tent for the perfumes (mawākīhān).
20. Tent for storing mattresses (qāshāhān).
21. Tent for the tailors, etc.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, etc. (nārāgā-āhāna).
25. Tent for making sharbat and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing pān leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (meena āhāna).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (riḵāb-āhāna).
29. The Imperial kitchen (mawāqī).
30. The Imperial bakery (mābā-āhāna).
31. Store room for spices (kavej-āhāna).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (gur-āhāna).
34. Women's apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

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

"The king's private tents are surrounded by small kānsār (quadr, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes."—Bernier. Bernier's description of the Imperial camp (second letter, dated Lāhor, 25th February, 1663), agrees with minute detail with the above.

PLATE V. CANDLESTICKS, p. 50.
4. The kāhā-dīpa, or Camp-light; vide pl. iv., No. 4.

PLATE VI. THE EMPEROR AKBAR WORSHIPS FIRE, p. 50.

In front of Akbar twelve candles are placed, and the singer of sweet melodies sings to the praise of God, as mentioned on p. 51, l. 6 ff.

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

PLATE VII. THRONES, p. 52.

1, 2. Different kinds of thrones (surumā) with pillows (mazzaf) to lean against, the royal umbrella (chāl), and the footstool (sandaf).

PLATE VIII. THE NAQQĀRA KHĀNA, p. 52.


PLATE IX. THE ENSIGNS OR ROYALTY, p. 52.

1. The Jhamā, or Indian flag. "The Royal standard of the great Mogul is a Conchant Lion shadowing part of the body of a sun."—Terry.
2. The Kanyakā.
3. Shāyabān or Āfāshīr.
4. The Tumantoy (from the Turkish tog, or togh, a flag, and tuman or tāmān, a division of ten thousand).
5. The Chāhr, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or Čālam.
The Chaharq. As Abû l-Fazl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced Chaurag, from the Turkish şafir, or châter, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (gâd) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak.

Plates X and XI. The Imperial Tents, p. 54.

Plate X.—The three tents on the top, commencing with the left, are (1) the Shângâhû; (2) the gâddar Kharîjâh, or tent of one door; (3) the Dâdari, or tent of two doors; p. 57, 8. Rolled up over the door is the shâgh; p. 236, A* in 88.

Below these three tents, is the Sard-pânda and Gâdil-bâr, pp. 47, 57. At the foot of the plate is the Nâm-ghâru (pl. daw-catcher), with carpet and pillow (masnaâl); p. 48.

Plate XI.—On the top, the bârgâh, p. 55. Below it, on the left, is the De-châshigheh Mânsî, or two-storied house; side Pl. IV, No. 1. At the window of the upper story, the emperor showed himself; side Index, darsan, and jharokâ. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the Châbâs Mânsî (as the word ought to be spelled, from chôbâs, wooden, and râmqâl, a square tent), p. 56. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called masnâdâz, with one tent pole (yak-saragh, from the Turkish saragh, or sarâgh, a tent pole). Below is a Zânaâdîz with two poles (dûn-saragh). At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the Mandal, p. 50; and to the right, the A* A* A*, p. 56.

Plate XII. Weapons, p. 116.

The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on pp. 117 to 119.

1. The sword, shamsher (1).
2. The straight sword, khâmî (2).
3a. The gâdd or gâd (3).
4. The broad dagger, jamshâr (4).
5. The bent dagger, hârjâr (5).
6. The shâghâk, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, šab (8).
8. The shâkshu, or hillless dagger (9).
9. The ânârâ, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The sarinâb moth (sarinâb moth, a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, kora (12).
12. 13. The small bow and arrow, kâshâh korsad and lîr (13).
14a. Arrow.
14b. The jîrankâsh, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, tarâsh (16).
16. The lance, kus (20).
17. The Humfâshâl lance, surâkâ (21).
18. The slâk, or broad-headed lance (22).
19. 20. The sarâsî (23) and sabrâ (24).
21. The shâshâr, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of shahshar) from shâshâr, lungs, and har, tearing.
22. The axe, šabbar.
23. The club, pâv (23). On p. 117, No. 29, the word pâvâz has been translated by "club", and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS, call "pâvâz" a long knife, with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, shaspar, i.e. crow-hill (30).
25. The châshâr (wheel) and kusad (31).
26. The double axe, tâkar-châshâr (32).

[* Zâgâ a name largely applied to a chauragh, crow, jockstow and magpie.—P.]
27. The tawungdu (33).
28. The knife, kird (34).

Plate XIII. Weapons (continued), p. 118.
29. The guppi kird, or knife concealed in a stick (33).
30. The whip, yumkhi-kird (39).
31. The clasp knife, sikhis (37).
32. A bow, mumrug.
33. The bow for clay bullets, kastha, or Kamis-i yarah (28).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, tisab-i dasha.¹ (40).
35. The pasakshir (41).
36. A lance called girak-kush, i.e. a knot-unraveller (43).
37. The khur-i muli, i.e. fish-spear (44).
38. The sling, gohan (45).
39. The gojak, or abada, for guiding elephants (46).
40. The shield, sipar (47).
41. Another kind of shield, djal (48).
42. The plain cane shield, paher, or pheri (50).
43. The helmet, dukaliga (52).
44. The phakepham, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, zirak-kalak (54).
46. The mailed coat, zirak (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast plate, bagon (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, jisana (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, chur-i kas (60).

Plate XIV. Weapons and Armours (continued), p. 118.
50. The coat with plates and helmet, kast (61).
51. An armour of the kind called sadghi (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, singhala (63).
53. An iron mask, chikuna-zirak-i khami (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, chikunad (67).
55. The long glove, dasiwana (68).
56. The small one in the maz-e dham, or iron stocking (71); and the large one the raka (69).
57. The kajem, or kojaw, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58. 59. The ariak-i kajem, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The qasqua, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The Kaytha soor (70).
62. The rocket, bina (77).


Plate XVI. Harness for Horses, p. 144; A in 52, p. 143.

Plate XVII. Games, p. 314.

The upper figure shows the board for Chaujar, p. 315, 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 Fatburg Shiri, 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.

¹ Tisab-i dasha, blowpipe.—P.
BIography
OF
SHAYKH ABU 'L-FAZL-I 'ALLAMI

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

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Musa, Abu 'l-Fazl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistan (Sindh), at a place called Rel (ريل). In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Musa's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindustan. There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijaz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nagor, north-west of Ajmür, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mir Sayyid Yahya of Bukhara.

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

Shaykh Mubarak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh 'Atan (أتان), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodi to Nagor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Salar, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nagor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistan. His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nagor in great

1 14th January, 1551.
of the age". In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surman-raa (near Baghdaad) on the 23rd Ramazan, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardaba (prop. "a cool place", "a summer villa"), and disappeared whilst in his residence. In the book entitled Shawahid, 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" (Qur'an, xvi, 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 Imam Hasan Askari (the eleventh Imam) whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalifa and Imam after thee!" Askari thereupon went into his room, and after some time came back with a child on his shoulders, that had a face like the full moon and might have been three years old, and said to the man, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shown you this child; his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic." The sect who believe Mahdi to be alive at present say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdi movement assumed in India a definite form through the teaching of Mir Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir Sayyid Khân of Jaunpur. This man was a descendant of the Prophet, and bore his name; the fall of Jaunpur was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdi," "thou art Mahdi." Some people indeed say that Mir Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdi; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly

1 Badá's, in his 'Najât e-Mahdi, gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshán from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshán, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Nürbakhsh, a pupil of Abü Lu-hâq Khâliq, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to Sfâq, 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. Badá's has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Nürbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaykh Muhammad Lâhij, the commentator of the "Gulshan-i Râz".
through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujarāt, where he found an adherent in Sultān Mahmūd I. From Gujarāt he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Makkah. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to the disciples that accompanied him, "God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdi. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Farah in Balochistān, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (A.H. 911; A.D. 1505). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdi; and even the historian Bāḏāoni, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdis appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (A.D. 1549), a Mahdi of great pretensions arose in Biānah, S.W. of Āgra, in the person of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ. This man was a Bangāli Musalmān. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Makkah, he had settled, in 936, with his younger brother Nāṣir ʿIlī, likewise a learned man, at Biānah, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaykh ʿAlāʾ had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. "But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just," and on the day of the ʿId, he kicked an influential Shaykh from his ānda, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaykh of the town.

About the same time, one Miyaṅ ʿAbd ʿIlāh, a Niyāzī Afghān and disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr, arrived from Makkah and settled at a retired spot near Biānah. 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. Shaykh ʿAlāʾ also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Miyaṅ ʿAbd ʿIlāh; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned faqīr, 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 Niyāzī, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all work, because it was said in the Qurʾān, "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 Mahdi, 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 bazaars 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 Būnah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaykh ʿAlāʾī's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miyan ʿAbdu'llāḥ in earnestness and successful conversions, and the later at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah, ʿAlāʾī marched with his hand over Basāwar to Khawāṣpur, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Būnah.

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

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubārak also became a "disciple", and professed Mahdawī 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 Makhīdūm ʿI-Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhīdūm 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 Mubārak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment.1

1 "Makhīdūm ʿI-Mulk" was the title of ʿAbdu'llāḥ of Sultānpūr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references. The following biographical notice from the
The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by Ala'i's success, and Makhdoom's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaykh. Ala'i and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhin. Whilst at Hardwar on the Narbada, the frontier of Islam Shah's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahar Khan Asam Humayun and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaykh Ala'i.

About the same time (950) Islam Shah left Agra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjab caused by certain Niyazi Afghans, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bnanaa Makhdoom Il-Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyun 'Abdul-lah Niyazi, who after Shaykh Ala'i's departure for the Dakhin roamed about the hills of the Bnanaa 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 Niyazi rebels in the Panjab. Islam Shah ordered the governor of Bnanaa, who had become a Mahdawi, to bring Miyun 'Abdul-lah to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyun 'Abdul-lah boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islam Shah gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyun 'Abdul-lah lay apparently lifeless on the ground. But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, denounced all Mahdawi principles and got as late as 993 (A.D. 1585) from Akbar a freehold, because he,

Khusnulwali Asfai (Laibar, pp. 443, 464) shows the opinion of good Sunnis regarding Makhdoom.

Mawlaa 'Abdul-lah Ansari of Sulaimpur belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishti in his religious opinions. From the time of Shah Shihab the reign of Akbar, he had the title of Makhdoom Il-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 sunnworship, ordering them to substitute for the creed the words "There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the vicegerent of God", Mawlaa 'Abdul-lah 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. Makhdoom therefore went to Makkah. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the Khasi Il-Kashf, Il-Ghumshuk; the Il-Fanar Il-Ashgha, the Il-Majzil 'oddin, etc. He was poisoned in A.D. 1008.

His son Hajj 'Alawi Il-Karim went after the death of his father to Laibar, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1915, and lies buried at Laibar, near the Zia, 19 Nisavat, at Masons' Cot. His sons were Shaykh Yahya, Il-Hujj, 'Abdul il-Iaqiq and Afla Hujj. Shaykh Yahya, like his father, wrought miracles.

In this account the date is wrong; for Makhdoom Il-Mulk died in 960, and as Badshah, Makhdoom's supporter, says nothing of his death (Rus. II, 311) the statement of the Khasnulwali Il-Asfai may be rejected. Badshah also says that Makhdoom's sons were worthless men. The titles of Makhdoom Il-Mulk's works are not correctly given either; vide p. 614.
too, had been one of Makhîmâl-Mulk’s victims. He died more than 90 years old, in 1000, at Sarhind.

Islam Shâh, after quelling the Niyâzi disturbances, returned to Agra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjâb, and it was there that Shaykh 'Alâ, joined the royal camp. When Islam Shâh saw the Shaykh he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you." But Shaykh 'Alâ, would not do so, and Islam Shâh, to keep up the appearance of authority ordered a memorial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence. Shaykh 'Alâ, 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 'Alâ, 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 that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, 'Alâ, 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 Islam Shâh and the downfall of his house.

Makhîmâl-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. Islam has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the 'Ulamâ about Court, from whom the Sadrs of the provinces, the Mir 'Adls, Muftis, and Qâzîs were appointed. At Dihli and Agra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnis, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight.

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1 Badâ,oni visited him in Sarhind, and it was from 'Abd-Ilâh that he heard of Mir Sayyid Muhammad’s repentance before death. Among other things, 'Abd-Ilâh also told him that after the Mir’s death in Farâh, 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.

2 The circumstances connected with 'Alâ, s death resemble the end of Sîdî Mûlah during the reign of Jalâlud-dîn Tîrûs Shâh.

The place in the Panjâb, where the scene took place, is called Ban. (Bad. 1, 408).

The fact that Badâ,oni spent his youth at Banawar near Bânah, is in the very centre of the Mahdawi movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawi principles.
How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps ُAlā’-ad-Dīn Khiljī, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaykh ُAlā, was a great triumph for the Court ُUlamās, 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 Humāyūn and the downfall of the Afghān power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humāyūn was strongly in favour of Shi‘ism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Ágra, after the fall of Bayān Khān, who was a Shi‘a, again teamed with Hindūstānī Sunnās, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubārak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh ُAbdulla-n-Nabī and Makhdūm-i-Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubārak also belonged to the Mahdawīs 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 emperor. Mubārak wisely fled from Ágra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to seek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaykh Salīm Chishti of Fathpūr Sikrī for intercession, but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarāt, he implored the good offices of Akbar’s foster-brother, the generous Khān-i Aṣham Mīrzā Koka, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaykh 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. Mubārak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son ُAbdulla-Fayz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh ُAbdulla-n-Nabī. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawi leanings and Shi‘a tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar’s reign, when Fayzi’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 Ágra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor therefore sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubārak’s house. Fayzi

1 ُAbdulla-Fayz wrote under the nom-de-plume of Fayzi.
was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubarak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Fayzā at last came, he was carried off by force to Chitor. Nor did his fears for his father and his own life banish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar's good will and the blindness of his personal enemies.

Abū'l-Faṣl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father. The persecutions which Shaykh 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 Abū'l-Faṣl learned the lesson of tolerance, 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 overthrew by superior learning and broader sentiments the clique of the Ulamās, 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 ẖikamī and naqī, or maṣqūl and maṇqūl. 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 Isfahānī 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. Abū'l-Faṣl 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 thoughtul 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 added; 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 Abū'l-Faṣl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

1 20th Rabī' I, 973, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Fayzā presented will be found in the Akbaran-nāma.
2 Page 609, note.
Abūl-Fażl 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 Faysl had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abūl-Fażl, 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 Faysl in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abūl-Fażl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of A.D. 1574) was presented to Akbar as Faysl's brother, the reception was so favourable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts. "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abūl-Fażl in the Akbarnāma, "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 outbursts of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pídris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Fārsis 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 al-Kursi, and presented it when the emperor was at Agra.

* Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qurʾān.
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 Bihar and Bengal. Fayzli accompanied the expedition, but Abu'l-Fazl naturally stayed in Agra. But as Fayzli wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abu'l-Fazl attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Faithpur Sikri, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jamia Mosque. Abu'l-Fazl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qur'an entitled "Sira'tul-Fath", "the Chapter of Victory".1

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnis at Court, headed by Maulana Abu'l-Mulk and Shaykh Abu 'n-Nabi, had every cause to feel sorry at Fayzli's and Abu'l-Fazl's successes; for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihar, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badai,oni 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-Justice on Shi'as and "other 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 Hindu subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Faithpur Sikri, 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 "inquire". It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.2 The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning: abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafi law, to which most Sunnis cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong-

1 The details of Abu'l-Fazl's introduction at Court given by Badai,oni differ slightly from Abu'l-Fazl's own account.
2 Badai,oni ascribes to Maulana Abu'l-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abu'l-Fazl's character: for the first time he saw Abu'l-Fazl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Badai, III, 72.
3 Vide pp. 173 ff.
ing to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Mahdism Al-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh Abū 'n-Nabi, the Šādir of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Mahdī a fool and cursing him. Abū'l-Faḍl, 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 Abū'l-Faḍl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islam, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution impossible; and though headstrong kings as Al-Abrīz Abī-dīn Khūjī had before tried to raise the law of expediency (mashābat-i sawt) above the law of the Qur'an they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law or in rendering the administration of the empire, independent of the Mulla. Hence when Abū'l-Faḍl 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 Islam. It was only now that the Sunnis at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that the strong embodiment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islam, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship. The learned party, seeing their official position endangered, now showed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaykh Muhārak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islam. Badā,oni has happily preserved a complete copy of it. The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a "Mujtahid", i.e., an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islam. The "intellect of the just king" thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaykh Abū 'n-Nabi and Mahdī Al-Mulk signed indeed the document against

1 Pages 187, 189.  
2 Video p. 190.
their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaykh Mubarak 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 ʿAbū-ʾl-Faẓl in the Akbarnāma, "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 (ṣulḥ-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 his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace." The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaykh Mubarak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

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

The disputations had now come to an end (A.D., 1579) and Fayzī and Abūʾl-Faẓl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor. Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Fayzī, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murād; and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received mansabs, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions. Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship, both remained at court in Fatehpūr Sikri, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions. Two years later, Fayzī was appointed Šadr of Āgra, Kālpā, and Kālimjar, in which capacity he had to inquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (mawarshāl), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue; and Abūʾl-Faẓl in the very beginning of 1585, was promoted to the mansab

1 Akbarnama, iii, 463.
of Hazārī, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Diwan of the Province of Dīhi. Fāyṣī’s rank was much lower; he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But he did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found in the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honoured 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 Fāyṣī’s genius was but just; for after Amir Khusraw of Dīhi, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fāyṣī.¹

In the end of 1589, Abūl-Faṣl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbara. 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.”²

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Din-i Ḥāhī, or “the Divine Faith”, the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubārak’s document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His vice-regent (khalīfa) on earth. The Islamic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the “elect” was based on that of the Pārsīs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindūs. The new era (tārikh-ilāhī), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pārsī. The Muhammadan grandees at court showed but little resistance; they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindū courtiers than on Akbar’s religious innovations, which after all, affected but a few. But their feeling against Abūl-Faṣl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhim hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salim (Jahāngīr) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abūl-Faṣl, 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 Abūl-Faṣl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

¹ For his works, vide p. 161.
² چخانی کتابی زیادی داشت و جزیره را به فقیه پیامبری از جانب عثمان میلر، از ازبند. و کشور کیمبیک. و
duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qur'an. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies he said, "What Abū'l-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 Abū'l-Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the *Zakhrīrat Mu'āminah*. He says that Abū'l-Fazl repented of his apostasy from Islam, and used at night to visit *incognito* the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold mohurs, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abū'l-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 Fayzi from apostasy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abū'l-Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shah Abū'l-Ma'āli Qādiri of Lahore, a man of saintly renown, once expressed his disapproval of Abū'l-Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū'l-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 Abū'l-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 Mullās, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islam to continue his studies of the Qur'an, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abū'l-Fazl, Fayzi, and scholars as Badā'untī, Naqīb Khān, Shaykh Sultan, Hāji Ibrahim, Shaykh Munawwar and others, were engaged in historical and

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1 Born a.h. 960 - died at Lahore, 1624. *Khalqāt-ī Aygās*, p. 128.
scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian. 1 Fayzi took the Lilawati, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abu 'l-Fazl translated the Kalila Dama under the title of 'Ayâr Dânish from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the Mahabharat, and in the composition of the Tarikh-i Alf, the "History of the Millennium." The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawi movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykh 'Alî's death, the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fârîpur Sikri and by the teachings of men of Sharif-i Âmuli's stamp. 2 With this important modification, that Akbar himself was pointed to as the "Lord of the Age," through whom faded Islam 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 Tarikh-i Alf, therefore, was to represent Islam as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (ulfu) 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 hijra, or flight, of the Prophet from Makka to Medina.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abu 'l-Fazl to the post of Dâhazari, or commander of two thousand horse. Abu 'l-Fazl now belonged to the great Amirs (umârâ-yi kibîr) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayzi was sent to the Dakhin as Akbar's ambassador to Burhanul-Mulk, and to Raja 'Ali Khan of Khândesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salim. Fayzi returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaykh Mubârak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lâhor (Sunday, 17th Zî Qânda, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

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1 See pp. 110, 111.
2 Page 502. We hear the last of the Mahdawi movement in 1628, at the accession of Shahjahân. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahangir's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of sihâk, or prostration, which Muhammadans believe to be due to God alone. But Shâhjahân, on his accession, restored many Muhammadan rites that had fallen in abeyance at court; and as he was born in A.H. 1000, he was now pointed to as the real restorer. Since that time the movement has found no disciples.
the age of 90, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qur'an, to which he had given the title of Manuscripts Nafā'î, is It 7 Uyūn. He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badājī, in speaks of him as follows:

Shaykh Mubārak 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 Afghan rule, he frequented Shaykh A Ṣāliḥ's fraternity; in the beginning of His Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandis had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadān school, and lastly, when the Shi'ahs 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 Hindūstān, a perfect master. He knew Shāṭīrī by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān which he composed, resembles the Tafsīr-i Kahīr (the "Great Commentary"), and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled Manuscripts Nafā'î, is It 7 Uyūn. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself.

A writer on "Tajwel": the art of reading the Qur'ān correctly.
as the renovator of the new century. We know what this "renovating" means. About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the Fārizi Ode (in it) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Baris, the Ode by Kašḥ ibn Zubayr, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zil Qašda, 1001, he left this world at Lāhor for the judgment-seat of God.

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning; but alas! under the mantle of a 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 Āgra 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." (Qurʾān, 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 Shaykh Mubārak’s death, Abu ʿl-Fāzī also lost his brother Faygī, who died at the age of 50, 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, "Shaykh Jio, I have brought Ḥakim ʿĀli 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 Abu ʿl-Fāzī, he went away. How deeply Abu ʿl-Fāzī loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbarānāma and the Ṣanā in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the Ṣanā 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.

1 Badāʿi on says in his Najāt da-raštīd that Jāhil d.Dīn Sayyāḥ, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century.

2 Husayn, in whose remembrance the Māharram laments are chanted, was murdered by Yazid; hence the latter is generally called Yazid-i-mlāʾīn, "Yazid, the accursed." Badāʿi here calls Abu ʿl-Fāzī Yazid. Poor Badāʿi had only the thousand hās, which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school fellow Yazid Abu ʿl-Fāzī was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.

3 Badāʿi on, ii, 460.
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." Abū 'l-Faḍl, notwithstanding his onerous duties, kept his promise, and two years after the death of his brother, he collected the stray leaves of Fāyḍi's Marāqī 'l-Adwār, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbarānā.

It was about the same time that Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 Ḥāfiz-i Akbarī, which work he completed in the same year when he collected his brother's literary remains (1596-7).

In the following year, the forty-third of Akbar's reign, Abū 'l-Faḍl went for the first time on active service. Sulṭān Murād had not managed matters well in the Darān, and Akbar now dispatched Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 Shāhrukh Mirzā. The wars in the Darān, from their first commencement under Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, 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 Jahāngīr, by treacherous and intriguing generals. In fact, the Khān Khānān himself was the most untrustworthy imperial officer. Abū 'l-Faḍl's successes, therefore, were chiefly due to the honesty and loyalty with which he conducted operations. When he arrived at Burhānpūr, he received an invitation from Bahādur Khān, king of Khānāqāh, whose brother had married Abū 'l-Faḍl's sister. He consented to come on one condition, namely, that Bahādur Khān should vigorously assist him, and thus aid the cause of the emperor. Bahādur was not inclined to aid the imperialists in their wars with the Darān, but he sent Abū 'l-Faḍl rich presents, hoping that by this means he would escape the penalty of his refusal. Abū 'l-Faḍl, however, was not the man to be bribed. "I have made a vow," he said 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 Murād had in the meantime retreated from Ahmadnagar to
 İllichpūr, and as the death of his infant son Mirzā Rustam made him
melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium
tremens. When informed of Abū ʿI-Faḍl’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 Pūrnā,¹ twenty kos from
Dawlatābād, when death overtook him. Abū ʿI-Faḍl arrived the same
day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander
recommended immediate return; but Abū ʿI-Faḍl said that he was deter-
mined to march on; the enemy was near, the country was foreign
ground, and this was no time for returning, but for fighting. Several
of the commanders refused to march on, and returned; but Abū ʿI-Faḍl,
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 Nāsīk, which lay too far to the west. But he sent
detachments against several forts, and conquered Baitāla, Taltum, and
Satonīla. His headquarters were on the Godāwārī. He next entered
into an agreement with Chānd Bibi, that, after punishing Abhang Khān
Ḥabēḥī, who was at war with her, she should accept Janīr as sīf and
give up the fort of Ahmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dakhīn operations
had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahādur Khān
to pay his respects to Prince Dānyāl, and war with Khāndesh had been
determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Āsīr, Bahādur Khān’s
stronghold, and appointed Prince Dānyāl to take command at Ahmad-
nagar. Dānyāl sent immediate instructions to Abū ʿI-Faḍl to cease
all operations, as he wished to take Ahmadnagar personally. When
the Prince therefore left Burhānpūr, Abū ʿI-Faḍl at Akbar’s request,
left Mirzā Shāhrukh, Mir Murtaza, and Khwāja Abū ʿI-Ḥasan in charge
of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramaẓān,
1609 (beginning of the 14th year of Akbar’s reign), he met Akbar at
Khargō, near Bilāgārī. The emperor received him with the following
verse—

¹ The southern Pūrnā is meant. The northern Pūrnā flows into the Taptī in Khānd-
desh; whilst the southern Pūrnā, with the Dāndīk, flows into the Godāwārī. Prince Murād
had gone from İllichpūr to Narnāla, and from there to Shāhpūr, which he had built
about eight miles south of Bilāgārī. It is now in ruins.
Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight, I wish to talk to thee on many a subject.

and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand. The imperial army now marched on Asîr and commenced the siege. One day, Abû 'l-Fâzl inspected some of his trenches, when one of the besieged, who had deserted to Akbar's camp, offered to show him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Mâlai Fort, an important fortification below Asîrgâh itself. Half way up the mountain, to the west and slightly to the north, were two renowned outworks, called the Mâlai and Antar Mâlai, which had to be conquered before Asîr itself could be reached; and between the northwest and north, there was another bastion called Chûna Mâlai. 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 Korkhâ. A hill in the south-west, called Sâpan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abû 'l-Fâzl 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 listen for the sound of the trumpets and bugles, when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders, he went in the dark of the night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sâpan, and sent a few of his men under Qârâ Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Mâlai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to oppose them, and Abû 'l-Fâzl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Asîr. On the same

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1 Abû had no sooner crossed the New-badis (Narbalâ); when Râzâz Bâdur Shâh, who had possession of the fortress of Hasar (Asîr) fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave the fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles, of which the first is called Cho-Trânâ, the second Connârghor, and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six rods. 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. Bâdur Shâh, however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as supplant to the king and surrendered himself.

2 While the king was at this place, Abdul Fâzî (Abû 'l-Fâzl) came to him, and so worked upon his mind, that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan. From Professor Lethbridge's Fragment of Indian History, translated from De Laât's India Vera, and published in the Calcutta Review for 1875.

3 De Laât is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Trânâ; "Connârghor" is the Persian "Kamargâh"; "the middle of a mountain." The names of Fort Chûna Mâlai and of Mount Korkhâ are doubtful; the MSS. having Khwaja Mâlai and Korkhâ, Korkhâ, Korgâh, and similar variations.

Vide also, Ganjûnâr, Central Provinces, p. 8.
day, other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Korhin, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyaḵ, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmādnagar, now joined his father at Āsir.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rājū Manna, and a party set up the son of ʿAlī Shāh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khān Khānān was ordered to march against him, and Abū ʿl-Faẓl was sent to Nāsik; but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khān Khānān. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Āgra, leaving Prince Dānyaḵ in Burhānpūr. Abū ʿl-Faẓl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Ahmādnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abū ʿl-Faẓl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abū ʿl-Faẓl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son ʿAbdullāh Rāhmān. After coming to terms with the son of ʿAlī Shāh, he attacked Rājū Manna, recovered Jāmālpūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Manna found a temporary asylum in Dawaḷāṭābād, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Āsir, Prince Salīm, who had been sent against the Rānā of Udaipur, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Bābābād, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhānpūr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty-seventh year, showed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar's best officers appeared to favour Salīm, the emperor recalled Abū ʿl-Faẓl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son ʿAbdullāh Rāhmān in charge of his corps, Abū ʿl-Faẓl set out for Āgra, accompanied by a few men only. Salīm, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abū ʿl-Faẓl's journey unprotected, as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā chief of Uṛchā (Ūṛchhā), through whose territory Abū ʿl-Faẓl was likely to pass, to lie in wait for him and kill 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, Abū ʿl-Faẓl was warned of Salīm's

1 Among the plunder taken at Ahmādnagar was a splendid library. Faẓl's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.
2 Vido p. 344.
intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭṭī Chāndā; but Abū ʾl-Faḍl 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 Rabī’ūl Awwal (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a kos from Saray Bar, which lies six kos from Narwar, Bir Singh’s men came in sight. The few men that Abū ʾl-Faḍl had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gādā Khān, Afghān, told him quickly to retreat to Antri, which was three kos distant, as Rāy Rāyān and Sūraj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bir Singh. But Abū ʾl-Faḍl 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 Abū ʾl-Faḍl’s head, and sent it to Salim in Ilāhābād, 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 Abū ʾl-Faḍl’s death:—

Salim returned to Halebassa (Ilāhābās, the old form of Ilāhābād), 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 Abū ʾl-Faḍl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa (Dānyāl Shāh), 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 Faḍl 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 Radzie Bertsehing Bonda, who lived in his province of Osseen (Ujjan), to lie in wait for Faḍl near Soor (Narwar) and Gualer (Gwāliyār) 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 Radzie consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four kos from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

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1 From Professor E. Lethbridge’s “Fragment of Indian History,” Calcutta Review, 1873.

The place near which Abū ʾl-Faḍl was killed, is called in the MSS. ١١٨٨٨٩ ـ सूरी बार. De Laët’s Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.
villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fażl. Accordingly
when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Cellebaga
(Kálábāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radaż Bertzingh and his
followers fell upon him on all sides. Fażl and his horsemen fought bravely,
but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fażl
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 Salīm, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference
that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his "Memoirs"
that he brought about Abū 'l-Fażl'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 Rāja Bir Singh, a Bundelā Rājpūt,
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, Shaykḥ Abū 'l-Fażl, a Hindūstāṇī Shaykḥ
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 Dakhin.
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 Abū 'l-Fażl 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
Bir Singh Bundelā, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor,
I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abū 'l-Fażl
and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and
when Abū 'l-Fażl 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 Bābābād. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū
'l-Fażl'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 Abū 'l-Fażl because "he had been the enemy of the
Prophet".
When the news of Abū 'l-Fażl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Timūr'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, Abū 'l-Fażl's vakil presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewildered Abū 'l-Fażl's death more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after inquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salim wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abū 'l-Fażl," and then recited the following verse:

\[
\text{شیع مل از شوین بیحذ جهین سوی ما آمده} \\
\text{ز راشتنا بیلی بوسی بی سروربا آمده}
\]

My Shaykh 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 Dās and Rāj Singh to Êđehā. They defeated the Bundelā chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder and shut him up in Irish. When the siege had progressed and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped by one of Rāj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dās. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dās to Court; but ordered the officers stationed about Êđehā to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bir Singh was once surprised by Rāja Rāj 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 Jahāngir's Court, and received Êđehā and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the Mu'āκbār 'l-Umarā, that Abū 'l-Fażl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindū, or a fire-worshipper, or a free-thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Šūfis, 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

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1 Pages 322 and 300.
2 I may remark here that Abū 'l-Fażl never accepted a title.
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 ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān used to sit at table as safarī (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abūʾl-Faṣl 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, Abūʾl-Faṣl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abūʾl-Faṣl was in the Dakhin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (chihārāwaf) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amirs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all-comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and khichri was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abūʾl-Faṣl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshi's; 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 Abūʾl-Faṣl's style. ʿAbduʾl-lāh, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abūʾl-Faṣl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as "the great Munshi". His letters are studied in all Madrasas, 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 Abūʾl-Faṣl'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

[1. Sufra-ʾdī.—P.]
[2. This is also the opinion of the author of the Haft Iṣlām.]
after him write in the style of the Pādishāhnama, the Ālamārā Sikandarī or in the still more turgid manner of the Ālamgīrnama, the Ruqā’at Bedil, and other standard works on Imāhā.

A praiseworthy feature of Abū 'l-Faḍl'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.

Abū 'l-Faḍl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayżī led Akbar's mind away from Islām and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 Islām 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, Abū 'l-Faḍl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khān Khānāns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islām is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intolerance, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moamens the memory of Awrangzib with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a raḥim-‘llah-hū (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 Badā, onī to show that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islām to Fayżī and Abū 'l-Faḍl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by ʿUrfī from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

"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)."

² For ʿUrfī vide p. 639. The metre of the couplet is Long Rumaz.
The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fayṣī and Abū 'l-Faṣl. I may also cite the Tāriḥ of Abū 'l-Faṣl's death, which the Khān-i Aṣṣam Mirzā Koka is said to have made:

The wonderful sword of God's prophet cut off the head of the rebel.1 But Abū 'l-Faṣl appeared to him in a dream and said, "The date of my death lies in the words بذور ابن الفضل, "The slave Abū 'l-Faṣl"—which likewise gives a.h. 1011.

Abū 'l-Faṣl's works are the following:—

(1) The Akbarnāma with the Aṣma-i Akbarī, its third volume. The Aṣma-i Akbarī 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 Barār (a.d. 1596-7). The contents of the Akbarnāma have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty-six years of Akbar's reign.2 There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by Ṣīnāyatānīllāh Muḥibb Ṣāḥīb. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinston says that the name of the continuator is Muḥammad Sāliḥ, which seems to be a corruption of Muḥammad Sāliḥ.

(2) The Maktūbat-ī Ṣallāmī, also called Inshā-yi Abū 'l-Faṣl. This book contains letters written by Abū 'l-Faṣl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to ṢAbdīllāh of Bukhārā, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islām. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the Aṣīn, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l-Faṣl's death by ṢAbdī-Ṣamād, son of Atẓal Muḥammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l-Faṣl's sister and also his son-in-law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasas, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books; but Amir Haydar Huṣaynī of Bilgrām says in the preface to his Sāndah-i Akbarī,3 that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

1 The word ẓīgāf, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head (of the word, the letter ʿ) is cut off; hence 1013 - 2 = 1011, the year of the Hijra in which Abū 'l-Faṣl was murdered. The metre of the homestich is Long Harsh.
2 The 40th year lasted from the 18th Ramāzān, 1009, to 26th Ramāzān, 1010, i.e. to about five months before Abū 'l-Faṣl's death.
3 Regarding this valuable work, vide p. 331, note.
time that MSS. of the fourth are very rare. It looks, indeed, as if Amir Haydar's copy was unique.

(3) The 'Ayār Dānish, which is mentioned on p. 112.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abū 'l-Faḍl also wrote a Risālīyā Muʿājin, or "Treatise of Prayers"; a Jāmī' il-ughūt, a lexicographical work; and a Kashkhol. The last word means a "beggar's cup", or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, etc., 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 Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 translation from Sanskrit and the compilation of the Tūrākh-al-Itfī.

The Durūs 'l-Mansūr, a modern Taṣkīra by Muḥammad 'Askārī Ḥusaynī of Bilgūrūm, selects the following inscription written by Abū 'l-Faḍl for a temple in Kashmir 2 as a specimen both of Abū 'l-Faḍl's writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abū 'l-Faḍl's composition.

[Arabic text here]

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2 As the word is pronounced in India, instead of 'Iyār-il-Dānish"; "the test of wisdom." The author of the Haft Iḥās seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abū 'l-Faḍl, when he saw him in a.d. 1000, was engaged in re-writing the Naskhī al-Bidāya.  

Abū 'l-Faḍl says in the fourth book of the Aṣ'as, "The best people in Kashmir are the Brāhmaṇas. 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 succer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after love. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir." Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmiri Rishis 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 elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

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

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan, 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, Shāh 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 hear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

1. This line is Şâtâtio. 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.
2. I.e. Akbar in the maâleh sûfî, or perfect man.
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 Abū 'l-Faḍl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical noticed. The A'īn gives the following list of Shaykh Mubārak's sons.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz, better known under his poetical name of Fayzī. He was born in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547) and seems to have died childless.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602.

3. Shaykh Abū 'l-Barakāt, born 17th Shawwāl, 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 Abū 'l-Faḍl in Khāndesh.

4. Shaykh Abū 'l-Khaṣr, born 22nd Jumāda 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 Akbarnāma as having been sent by the emperor to the Dakhin to fetch Prince Dānīyāl.

5. Shaykh Abū 'l-Makārim, born 23rd Shawwāl, 976. He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal. He also studied under Shāh Abū 'l-Fath Shīrāzī.

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

6. Shaykh Abū Turāb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988. "Though his mother is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-improvement."

Besides the above, Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions two posthumous sons by ḍumārī, or concubines, viz. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥāmid, born 3rd Rabi' I, 1002, and Shaykh Abū Rāshid, born 1st Jumāda I, 1002. "They resemble their father."

Of Mubārak's daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories:

1. One married to Khudāwānd Khān Dakhinī; vide p. 490. Badā,ouī calls her husband a Raṣī, i.e. a Shīah, and says he died in Kari in Gujarāt.

2. One married to Ḥusainb 'd-Din; vide p. 488.

3. One married to a son of Raṣja 'Ali Khān of Khandesh. Their son Ṣafdar Khān, was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of one thousand.

4 The Lakhnait edition of the Akbarnāma (111, 859) calls him Sundar Khān.
4. Lādīli Begam, married to Islām Khān; vide p. 552, note 1. Mr. T.W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the Miftāh-ud-dawrīn, informs me that Lādīli Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the "Rawzāyī Lādīli Begam" is about two miles to the east of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, near Āgra. The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpūr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rawzā several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindū. The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rawzā nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayzī, and Abū 'l-Fāṣl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in 'Taghrā characters may still be seen:—


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 eternal, the gatherer of knowledge, Shaykh Mubārakullāh (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaykh Abū 'l-Fāṣl—may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalāluddunyā waddin Akbar, Pādişah-i Ghāzi—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abū 'l-Barakāt, in 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

Thus it will appear that the Rawzā was built in the year in which Fayzī died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in A.D. 1593. It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubārak and Fayzī had been buried at a place opposite to Āgra, on the left bank of the Jamunā, where he first settled in 1551; for Abū 'l-Fāṣl says in his description of Āgra in the A*thnāī. On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaws Makānī (the emperor Bābar). There the author was born, and

there are resting places of his father and his elder brother. Shaykh ʿAlāʾ ʿd-Dīn Majzūb and Mīr Rafaʾ ʿd-dīn Saʿāfī and other worthies are also buried there.” We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamma, though Abū ʿl-Faḍl’s inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rawża was sold and destroyed.

Abū ʿl-Faḍl’s son is the well-known

**SHAYKH ʿABD Ṭ-RĀḤMĀN AFZĀL KHĀN.**

He was born on the 12th Shawbān, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunnī name of ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān. In the 35th year of Akbar’s reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Saʿādāt Yār Koka’s brother. By her ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan.1

When Abū ʿl-Faḍl was in command of the army in the Dakhīn, ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān was, what the Persians call, the fīr-i-rā-ṣī tarkash-i-ʿā, “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 Talingāns. When Malik ʿAmbar, in the 46th year, had caught ʿAlī Mardān Bahādur (p. 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abū ʿl-Faḍl dispatched ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān and Sher Khwāja (p. 510) to oppose the enemy. They crossed the Godāwari near Nānder, and defeated ʿAmbar at the Mānjārā.

Jahāngīr 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 Afzāl Khān, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihār, vice Isām Khān (the husband of Abū ʿl-Faḍl’s sister) who was sent to Bengal. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān also received Gorākhpur as jagīr. As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Qutb ʿd-dīn appeared in the district of Bhojpur, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiya Rājās (p. 577, note), and gave out that he was Prince Khusrā, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahāngīr had made the favourite of the people. Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna, occupied the fort which Shaykh Banārasi and Ghīyās ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān’s officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzāl Khān’s property and the Imperial treasury. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān returned from Gorākhpur as soon as he heard of the

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1 Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyār, who is so often mentioned in Firdawsi’s Shāh Nāma.
rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. ‘Abd al-Rahmān charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Qutb now retreated to the fort, followed by ‘Abd al-Rahmān, who succeeded in capturing him. He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers. Jahāngīr, 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 (tashhir) as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, ‘Abd al-Rahmān fell 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 Jahāngīr’s reign (A.H. 1022) or eleven years after his father’s murder.

**BISHOTAN, SON OF ‘ABD AL-RAHMĀN, SON OF SHAHAB ABU ’L-FAZL.**

He was born on the 3rd Zi Qa‘da, 999. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse. In the 10th year of Shāh Jahan’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.
BOOK FIRST

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD
ABŪ 'L-FAZL’S PREFACE

ALLAH® 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.

1, Abū 'l-Fazl, son of Mubarak, 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 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

1 Akbar.
over the field of knowledge; and, secondly to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom. In doing so, I have, of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office.

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain. A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey. Even the meaning of the word Pādīshāh shows this; for pād signifies stability and possession, and šah 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. Shāh is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like šāh-suwār, šāh-rāh; 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 everything which is good. Security, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, etc., are the result. The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by
vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment; hence, everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery.

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i zidi* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyân khunâ* (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 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

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5 Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God, and the immediate source of life. Regarding his form of worship, see below.
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 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

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

2 This passage resembles one in Firdausi's Shāhnāma, in the chapter entitled dar dāton-i Jamshid; vide also Vuller's Persian Dictionary, ii. 756, s. kātīrī. It is also found in the Akhlāq-i Muhāriir, chapter xv, dar 'adl, in the Akhlāq-i Joldāl, and the Akhlāq-i Nāṣiri, the oldest of the three Akhlāq mentioned.
courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes. At the head of this class is the Vaši, 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 foresighted, 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 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 received the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns.

The Mir-mal, the Keeper of the seal, the Mir-bakhshi, the Bār-begi, the Qurbegi, the Mir-tozak, the Mir-bahri, the Mir-baz, the Mir-Manzil, the Khwānsālār, the Munshi, the Qūsh-begi, the Akhtabegi, belong to this class. Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others.

1 Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness of sacrificing four things—jīva (life), māl (property), dīn (religion), nāma (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (pār)—as an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to show this devotedness, and then belonged to the dīn-e īshā, or the Divine Faith, the articles of which Akbar had laid down, as may be seen below.
2 Perhaps an officer in charge of the Emperor's private purse.
3 Paymaster of the Court.
4 An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, etc. He is also called Mirsār.
5 Bearor of the Imperial insignias.
6 Master of Ceremonies.
7 Harbour Master General and Admiral.
8 Superintendent of the Imperial Forests.
9 Quarter Master General of the Court. Akbar's court was frequently travelling.
10 Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen.
11 Private Secretary.
12 Superintendent of the aviaries (falcon, pigeons). [Head of the Mewa.—F.]
13 Superintendent of the Stud.
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 Diwan. 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 Mustawfi; and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the Vakil. The Mustawfi, the Sahib-i Tawji, the Awajja Nawis, the Mir-Samân, the Nagir-i Buyutat, the Diwan-i Buyutat, the Mushrif, of the Treasury; the Waqia Nawis, the Aamil 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 Diwan, which office is higher in rank than that of the Diwan, 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 fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

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1 Deputy Diwan.
2 The Accountant of the Army.
3 The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court.
4 The officer in charge of the Court furniture, stores, etc.
5 Superintendent of the Imperial workshops.
6 The Accountant of the Imperial workshops.
7 Clerk.
8 The Recorder.
9 Collector.
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 Šadr,¹ the Mir-⁵Adl, the Qāṣī,² the physician, the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer, belong to this class.

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

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.

¹ Also called Šadr-i Jahan, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire.
² The Qāṣī hears the case; the Mīr-⁵Adl passes the sentence.
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 show 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 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 inquiring 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

1 The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the Aqā’līg-i Muḥāsnī, Chapter XXXII, entitled dar aṣiṣhtu.
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 anguish 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 esordium. 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, 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 inquirers 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.

* 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 â†œ of this book.
Remark by the Author.—As I had sometimes to use Hindi words, I have carefully described the consonants and vowels. Inquirers will therefore have no difficulty in reading; nor will any confusion arise from mistakes in copying. Letters like alif, bān, and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as manqūţ, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the p in padshāh, the ē in shamsān, the q of in sigar, the ṭā in manbād. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the phrase having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindi language I have distinguished as Hindi. The letter ṣā in rūy, I have called takāni, and the ā, as in dast, fāważī. The ẓ in udab, I have merely called ṭ. Similarly, the letters wān, wān, ṣā, and ā, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as wān, wān, āst, etc. The nasal ṣān I have called ṣān-i ḫaft, or ṣān-i ḫaft. The final and silent ā, as in farḥād, I have called maftūh, i.e. written, but not pronounced. The ā and ā, when modified to ā or ā I have called maftūh. As consonants followed by an alif have the vowels ā, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Ath in 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 our time. In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs

1 A phrase which Akbar often used.
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 309,186,735 dāmes. The expenses of 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.

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 is again 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

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1 Or, 7,729,868; Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 dāmes. The Divine era, or Tāvīṣh-i Bābā, is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February, 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1606.
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 Khwajā-sarā Istimād Khan, a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the Khwajā, 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 Jāgir lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one karor of dāms. Incorruptible bitakhis 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 in full weight, but to give him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This laudable regulation removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and

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1 Istimād means trustworthy. Khwajā-sarā is the title of the chief sād. His real name was Phīl Malik. After serving Salīm Shah (1545 to 1553), who bestowed upon him the title of Muhammad Kān, he entered Akbar’s service. Akbar, after the death of Shāh ‘d-Dīn Muhammad Atgah Kān, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed Istimād Kān, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (two Abū l-Fazl’s list of Akbar’s grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of Istimād Kān. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar’s satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mīr Akbar Khan, king of Khāndesh (1535 to 1566), to Akbar’s harem, took afterwards a part in the conquest of Bengal, where he distinguished himself, and was, in 1578, appointed governor of Bhakkar. When in 1578 Akbar’s presence was required in the Panjāb, Istimād Kān desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstanding, 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 Maqṣūd Ār. Maqṣūd Ār Umarī.

2 Writers.
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 ḍārogha 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 dāmas, 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 peshkush 1 receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for nayar receipts, 2 and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person, 3 and for charitable donations. Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements; and honest superintendents, ḍāroghas 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 Irān and Tūrān, 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 treasurers 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 kārov of dāmas 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 sahsah. 4

1 Tributes.
2 Visit the eighteenth Ars in the second book.
3 Presents, vows, etc.
4 Śahāra S.—P.
and many of them, when put up in a heap, ġasaj. 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 kharij-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!

A* in 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 dārogha, and also skilful jewellers. The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion.

Rubies.—1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhrs in value; 2nd class from 999 to 500 muhrs; 3rd class, from 499 to 300; 4th class, from 299 to 200; 5th class, from 199 to 100; 6th class, from 99 to 60; 7th class, from 59 to 40; 8th class, from 39 to 30; 9th class, from 29 to 10; 10th class, from 9 to 5; 11th class, from 4 to 1 muhr; 12th class, from 1 muhr to ½ rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

Diamonds, emeralds, and the red and blue yaqūts, were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards; 2nd class, from 29 to 15 muhrs; 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 muhr; 10th class, from 8½ rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4½ to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1½ to ½ rupee.

The Pearls were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29½ to 15 muhrs; 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,

1. A purse in Hindi is called bahla. [Bahla, P., a purse, a falconer's glove.—P.]
from 1\frac{1}{2} 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 1\frac{1}{2} rupees; 13th class, less than 1\frac{1}{2} 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, \frac{1}{14} rupee; 2nd class, \frac{1}{14}; 3rd class, \frac{1}{12} rupee; 4th class, 3 dáms; 5th class, 1 sük1; 6th class, 1 dám; 7th class, \frac{1}{2} dám; 8th class, \frac{1}{3} dám; 9th class, \frac{1}{4} dám; 10th class, \frac{1}{5} dám; 11th class, \frac{1}{6} dám; 12th class, \frac{1}{7} dám; 13th class, \frac{1}{8} dám; 14th class, \frac{1}{9} dám; 15th class, \frac{1}{10} dám; 16th class, \frac{1}{11} 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:—

*Rubies* weighing 11 tânks,2 20 surkhs,3 and diamonds of 5\frac{1}{2} tânks, 4 4 surkhs, each one lakh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17\frac{1}{2} tânks, 3 surkhs, 52,000 rupees; yaqûts of 4 tânks, 7\frac{1}{2} surkhs, and pearls of 5 tânks, each 50,000 rupees.

\textit{A* in 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

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1. Sük a.m. and sük I. H., a four-anna bit.
2. Tánk = 4 muckh—P.
3. Surkh means red; also, a little seed with a black dot on it, called in Hind. gharokh, Abusa precocious. The Persians called it chashma eghuré, cork’s eye. The seeds are often used for children’s bracelets. Abû 1-Farî, means here the weight called in Hind. rati, vulgar, ratih. 8 surkhs, or 8 ratih = 1 muckh; 12 muckhs = 1 tolâ, and 80 tölás = 1 serv. A tânk is valued at 4 muckhs; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth. Abû 1-Farî states that the weight of 1 dám was 6 tânks, or 1 tolâ; 8 muckhs, 7 surkhs; i.e., 1 tânk = \frac{1}{4} muckh, or 4 muckhs, 1 surkh.
4. Text 4\frac{1}{2} finaks.
sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation, from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, rearing, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc.; 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.

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 A.D.

2 “Were it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say,” Hallowed be thy name.”—Hariti.
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.

A\textsuperscript{4}in 5.

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT.

1. The Dārogha. 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 every one to his work, and show zeal and integrity.

2. The Sayrafī.\textsuperscript{1} 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;\textsuperscript{1} 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 dahlahī, but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness; whilst in India it it called bārahbānī, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old huss, 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 8\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{2}}; and the round, small gold dīnār of *Alā' al-Dīn,\textsuperscript{2} which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{2}}.

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

\textsuperscript{1} The same as Sayraf or Sarraf; hence a shroff, a money lender.

\textsuperscript{2} بانی قینار کردن خورد و تخمین
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.

\[A\]n 6.

\textit{BANWÅRÅ}.\footnote{This Hind. word, which is not given in the dictionaries, means the \textit{testing} of gold.}

An abbreviation for \textit{bånsårå}. Although in this country clever çâyrafis are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the 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 \textit{måsha} of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 \textit{måshas} of pure gold of 10\frac{1}{2} degrees of fineness. Of this composition one \textit{måsha}\footnote{This \textit{måsha} contains 6 parts gold; 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i.e., \textit{\frac{1}{3}} gold and \textit{\frac{1}{3}} alloy.} is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a \textit{surkh} each. If now 14\frac{1}{2} \textit{surkhes} of pure gold (of 10\frac{1}{2} degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}.ootnote{The Hind. term \textit{bån} means "temper, degree".} Similarly, 7 \textit{surkhes} pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 \textit{båns}; 6\frac{1}{2} s.; pure gold and three parts composition, 9\frac{5}{6} \textit{båns}; 6 s. gold and four parts composition, 9\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 5\frac{1}{2} s. gold and five parts composition, 9\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 5 s. gold and six parts composition, 9 \textit{båns}; 4\frac{1}{2} s. gold and seven parts composition, 8\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 4 s. gold and eight parts composition, 8\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 3\frac{1}{2} s. gold and nine parts composition, 8\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 3 s. gold and ten parts composition, 8 \textit{båns}; 2\frac{1}{2} s. gold and eleven parts composition, 7\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 2 s. gold and twelve parts composition, 7\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 1\frac{1}{2} s. gold and thirteen parts composition, 7\frac{1}{2} \textit{båns}; 1 s. gold and fourteen parts composition, 7 \textit{båns}; and}
lastly, \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. gold and fifteen parts composition, 6\( \frac{2}{3} \) 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 6\( \frac{1}{2} \) bān.

If it be required to have a degree less than 6\( \frac{1}{2} \) bān, they mix together \( \frac{1}{2} \) surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7\( \frac{1}{2} \) surkh of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper, and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6\( \frac{3}{4} \) bān; and if 1 surkh of the first mixture be melted together with 7 surkh of the second composition, the result will be 6 bān; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half surkh. But in the Banūrāy, they reckon to 6 bāns only, rejecting all baser compositions.

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

3. The Amīn. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the dārogha and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels.

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

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

6. The Treasurer. He 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 Akhādi. ¹

7. The Weighman. He weighs the coins. For weighing 100 jadali gold-muhrs he gets 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) dāms; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6\( \frac{1}{4} \) dāms; and for weighing 1000 copper dāms, \( \frac{3}{4} \) of a dām; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. The Molder of the Ore. 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-

¹ The Akhādi corresponds to our warrant officers. Most clerks of the Imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar’s workshops, etc., belonged to this corps. They were called Akhādi, or simple men, because they stood under Akbar’s immediate orders. The word Akhādi, the š of which is the Arabic ā, was spelt in official returns with the Persian š. So deep-rooted, says Baidamī, was Akbar’s hatred for everything which was Arabic. [This word has come to mean in Urdu, lazy, indolent.—P.]
mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{3}{4}$ dāms; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dāms and 13½ jetals; for the same quantity of copper, 4 dāms and 21½ jetals.

9. **The Platemaker.** He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven māshas 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 dāms.

**A'īna 7.**

**THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.**

When the above-mentioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 jahālii gold muhrs, must furnish four sets of saltpetre, and four sets 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 upāta. It is the dry dung of the Wild Cows. 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 khāk-i khālis, and in Hindi salomi. 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 sitāri. 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 māsha 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.

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1 Twenty-five jetals make one dām. Vide the 10th A'īna.
2 Use—P.1
3 Suhra? This probably means jangli; i.e., "not stalled or stall-fed."—P.
The following method of assaying is also used. They take two *tolās* of pure gold, and two *tolās* 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 *muhrs* is three *dāms*.

11. *The Zarrāb.* 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 *muhrs*, 21 *dāms*, 1½ *jetals*; for the weight of 1000 rupees, 53 *dāms*, 8½ *jetals*, if he cuts rupees; and 28 *dāms* in addition, if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper *dāms* his fee is 20 *dāms*; for the same weight of half and quarter *dāms*, 25 *dāms*; and for half-quarter *dāms*, which are called *damris*, 69 *dāms*.

In Írán and Túrān 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, Māwlānā Sāli Ahmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as to equal the copy-slops of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yāzbāshī*; 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 (*putk-chī*) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 gold *muhrs*, 1½ *dāms*; for 1000 rupees, 5 *dāms*, 9½ *jetals*; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 *dām*, 3 *jetals* in addition; for 1000 copper *dāms*, 3 *dāms*; for 2000 half- *dāms*, and 4000 quarter- *dāms*, 3 *dāms*, 18½ *jetals*; 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 Sakkāk* makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 54 *dāms*.

footnote: This Turkish word signifies a *commander of one hundred men*, a captain. **Ahadis** of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a *Yūzbāshī* varied from five to seven hundred rupees per *meseen*; vide the third Āṭī of the second book.
The discovery of an alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Irân and Tûrân, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver dakhāhī; in Hindustân, the seyrafis use for it the term bist bisva. 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 muqhitān, ‡ 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 lighting-like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides. As soon as it is hardened in 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 disc, and is perfectly refined. If this disc be melted again, half a surkh in every tolā will burn away, i.e., 6 māshas and 2 surkh in 100 tolās. The ashes of the disc, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindi kharal, and in Persian kuhna; the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarrîb, 5 māshas and 5 surkhs are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred tolās 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 banâdārî system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 tolās, of shâhî silver, which is current in Irân and Khurâsân, and of the lūrî and misâpli, which are

† See note 1. p. 21. — 41.
‡ Called in Hind. kabū, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning. [The kish of the Panjâb.—P.]
§ Some MSS. have istâh.
current in Tūrān, there are lost three tolās and one surkh; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish nārjil, and the mahmūdī and muzaffuri of Gujrat and Mālwa, 13 tolās and 6½ māshas are lost, they become then of Imperial standard.

15. The Qur-e-kūb 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 dāms.

16. The Chāshuṅgi examines the refined gold and silver, and fixes its purity as follows:—Having made two tolas 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 dāms. In the case of silver, he takes one tola 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 3 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 dāms, 4½ jetals.

17. The Niyāriya collects the khāk-i khāliṣ and washes it, taking two sera at the time; whatever gold there may be amongst it will settle, from its weight, to the bottom. The khāk, when thus washed, is called in Hindi kukraḥ, and still contains some gold, for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given. The above-mentioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six māshas quicksilver per sera. The quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver.

For extracting the gold from this quantity of khāk, the Niyāriya receives 20 dāms, 2 jetals.

The process of Kukraḥ.

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

1 One MS. has sir.
[2 Word not traced.—P.]
*Punhar* is obtained as follows:

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

*Rasī* is a kind of acid, made of *ashkhār* and saltpetre.

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

**The process of Bugranaṛi:**

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of *babul* wood, half a *ser* for every 100 tolas of *bugranaṛi*. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the *bugranaṛi*, adding one tola of copper, and twenty-five tolas 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

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3 The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. *sīji*, impure carbnate of soda.
bricks, and make a fire of bahal-wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together. These ashes are also called kharal, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained.

A* in 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. chhāchhiyā. For every tola of the alloy, they take a māsha of copper, and two māshas, two surkhs of sulphur. First they melt it with copper, and then with sulphur. If the alloy be of 100 tolas weight, the 100 māshas of copper are employed as follows:—they first melt fifty māshas with it, and then twice again twenty-five māshas. The sulphur is used in similar proportions. After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty māshas 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 broom-like 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 tola of this mixture two māshas and two surkhs of sulphur are used, i.e., at the rate of one and one-half quarter ser (1½ ser) per 100 tolas. When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ash, 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 Panjāb, this gold is called kaul; whilst about Dihi, it is termed pinjar. If the mixture contains 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 tolas of this with 400 tolas of purer gold, and refine it by the Saladī process; or else they use the Alornī process. For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild-cow dung, 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 tolas, but a little broader than those which they make in the saloni process. Then having
besmeared them with sesame-oil; they strewed 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 kharal.

Ā'īn 9.

THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES.

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

18. The Panīwār having melted the kharal, separates the silver from the copper. His fee for every tola of silver is 1½ dāms. As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 dāms to the diwān. Having reduced the kharal to small bits, he adds to every man of it 1½ sers of tangūr (borax), and three sers of pounded natron, and kneads them together. He then puts this mass, ser by ser, into the vessel above described, and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit. This is afterwards refined by the process of the sabbāk, and the lead which separates from this, and mixes with the ashes, turns punhar.

19. The Paikār buys the saloni 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 saloni, he gives 17 dāms, and for the same quantity of kharal 14 dāms, to the exchequer.

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

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

[1 In the Persian əshkār-i kūsta.—P.]
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 sahansah is a round coin weighing 101 tolas, 9 miskas, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 lāl-i-jalāli-muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, Az-sultan AH-khāqān AH-muṣawāzah khalilad allah mukhah w sulāna k zar dār khalīfat Āgra, "the great sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Āgra." On the field of the reverse is the beautiful formula, and the following verse of the Qurʾān 2: Allah muqraq wān yashah bi-ghayr hisāb, "God is bountiful unto whom He pleases, without measure": and roundabout are the names of the first four Khalifas. This is what was first cut by Maulānā Maqṣūd, the engraver; after which Mullā ʿAlī Ahmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side Ṣafat dinār yanfuzuh ar-rajul dinār yanfuzuh sula aṣhābi fī sabīl illah, "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,

Az-sultan l-ʿāli al-khalīfat al-muṣawāt khalilad allah tashāla mukhah w sulāṇah w abbad ʿālilah w ihṣānah, "the sublime sultan, the exalted khalīfa, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and given eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two Rubūvis 3 of the court-poet and philosopher Shaykh Fayżī were engraved by him. On one side,

Khudāb kī ḥusāt bahr azū gawhar yāfīt
Sang-i sīyāh az partu-i ān jāwarh yāfīt
Kān az nazar-i tarbiyat-i ū zar yāfī
Wān zar sharaf az sikka-yi Shāh Akbar yāfīt.

1 Also called Kalimah, or the Confession of Faith, lā illāha ill-allah, Makammahu rasūl- allah.
3 Quatrains.—P.
"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, Allah akbar jall * jallālu-ho, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

*In sikka ki jārāya-yi ummād buvd.*
*Bā naqsh-i davām u nām-i jāvād buvd.*
*Śimā-yi sa'ādat-ash hamin bās ki bi-dāhr.*
*Yak zarra nazār-karada-yi khurshid buvd.*

"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 tolas and 8 māshas, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 māshas each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The Rukas 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 sahansa,² and on the other side the following Rubā'ī³ by Fāyżī⁴ :

*In naqī-l-ravān-i ganj-i shāhinshāhi.*
*Bā kaukab-i iqāb kusad hamrāhī.*
*Khurshid bi-parcar-asr az ēn ru ki bi-dāhr.*
*Yāhid sharaf az sikī-yi Akbarshāhī.*

"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! "

4. The Ātmā is the fourth part of the sahansa, round and square. Some have the same impression as the sahansa;⁴ and some have on one side the following Rubā'ī by Fāyżī⁵ :

*In sikka ki daat-i bakht ēn zewar bād.*
*Phīlāya-yi nih xīpih haf ast akhtār bād.*

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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 precious stones into existence; vide the thirteenth A.² In the Persian Quatrains.—P.³ Saud-muhrī in the Persian text.—P.⁴ Malika 'i Sh-Shu'ārā in the Persian text.—P.
Zarrīn naqdiat kār az-ū chūn zar bād
Dar dāhī raqān bi-nām-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'ī.

5. The Bissat, of the same two forms as the ātma, 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 sahansa.

6. The Chagul, of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the sahansa, in value equal to two muhrs.

7. The round Lāl-i Jalālī, in weight and value equal to two round muhrs, having on one side Allāh akbar, and on the other Yā muṣīm,

"O helper."

8. The Āfābī is round, weighs 1 tola, 2 māshas, and 4½ surkhs, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "Allāh akbar, jall jallān-hi," and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck.

9. The Ilāhī is round, weighs 12 māshas, 13 surkhs, bears the same stamp as the Āfābī, and has a value of 10 rupees.

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1. Or Jugul. Abū 'l-Fazl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.
2. The MSS. differ. Most of them place the Chagul as the sixth coin after the Bissat, and read:

"The Chagul, of a square form, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhs; its value is thirty rupees. Also, of a round form, weighing 2 tolas, 9 māshas, having a value of three round muhrs, of 11 māshas each (i.e., 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the fiftieth part of the Sahansa."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the Sahansa; for the two Chagulas, as given by Abū 'l-Fazl, would each be the hundred and third part of the two kinds of Sahansa, not the fiftieth part.

Mr. Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep's Useful Tables, pp. 5, 6, gives an extract from a MS. of the A'īma in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the square form of the Chagul, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhs, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the eightieth coin, the Āfābī.

Two other MSS.—among them Col. Hamilton's—read after the Bissat (i.e., after the twenty-fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition).

6. The Chagula (or square), weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhs, worth 30 rupees.

7. The Gird (or round), weighing 2 tolas, 9 māshas, in value equal to the 3 round muhrs of 11 māshas each.

Both have the same impression.

8. The Chagul, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a Sahansa, in value equal to two Lāl-i Jalālī muhrs.

These readings obviate all difficulties. But the real question is whether the Chahārgahā, the Gird, and the Chagul are three distinct coins.

4. For the round Lāl-i Jalālī, some MSS. only read, "The Gird," i.e., round, taking the words Lāl-i Jalālī to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.
10. The square Lošl-i Jalālī is of the same weight and value; on one side "Allāh akbar," and on the other "jall jalālu-kh."

11. The Ādī-gulka is round, weighs 11 mukhás, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side "Allāh akbar," and on the other "Yā mušīn."

12. The Round muhr, in weight and value equal to the Ādī-gulka, but of a different stamp.

13. Mihrābī is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round muhr.

14. The Mušīnī is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the Lošl-i jalālī, and the round muhr. It bears the stamp "yā mušīn."

15. The Chahāryosha, in stamp and weight the same as the Āfābī.

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

17. The Dhan is half a Lošl-i Jalālī.

18. The Salīmī is the half of the Ādī-gulka.

19. The Rabī is a quarter of the Āfābī.

20. The Man, is a quarter of the Ilāhī, and Jalālī.

21. The Half Salīmī is a quarter of the Ādī-gulka.

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

23. The Pindau is the fifth part of the Lošl-i Jalālī; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The Sumī, or Ashrafī, is one-eighth of the Ilāhī; on one side "Allāh akbar," and on the other "jall jalālu-kh."

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

26. The Zara is the thirty-second part of an Ilāhī and has the same stamp as the kalā.

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin Lošl-i jalālīs, Dhans, and Mans, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.

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1 It has the Kalima. (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the A'la.)

2 The figure called mihrābī is [Diagram]

3 In Forbes's Dictionary, solara.

4 Several MSS. read "Half a quarter Ilāhī and Lošl-i Jalālī." Forbes gives six rupees (!).

5 Several MSS. have Rabī. Perhaps we should write Rabī,

6 Lāhī in Persian text. This is the common red poppy in Afgānistan and the Panjāb; and in Persia is also applied to the wild tulip.—P.
B. Silver Coins.

1. The Rūpya is round, and weighs eleven and one half māshas. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khān. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "Allāh akbar, jallā jalāli-bār," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty dāms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The Jalāla 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 Dārb is half a Jalāla.
4. The Charn is a quarter Jalāla.
5. The Panjau is a fifth of the Jalāla.
6. The Asht is the eighth part of the Jalāla.
7. The Desā is one-tenth of the Jalāla.
8. The Kalā is the sixteenth part of the Jalāla.
9. The Sālā is one-twentieth of the Jalāla.

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

C. Copper Coins:

1. The Dām weighs 5 tāks, i.e. 1 ālā, 8 māshas, and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rūpya. At first this coin was called Paisa, and also Bahloli; now it is known under this name (dām). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

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

2. The Aṣṭhela is half of a dām.
3. The Pālā is a quarter dām.
4. The Dumri is one-eighth of a dām.

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of the government, Bengal, Ahmadābād (Gujrāt), and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places: Ilahabād, Āgra, Ujain, Sūrat, Dīhlī, Patna, Kashmīr, Lāhor, Multān, Tāndā. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. Ajmīr, Avadh, Aṭā, Alwar, Badaūn, Banāras, Būkhar, Bahār, Patan, Jaunpūr, Jālandhar, Hardwār, Hisār, Fīrūza, Kālpī, Gwāliyār, Gorakhpūr, Kālānūr.

2 Often misspelt chetal. The text gives the correct spelling.
Lakhnao, Mandu, Nagoor, Sarhinda, Siyalkot, Saroonj, Saharanpur, Sarangpur, Sannbal, Qambari, Ratanbhoor.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round mudra, rupees, and dams.

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 Raja Todar Mal, four kinds of mudras were allowed to be current; A. There was a Lati-Jaladi, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tola, 13 surkhash. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 dams. Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a mudh with the imperial stamp, of which three degrees passed as current, viz.: B. This mudh, when perfectly pure, and having the full weight of 11 masha, its value was 360 dams. 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 mudh, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 dams. D. The same mudh, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 dams.

1 Raja Todar Mal, a Khatri by caste, was born at Lahor. He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the 15th year of the emperor's reign, when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrat. In the 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with Massis Kan; and three years later again at Gujrat. In the 27th year he was appointed Dhesa of the province, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a Khatri in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yuusufzais, 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. But to the banks of the Ganges, he died—on the 11th day A.H. 908, or 10th November, 1599, the same year in which Raja Bhagwan Das died. Todar Mal had reached the rank of a Chakir Khanzada, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dhari, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with Thatha.

Abul 'l-Fazl did not like Todar Mal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Awrangzeb said he had heard from his father, that Akbar complained of the raja's independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Abul 'l-Fazl openly complained of him to Akbar; but the emperor with his usual regard for faithful services, said that he could not drive away an old servant. In his adherence to Hinduism, Todar Mal 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 Panjab, in the hurry of the departure, Todar Mal'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.
Muhrs of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Of *rūpyas*, three kinds were then current, viz.ː *A*. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 1½ māshas; it went under the name of *jalāla*, and had a value of 40 dāms. *B*. The round, old *Akbarahā*ī *rūpya*, which, when of full weight, or even at a *surkh* less, was valued at 39 dāms. *C*. The same rupees, when in weight two *surkh* less, at 38 dāms.

Ruppes of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

*Secondly*, on the 18th Mihr of the 29th year of the Divine era, *Azud*ī *d-Dāniāh Amīr Fathī*īlāhī of Shīrāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the *muhrs*, as far as three grains; and on the *rūpyas*, as far as six grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight. If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be; but it was not ordered that only muhrs down to nine grains less should be regarded as muhrs. Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhr that was one surkh deficient was put down as 355 dāms and a fraction; and hence they valued the price of one surkh of coined gold at the low rate of four dāms and a fraction. According to Todarmal's regulation, a deduction of five dāms was made for a deficiency of one surkh; and if the muhr had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ surkh, full five

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1. *Amīr Fathī*īlāhī of Shīrāz was the pupil of Khwāja Jamālī *d-Dīn Mahmūd*ī Kamālī, *d-Dīn of Shirāz*, and Mir Ghiyāṣī *d-Dīn Mansūr of Shīrāz*. He so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics, that Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī said of him, "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amīr will restore them." At the earnest solicitations of Ṣadī Shāh of Bijāpur, he left Shīrāz for the Dekhan. In A.H. 991, after the death of Ṣadī Shāh, he was invited by Akbar, who raised him to the dignity of a *Nafr*, and bestowed upon him, three years later, the title of Amīnī *d-Mulk*. He was appointed to assist Todarmal, and rendered good service in working up the old revenue books. His title, Amīnī *d-Mulk*, to which Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī alludes (see p. 23, L. 9 of my text edition), was in the same year changed to Ṣadīqī *d-Dāniāh*, or the form of Ṣadīqīi *d-Mulk*. The Amīr went afterwards to Khānūsh. After his return in 997 to Akbar, who was then in Kashmīr, he was attacked with fever, of which he died. Thinking to understand the medical art, he refused the advice of the famous Ḥakīm ʿAlī, and tried to cure the fever by eating hartiā (vide the twenty-fourth *Āb*īn), which caused his death.

Next to Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī, Faryād, and Bīr Bar, the Amīr was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī to Akbar himself (!). The Amīr was, however, on the best terms with Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the *Mīr*ī *d-* Ālam, 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 *Mīr*ī *d-* Ālam that according to some, the Amīr was a *Sih-khānī*, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar's grandees given in the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, and the last *Āb*īn of the second book of this work. Instead of Amīr Fathīīlāhī, we also find, especially in Bābānī, Shāh Fathīīlāh. He lies buried on the *Tahāri-i Sulaymān*. Faryād's ode on his death is very fine.
dāms were subtracted; and for a deficiency of 1\frac{1}{2} surkhs he deducted ten dāms, even if the deficiency should not be quite 1\frac{1}{2} surkhs. By the new law of ʿAzud ʿd-Dawlah, the value of a muhr was lessened by six dāms and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 dāms and a fraction only.1

ʿAzud ʿd-Dawlah abolished also the regulation, according to which the value of a round rūpiya 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 rūpiya, 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 ʿAzud ʿd-Dawlah went to Khāndesh, the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalāl rupees, in round rupees; and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhrs and rupees according to the old rates.

Fourthly, when Qulij Khān received the charge of the government, he adopted the Rāja’s manner of estimating the muhrs; but he deducted ten dāms for a deficiency in the weight of a muhr, for which the Rāja had deducted five dāms; and twenty dāms for the former deduction of ten dāms; whilst he considered every muhr as bullion; if the deficiency was 1\frac{1}{2} surkhs. Similarly, every rūpiya, the deficiency of which was one surkh, was considered as bullion.

1 For ʿAzud ʿd-Dawlah having fixed the value of 1 surkh of coined gold at 4 dāms and a small fraction, the value of a muhr of full weight (11 māhas = 11 \times 8 surkh) was only 11 \times 8 \times (4 + a small fraction) dāms, i.e., according to Abū Il-Fazl, 353 dāms and a fraction, instead of 360 dāms.

2 Qulij Khān is first mentioned during the 17th year of Akbar’s reign, when he was made governor of the Fort of Sūrat, which Akbar after a siege of forty-seven days had conquered. In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrāt; and after the death of Shāh Mansūr, he was, two years later, appointed as Nizām. In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrat. In the 34th year he received Suchah as jagir. After the death of Todarmal, he was again appointed as Diwan. This is the time to which Abū Il-Fazl refers. In 1602 he was made governor of Khāndesh, where he has not successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1605, his son-in-law Prince Dānyāl as Abūlīq, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1607, of the emperor in Khāndesh, he was governor of Agra. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of the Panjāb and Khāndesh. At the accession of Jāhāngīr, he was sent to Gujrāt, but returned next year to the Panjāb, where he had to fight against the Rauwahaniyaha. He died, at an advanced age, in 1635, or A.D. 1625-26. Abū Il-Fazl, in the last 4\textsuperscript{a} of the second book, mentions him as Ṣabāḥuḥān, or Commander of Four Thousand, which high rank he must have held for some time, as Niẓām-i Ḥarāṣ, in his Tāhosīt-i Akbar, mentions him as such, and as Dīcar. When tutor to Prince Dānyāl, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulij Khān was a pious man, and a staunch Sunni; he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of Īṭār; some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the Mihrāj-i ʿd-Dām. The high rank which he held was less due to his talents as a statesman than to his family connexion with the kings of Turān. Of his two sons, Michā Suvīl-ʿl-ʿālā and Michā Husayn Qulij, the latter is best known. [Vide note 2 to No. 42 of 4\textsuperscript{a} is 30.-B.]
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. "Azul" d-Dawlah] method, with one exception, namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhr the deficiency of which did not exceed three, and a rūpya, the deficiency of which did not exceed six, surkhas, 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 muhrs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhrs six grains deficient as muhrs 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 habaghari 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.

CHAPTER XI.

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 Dirham, as the word is sometimes given, is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone. During the khilafat of Umar, it was changed to a circular form: and in the time of Zubayr it was impressed with the words Allâh (God), barakat (blessing), Hajjâj

[1 Farâq.—P.]
stamped upon it the chapter of the Qur'an called *Ikhlas*; and others say, that he imprinted it with his own name. Others assert, that *Umar 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 *Abd* 'l-Malik, the son Marwān, by whose order Ḥajjāj, the son of Yūsuf, had struck *dirhams*. Some say that Ḥajjāj refined the base *dirhams* and coined them with the words Allāh *aḥad* (God is one), and Allāh* aṣ-ṣamad* (God is eternal); and these *dirhams* were called *makrūha* (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured, unless this term be a corruption of some other name. After Ḥajjāj, at the time of the reign of Yazid bin *Abd* 'l-Malik, *Umar bin Hubayrakah coined in the kingdom of *Irāq* better *dirhams* than Ḥajjāj had made; and afterwards Khalid bin *Abd* 'l-Ḥār Qasrī, when governor of *Irāq*, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf son of *Umar. Again, it has been said that Muḥammad bin Zubayr 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 *misqāl*; whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve, and ten *qirāt*, asserting at the same time that *Umar had taken a *dirham* of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen *qirāt*, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of *Umar there were current several kinds of *dirhams*: *first*, some of eight *dāngs*, which were called *baghlī*, after Rās *baghlī*, who was an assay-master, and who struck *dirhams* by the command of *Umar*; but others call them *baghali*, from *baghali*, which is the name of a village: *secondly*, some of four *dāngs*, which were called *tabri*; *thirdly*, some of three *dāngs*, which were known as *maqrūbī*; and *lastly*, some of one *dāng*, named *yasantī*, the half of which four kinds *Umar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight. Fāṣil 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 *qirāt*; 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 *Dinar* is a gold coin, weighing one *misqāl*, i.e. 1/2 *dirhams*, as they put 1 *misqāl* = 6 *dāngs*; 1 *dāng* = 4 *tassūj*; 1 *tassūj* = 2 *habbas*; 1 *habba* = 2 *jaws* (barley grains); 1 *jaw* = 6 *khardals* (mustard-grain); 1 *khardal* = 12 *fals*; 1 *fals* = 6 *jallis*; 1 *jallī* = 6 *naqīr*; 1 *naqīr* = 6 *qitna*; and 1 *qitnār* = 12 *jaws*. One *misqāl*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. *Misqāl* is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is
also the name of the coin.\footnote{In text "a gold coin."—B.} From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek \textit{misqāl} is out of use, and weighs two \textit{qirāt} less than this; and that the Greek \textit{dirham} differs likewise from others, being less in weight by $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a \textit{misqāl}.

\textit{Aftin 12.}

\textbf{THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER.}

One round muhr of 11 \textit{māshas} buys one tola of gold of 10 \textit{bān}; or one tola, 2 \textit{sukka} of 9\textsuperscript{3}$\frac{1}{2}$ \textit{bān}; or 1 tola, 4 s. of 8\textsuperscript{3}$\frac{1}{2}$ \textit{bān}; or 1 tola 6 s. of 9\textsuperscript{3}$\frac{1}{2}$ \textit{bān}; or 1 tola, 1 \textit{māsha} of 9 \textit{bān}; and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one \textit{bān} increases the quantity of gold which a muhr can buy by one \textit{māsha}.

The merchant buys for 100 \textit{Lašl-i Jalālī} muhrs 130 t. 2 m. 0\textsuperscript{3} s. of \textit{Hun} gold of 8\textsuperscript{3}$\frac{1}{2}$ \textit{bāns}. Of this quantity 22 t. 9 m. 7\textsuperscript{3} s. burn away in melting, and mix with the \textit{khāk-i khalās}, so that 107 t. 4 m. 1\textsuperscript{3} s. of pure gold remain, which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tola of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the \textit{khāk-i khalās} are recovered 2 t. 11 m. 4 s. of gold, and 11 t. 11 m. 4\textsuperscript{3} s. of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12\textsuperscript{3} \textit{tangas},\footnote{One tanga = 2 \textit{dāms}; now-a-days one tanga = 2 pais.} so that altogether the above-mentioned quantity of \textit{Hun} gold yields 105 muhrs 39 \textit{Rs.}, and 25 \textit{dāms}.

This sum is accounted for as follows. \textit{First}, 2 \textit{Rs.} 18 d. 12\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.}, due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; \textit{secondly}, 5 \textit{Rs.} 8 d. 8 \textit{j.} for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 \textit{Rs.} 4 d. 1\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.} on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz. 26 d. 16\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.} dung,\footnote{\textit{jāmī}—P.} 4 d. 20 \textit{j.} salōnī; 1 d. 10 \textit{j.} water; 11 d. 5 \textit{j.} quicksilver, and 4 \textit{Rs.} 4 d. 6\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.} on account of the \textit{khāk-i khalās} (viz. 21 d. 7\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.} charcoal, and 3 \textit{Rs.} 22 d. 24 \textit{j.} lead); \textit{thirdly}, 6 \textit{Rs.} 37\textsuperscript{3} \textit{d.}, which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the \textit{Diwan} if the gold belongs to the exchequer; \textit{fourthly}, 100 \textit{Lašl-i Jalālī} muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; \textit{fifthly}, 12 \textit{Rs.} 37 d. 3\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.} which the merchant takes as his profit; \textit{sixthly}, 5 muhrs 12 \textit{Rs.} 3\textsuperscript{3} \textit{d.}, which go to the exchequer.\footnote{There is a slight mistake of $\frac{1}{2}$ \textit{jata}, as the several items added up give 105 \textit{m.} 39 \textit{Rs.} 24 d. 23\textsuperscript{3} \textit{j.}, but not 105 \textit{m.} 39 \textit{Rs.} 25 d.} 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 *Saloni* process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus, and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold; however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.

One Rupee buys 1 t. 0 m. 2 s. of pure silver; hence for 950 Rs. the merchant gets 969 t. 9 m. 4 s. of silver. Out of this quantity, 5 t. 0 m. 4½ s. burn away in casting ingots. The remainder yields 1006 rupees, and a surplus of silver worth 27½ *dâms*. The several items are—first, 2 Rs. 22 d. 12 j., as wages for the workmen (viz. The *Weighman* 5 d. 7½ j., the *Châshnigir* 3 d. 4½; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the *Zarrâb* 2 Rs. 1 d. 0 j.; the *Sikkachi* 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 10 d. 15 j., on account of requisites (viz. 10 d. charcoal, and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 13 d. 0 j., payable to the *Divan*; fourthly, 950 Rs., which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought; and fifthly, 3 Rs. 21 d. 10½ j., being the profit of the merchant. If he refines the base silver at his own house, his profit will be much greater; but when he brings it to be coined, his profit cannot be so great.

Of the silver called *lârî* and *shâhî*, and the other above-mentioned baser coins, one rupee buys 1 t. 0 m. 4 s., so that 950 rupees will buy 989 t. 7 m. In the *Sabbâk* process, 14½ t. 10 m. 1 s. burn away, being at the rate of 1½ t. per cent.; and in making the ingots, 4 t. 11 m. 3 s. are lost in the fire. The remainder yields 1012 rupees; and from the *khâk* *kharal* 3½ Rs. are recoverable. The several items are—first, 4 Rs. 27 d. 24½ j., on account of the wages of the workmen (viz. the *Weighman* 5 d. 7½ j.; the *Sabbâk* 2 Rs. 0 d. 19 j.; the *Qurakob* 4 d. 19 j.; the *Châshnigir* 3 d. 4½ j.; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the *Zarrâb* 2 Rs. 1 d.; the *Sikkachi* 6 d. 12½ j.); secondly, 5 Rs. 24 d. 15 j., for necessaries (viz. 5 Rs. 14 d. lead; 10 d. charcoal, and 15 j. water); thirdly, 50 Rs. 24 d., payable to the State; fourthly, 950 Rs. which the merchant receives for his silver; fifthly, 4 Rs. 29 d., his profit. Sometimes, the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger.

1044 *dâms* buy one *man* of copper, i.e. at the rate of 26 d. 2½ j. per *ser*. Out of this quantity, one *ser* is burnt away in melting; and as each *ser* yields 30 *dâms*, there are coined altogether 1170 *dâms*, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 d. 19½ j. as profit, 33 d. 10 j. go to the workmen; and 15 d. 9 j., for necessaries (viz. 13 d. 8 j. for charcoal; 1 d. for water; and 1 d. for clay); 58½ d. go to the state.

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1 These items added give Rs. 1015, 25 d. 14½ j., i.e., a little more than the sum mentioned by Abû ʿI-Fazl (1015 Rs. 20 d.).
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 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 *ūsār-i ʿulāvī*; *secondly*, stones; *thirdly*, plants; *fourthly*, animals. From the heat of the sun, watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up. Such a mixture is called *bukhār* (gas). From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up. This mixture is called *dukhān* (vapour). Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth. Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures *bukhār*, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of moist, or watery *bukhār*, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air dry *bukhār*, or *dukhān bakhār* (vapour-like gas). Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, etc.; 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 *ṣūqīt*; *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 movable: 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.

1 Or *doing from on high, as rain, snow, etc.*
Since no part of it is destitute of dukhān, the dryness is perceptible; hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it; and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of bukhār and dukhān, both are nearly in equal proportion, a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the dukhān and the greasiness are a little in excess, sulphur will be produced, in colour either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the dukhān is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the bukhār 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, khārēchāni will be produced. This body is also called Abanchāni, and seems really to be raw gold; some say, it is a kind of copper. Again, if only the sulphur be impure, and the quicksilver the larger component, with an additional power of burning, copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough, and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced; some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind, closely mixed, and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating, and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if, under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger, lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called the seven bodies; and quicksilver has the name of the mother of the bodies, and sulphur, the father of the bodies. Quicksilver is also denominated the spirit, and arsenic and sulphur the pivots of life.

Just (pewter), which, according to the opinions of some, is Rūh-i

[1 Or zinc — P.]
and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 9½ m. of water, and the same quantity of gold; 5½ 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 of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water. Abū Rayḥān ¹ has drawn up a table which I shall insert here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity of water displaced by 100 mīsqālāt</th>
<th>Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 mīsqālāt of</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold, ²</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūṭ (light blue)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūṭ (red)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby (laṭāl)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zumurrud</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapis lazuli</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelian</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullūr</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ With the exception of Quicksilver, Silver, and Yāqūṭ (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 mīsqālāt (1 m. = 8 d.; 1 d. = 4 t.). But in most items there is an excess of one diqān.
The weight (in air) of the under-
mentioned metals, the volume of
100 misqals of gold being taken as
the unit of volume.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Misqal</th>
<th>Ding.</th>
<th>Tumaj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūy</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weight (in air) of the under-
mentioned precious stones, the
volume of 100 misqals of the blue
yāqūt being taken as the unit of
volume.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stone</th>
<th>Misqal</th>
<th>Ding.</th>
<th>Tumaj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāqūt (red)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamurrid</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearls</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapis lazuli</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)Cornelian</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A 15th.

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 under-
stands how to use elixirs* and chemical processes. Any kind of growth

[1 See note.—P.]

* So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages.
* Elixirs change quickly that which is worthless into pure gold.
will alter the constitution of a body; copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver; hence it is no matter of astonishment if an excellent being changes the worthless into men. "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness." Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom, insight, regard to rank, his respect for others, his activity, his patience. Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path; he looks at everything with kindly feelings, weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice; he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people, and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment.

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside, where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties. Several chaste women have been appointed as dāroqhas, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1628 Rs. per mensēm. Some 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 Tahwîldârs (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. 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-Tahwîldârs for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All monies are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate.¹

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women; the

¹ At 40 dâms per rupee.
most trustworthy of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty. Outside the enclosure the eunuchs are placed; and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful Rājputas, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, Aḥadīs, and other troops, according to their ranks.

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

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

A*tn. 16.

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS.\[1\]

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 Golāl-bār 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.\[2\] At its eastern end a pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long and 14 broad; and in the middle there stands a large chūbān rā, ofī,\[3\] and round about it a sarā-parda.\[4\] Adjoining to the chūbās, 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 chūbān rā, ofīs 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 sāyabāns \[4\] of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a sarā-parda of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the Usā-begīs,\[5\] and other female

\[1\] In text یاری, Tūrisch, T. properly means "attack, assult". Tūrisch-ḥā seems to mean here "military expeditions."—P.

\[2\] Described in the twenty-first A*tn.

\[3\] Awnings.

\[4\] Armed women.
servants. Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the Mahābālī; and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described, which is supported by poles 8 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 Nam-gīru, 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 Gulāt-bār, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions, each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the Mahābālī; and in the midst of it is a Gharān-rū, of 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 Iburchī, which is the (Chaghatāi) name used by his Majesty. Adjoining to this a Sarā-parda is being put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty-six square yards, the Sarā-parda 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 tent-like covering, or Qalamūr, made of wax-cloth, 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 Dinān-i khā副教授 or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks. Here the nobles and the officers of the army, after having obtained leave through the Bakshāis, 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 300 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 Dinān-i Amm, or public audience hall, round which, as above described,

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1 As may be still seen in the ruins of Fatḥpūr Sikrī.
2 "tent-wall". — P.]
3 In text šubčir, šumband. — P.]
4 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.
the various guards are placed. At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve tanābās ¹ is the Naqqāra Ḵhānā,² and in the midst of the area the Akās-dīyās ³ is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the Farrāḵehs on a piece of ground which the Mir Manzil 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, Manṣūbdars,⁵ ᴬḥāḏīs. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farrāḵehs, natives of Irān, Tūrān, and Hindustān, 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 dāms.

Aṭṭin 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 Naqqāra-Ḵhānā, 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 is allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to the left and centre are the tents of Maryam Makān,⁶ and Gulbadan Begum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dānyāl; to the

¹ tanābā: A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the tanābā, see the tenth
² Naqqāra Ḵhānā: Is of the third book.
³ Akās-dīyās: A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. See p. 50.
⁴ Manzil: Quartermasters.
⁵ ᴬḥāḏīs: Guards.
⁶ Maryam Makān: Qol. M. is said to be the erṣar of an army in battle array.—P.
⁷ Sulāna Bānā Begum: Asīp Bādīnī, ed. Bihāl, Ind., i., p. 457. Gulbadan Begum (i.e., Lady Rose-body) appears to be the name of one of Akbar’s favourite wives. [No, his aunt.—B.]
right, those of Prince Sultan Salim, and to the left, those of Prince Shah Murad. 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 bazars. 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.

A'īn 18.

ON ILLUMINATIONS.

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider this 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 Shaykh Sharif 'd-Din 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 Sūrajkrānt, 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. 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.

1 The members of the Divine Faith.
2 This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Manair is a town in Bahār; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1888, p. 7, 1, 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.
There is also a shining white stone, called Chandrkrant, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one ghari before sunset, his Majesty, if riding, 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 candle-sticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten mams 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 candle-stick, 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 ser of oil, and half a ser 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 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;

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1 One ghari = 24 minutes.
2 Oil-burners with several wicks are very common in India.
3 For each flambeau.
and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Akās-diya. Its light, 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 Mangabdārs, Aḥadis, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dāms.

\[1\text{ in 19.}

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The Shannon \(^2\) 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 Awarang, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The Chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The Sōya-bān 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 Aftābudgīr. 4. The Kaukabe, \(^3\) of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

5. The ʿAlam, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the Qār, \(^4\) wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The Chattoq, a kind of ʿAlam, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The Tumantoq is like the Chattoq, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The Jhanlā is an Indian flag. The Qār necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

Of musical instruments used in the Naqārakhāna, I may mention, 1. the Kusarsā, commonly called domāme; there are eighteen pair of

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\(^1\) From Akās sky, and diya lamp. The Akāsdiya is also mentioned by Bernier.

\(^2\) Shannon is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.

\(^3\) Vide the plates.

\(^4\) The Qār is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.
and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Aḵās-ḏīya. Its light, 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 Mānsābdārs, Aḥadīs, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dāms.

Aṭīa 19.

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The Shamsa 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 Aʿeram, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The Chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The Sāya-bān 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 Aṣṭābār. 4. The Kaukab, of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

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

Of musical instruments used in the Naqārakhlām, I may mention, 1. the Kunvarpa, commonly called damāna; there are eighteen pair of

1 From ʿAḥās sky, and ʿāiqa lamp. The Akhādiya is also mentioned by Bernier.
2 Shamsa is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.
3 From the plates.
4 The Qūr 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 naqāra, twenty pair, more or less. 3. The duhul, of which four are used. 4. The Karnā is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals, and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The surmā of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The nafe, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The sing is of brass and made in the form of a cow’s horn; they blow two together. 8. The sany, or cymbal, of which three pair are used.

Formerly the band played four ghari before the commencement of the night, and likewise four ghari before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One ghari before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the surmā, and wake up those that are asleep; and one ghari after sunrise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kwang a little, whereupon they blow the karnā, the nafe, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqāra; after a little pause the surmās are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the nafe. One hour later the naqāras commence, when all musicians raise “the auspicious strain.” After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The Mursali, which is the name of a tune played by the mureil; and afterwards the bardāšt, 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 inkat, bidaq, shirāz, qalandarī nigur qatra, or makhāq qatra, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old Khwārizmite tunes. Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes Jalālshāhī, Mahāmir karkat (?), and the Naurāzā. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of Bā mian darer. 6. The passing into the tunes azfar, also called nāh-bālā, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwārizmite tunes, played by the Mureil, after which he passes into the mursali; 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 surmā-

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1 Or Karrānā. [In text karrā.—P.]  
2 Probably blessings on his Majesty.  
3 Several of these names of melodies are obscure, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words shirāz qalandarī, “a hermit of Shirāz,” belong to each other. Nigur qatra means, bekold the four. [Qalandar is a kind of wandering dervish of wild appearance.—P.]  
4 In text “old and new.”—P.
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 nāqūṣ.

Mansabdarā, 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 74 dāms.

**Āśā in 20.**

**THE ROYAL SEALS.**

Seals are used in the three branches of the Government; in fact every man requires them in his transactions. In the beginning of the present reign, Mawlānā Maqṣūd, the seal-engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the rīqī character, the name of his Majesty, and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timūr-lāng; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the nastaʿlīq 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:

*Rāstī muṣīb-i rīqā-yi khudāst hās munīdum bi gnum shud az rāh-i rāst.*

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

Tāmūn made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Mawlānā ʿAlī Ahmad of Dihlī improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chaghatāʾi) name of Uzūk; and is used for farmān-i sabīra; 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 nowadays for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words Allāh* Abhar jallā jallāhān, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio. For the seals attached to farmaṇa, another stamp is used of various forms.

Of seal-engravers I shall mention

1. Mawlānā Maqṣūd of Hirū, one of the servants of Humāyūn, who writes well the rīqī and nastaʿlīq characters. The astrolabe, globes, and

1 Corresponding to the threefold division of the *‘Inā‘ī Abhar.*
2 The word mahr, 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 Bhalā nut is preferred. [The marking-out tree commonly called khilānθ.-P.]
3 *See note p. 30.*
4 *See the eleventh Ashā of the second book.*
various mistars¹ which he made, were much admired by people of experience. The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art.

2. Tamkīn of Kābul. He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the nasta'liq.

3. Mīr Dost of Kābul. He cuts both the riqū and nasta'liq characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His riqū is better than his nasta'liq. He also understands assaying.

4. Mawlānā Ibrāhīm. 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 riqū and nasta'liq from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words lāl jalāl, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. Mawlānā Āli Ahmad of Dihli who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are used as copies. His nasta'liq is charming; but he writes also other characters as well. He learned the trade from his father Shaykh Husayn, studied the manner of Mawlānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all.

A* in 21.

THE FARRĀSH KHĀNA,

His Majesty considers this department ² 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 Būrgākh, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

¹ 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 sahar, a line. The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the sahar, and presses upon them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

² Niuše of Hirāt, in his Tabaqāt-i Akbari, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.

² Of. — P.
people. It takes a thousand farrūkhes, a week to erect 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 Chūbīn rākṣaṭi 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 the crossbeam rests upon them. The pillars have, above and below, a dāsa, to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the dānas and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts. The walls and the roof consist of mats. There is one door or two: and at the height of the lower dānas 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 Do-āshiyāna maṇḍal, or house of two storeys, 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 storey. 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 motley sahrā of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter to pay their compliments, and after them, foreigners. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc.), which is called jharāka, or window. 4. The Zamināder is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The Āja-tābī 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, and four tapering; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole. 6. The Mandal 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 Ath-khambā consists of seventeen awnings; sometimes

1 A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross-beam, a support.
2 Saqirāṭ, perhaps a scarlet broad-cloth.—P.
3 Jharāka, a small window in an upper storey, especially one in a palace, to obtain a view.—P.
separate, sometimes joined together; they are supported by eight poles. 8. The Khargāh is a folding tent made in various ways; some with one, others with two doors. 9. The Shāmshāna-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The Qalanderī has been described. 11. The Saraparda was made in former times of coarse canvas, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness. 12. The Golābār is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the Khargāh, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together when the camp breaks up. The golābār is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

Carpets,

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many masterpieces. The gūtin of Irān and Tūrān are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goskhān, Khūzistān, Kirkūn, and Sabzvār. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. These are found in every town, especially in Agra, Fathpūr, and Lāhor. In the imperial workshops single gūtin are made 20 gaz 7 tassūjes long, and 6 gaz 11½ tassūjes broad, at a cost of 1816 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees.

Takya-namads, or woollen coverlets, are brought from Kābul and Persia, but are also made in this country.

It would take up too much time to describe the jōjans, šatrinjās, balūchīs, and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk.

THE ĀBDĀR-KHĀNA.

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

2. In text gittin, which is a carpet without a pile.—P.
3. Goskhān, or Jashapūra, a town in Śrāg-i-Ājami, halfway between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. Khūzistān is the Persian province of which Shushūt or Shuštīr, is the capital; the ancient Susiana. Kirkūn is the capital of the Persian province Kirkūn, which borders on Balūchistān. Sabzvār is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Bukrūšān, between Meshhād (Mshed) and the Caspian Sea.
4. In text salzast. Both countries are known by the name, as also England, in modern times.—P.
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 Ágra and in Fatḥpūr, the water came from the district of Sorūn, but now that his Majesty is in the Panjāb, the water is brought from Hardwār. For the cooking of the food, rain-water or water taken from the Jamma and the Chanāb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On journeys and hunting parties, his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters.

Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small. Saltpetre is a saline earth. They fill it with a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through, they boil it, clean it, and let it crystallize. One ser of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed. Then two and a half sers of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sers of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold. The price of saltpetre varies from \( \frac{1}{2} \) to 4 anns per rupee.

Since the thirty-sixth year of the Divine Era, when the imperial standards were erected in the Panjāb, snow and ice have come into use. Ice is brought by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the district of Panhān, in the northern mountains, about forty-five loks from Lāhor. The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sers 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 sers, at the rate of 5 dāms. If they have to bring it very far, it costs 24 d. 17 f.; 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 sers, 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 sers arrive daily. By this kind of transport, a ser of ice costs in winter 3 d. 21 f.; during the rains 14 d. 20 f.; in the intermediate time 9 d. 21 f.;

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1. The nearest station on the Ganges from Ágra.
2. A.D. 1506. As in 1586 Fatḥpūr had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjāb.
3. A.D. 1586.
and in the average, 5 d. 15½ f. If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5 d. 19½ f.; in the middle 16 d. 2½ f.; and in the end 19 d. 15½ f. per ser; in the average, 8 ½ d.

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

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 capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown 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 Bakával, or

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1 The text has sarásari, which may mean the average; but the price given by Abú'l-Fasl 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 ser of American ice costs two annas, or ½ rupee; i.e., ½ = 3 dimes of Akbar.
Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants. There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer. Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats; also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes. Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty.

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount; the money bags and the door of the store-house being sealed with the seals of the Mir Bakâwal 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 Dâwân-i buqûtât and the Mir Bakâwal, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g. Sukhdâs rice from Bharâjî, Dervîra rice from Gwâliâr, Jinjîn rice from Râjîrî and Nimlah, ghî from Hîsâr Pîrûsâ; ducks, water-fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmir. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, bergeries, fowls, ducks, etc., are fattened by the cooks; fowls are never kept less 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 greans. The Mir Bakâwal 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, etc., and watch every transaction. Bad characters, idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed; no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient.

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthenware; some of the dishes being in charge of each of the Sub-
Bakāwals. 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 Bakāwal taste it, after which it is tasted by the Mīr Bakāwal, 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 Mīr Bakāwal 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 Mīr Bakāwal, that none of the dishes may be changed. The dishes are carried by the Bakāwals, 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 Bakāwal, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens. The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes; and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance; first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds. After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer. The Mīr Bakāwal 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, etc., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones.

A* in 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 ẓūfūgīna; secondly, such in which meat and rice, etc., are used; thirdly, meats with spices. I shall give ten recipes of each kind.

First. 1. Zard birinj: 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugarcandy; 3 ¼ s. of ghi; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ s. each; ¼ s. of salt; ½ s. of fresh ginger; 1½ dāms saffron, 2½ misqāls of cinnamon. This will make four ordinary dishes. Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without
any: and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt. 2. *Khushka:* 10 s. rice; ½ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One mounsel of *Dewa:* paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot; *jiin:* rice yields 22 sers. 3. *Khichri:* Rice, *mung* dāl, and ghi 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. *Thali:* 10 s. of wheat, ground, of which one-third will be lost; half of that quantity of ghi; 10 *misqals* of pepper; 4 m. cinnamon; 2½ m. cloves and cardamum; ½ s. salt; some add milk and sweetmeats; this gives four dishes. 6. *Chikhi:* 10 s. of wheat-flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 s. of fine paste. This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat. 1 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; saffron, cardamum, 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. *Badinjan:* 10 s.; 1½ s. ghi; 3 s. onions; ½ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafetida, each 1 m. This gives six dishes. 8. *Pahit:* For ten sers of dāl of vetches (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc.) take 2½ s. ghi; ½ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cumineed; 1½ m. assafetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with *Khushka.* 9. *Sag:* It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, etc., 1½ s. ghi; 1 s. onions; ½ s. fresh ginger; 5½ m. of pepper; ½ m. of cardamums and cloves; this gives six dishes. 10. *Halwa:* Flour, sugarcandy, ghi, 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. *Qabiti:* 10 s. rice; 7 s. meat; 3½ s. ghi; 1 s. grain skinned; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ½ s. fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cumineed, of each 1 d.; cardamums and cloves, ½ d. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. *Dudhbirinj:* 10 s. rice, 3½ s. ghi; 10 s. meat; ½ s. salt; this gives five dishes. 3. *Qiina* 4 *Palao:* Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 s. ghi; 1 s. peeled gram; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ½ s. fresh ginger, and pepper; cumineed, cardamums and cloves, 1 d. of each; this gives five dishes. 4. *Shull:* 10 s. meat, 3½ s. rice; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. grain; 2 s. onions; ½ s. salt; ½ s. fresh

[1] All split peas, pulse, lentils, vetches, etc., are called dāl.—P.
[2] *Badanj* is the egg-plant or brinjal.—P.
[3] *Qiina* is pounded (or minced) meat.—P.
ginger; 2 d. garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamum, cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives six dishes. 5. Buğhër: 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ghi; 1 s. gram; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. vinegar; 1 s. sugarcandy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 d. of each; 2 d. cinnamon; 8 m. round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. Qina Shûrbâ: 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. ghi; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. gram, and the rest as in the Shûlla: this gives ten full dishes. 7. Harise: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. ghi; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. Kuskk: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. ghi; 1 s. gram; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. salt; 1 s. onions; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. Halîn: The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. ghi; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. Quîb, which the people of Hind call sambîsa: This is made in several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. fine flour; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. fresh ginger; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamums, cuminseed, cloves, 1 d. of each; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. of summâq. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. Birynap. For a whole Dashmanêt sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. ghi; 3 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways. 2. Yakbôni: for 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. salt. 3. Yulma: A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off; it is then prepared like yakbôni, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. Kabbûb is of various kinds. 10 s. meat; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ghi; salt, fresh ginger, onions, \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. of each; cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, \(\frac{1}{2}\) d. of each. 5. Musumman: They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. minced meat; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ghi; 5 eggs; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. onions; 10 m. coriander; 10 m. fresh ginger; 5 m. salt; 3 m. round pepper; \(\frac{1}{2}\) m. saffron. It is prepared as the preceding. 6. Dupeykâ: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. ghi; 2 s. onions; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. salt; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. fresh pepper; cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 d. of each; 2 d. pepper: this will give five dishes. 7. Mutanjana: sheep: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. ghi; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. gram; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ginger; 1 d. cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 d. of each: this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. Dampûkh: 10 s. meat; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. Qalînṣ: 1 Yûhûn is a gravy or broth.—P.] 2 Does this mean fried? [1] 3 Dap-pûkh means cooking slowly in a vessel with its lid closed by paste.—P.]
10 s. meat; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamoms, 1 d. each; \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing qaliya, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the muljanana. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways. 10. Malghūba: 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. ghi; 1 s. onions; \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dishes.

**A** in 25.

**OF BREAD.**

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter. Bread is made in the pantry. There is a large kind,\(^1\) baked in an oven, made of 10 s. flour; 5 s. milk; \(1\frac{1}{2}\) s. ghi; \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. salt. They make also smaller ones. The thin kind is baked on an iron plate. One ser will give fifteen, or even more. There are various ways of making it; one kind is called chapāṭi, which is sometimes made of khushka; it tastes very well when served hot. For the bread used at court, one man of wheat is made to yield \(\frac{1}{2}\) 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.

**A** in 26.

**THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE.** (Ṣāfiyāna.)\(^2\)

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 month of Rajab\(^3\) on the feast-day of every

---

\(^1\) Probably a large flat cake.—P.

\(^2\) Living according to the manners of the Sāfin.

\(^3\) Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 13th 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.
solar month, during the whole month of Farvardin,\(^1\) and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz. the month of Aban. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of Aban 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 Makani, next from the other beguns, the princes, and the principal nobility.

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

\(^{A*}\) in 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>Kābul gram, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black gram, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentils, do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linseed, per man</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safflower seed (carthamus)</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenugreek, do.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard seed, do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēsū, 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>Mushkin, paddy per man</td>
<td>110 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāda paddy, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhdās rice, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūnaparsād rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmzira rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakarchini rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewzira rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinjin rice, do.</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakah (?), rice, do.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirki rice, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sathi rice, do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māng (black gram) do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māsh (a kind of vetch) per man</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{1}\) February-March; or March and April?—P]; see the first \(^{A*}\) in of the third book; Aban corresponds to October-November.

\(^{2}\) Mashang or muskang, a pes!—P.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motha (a kind of vetch), per man</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sesame, do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black sesame, do.</td>
<td>19 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobiya (a kind of bean), do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jwārī (a kind of millet), do</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung dal, per man</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukhād dal, do</td>
<td>16¼ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour, per man</td>
<td>22 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. coarse, do</td>
<td>15 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Vegetables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fennel, per man</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips, do.</td>
<td>21 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage, per ser.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankachhū, from Kashi, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dauwētū</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqāqul (wild carrot), do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic flowers, per ser</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upalhāk, (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jūtū, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger (green), do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poṭī, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachhār buds, do</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chākā (sorrel), do</td>
<td>¼ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathwa, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratsakā, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaudī, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Living animals and meats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dāshmandi sheep, per head</td>
<td>6½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan sheep, 1st kind, do.</td>
<td>2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do.</td>
<td>1¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3rd kind, do.</td>
<td>1¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir sheep, do</td>
<td>1¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustānī sheep, do</td>
<td>1¼ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barāri goat, 1st kind, do</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do</td>
<td>¾ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutton, per man</td>
<td>65 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat, do.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goose, per head</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck, per head</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tughdarī (bustard), do</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūlang (crane), do</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarz (a kind of bustard), do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Turē radish, not turnip. — P.J.
2 Or wild parsnip. — P.J.
3 Tagādārī is the Hubāra bustard. — P.J.
4 Kūlang is the Common Crane or “coolan.” — P.J.
5 For charz. In Baluchistan this is the name of the Hubāra, but elsewhere of the Florican. — P.J.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durrâj (black partridge), per head</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaby (partridge), do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bûdana, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gât, per man</td>
<td>105 d.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil, do.</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
<td>5½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, do.</td>
<td>25 d.</td>
<td>128 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curds, do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
<td>56 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron, per ser</td>
<td>400 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloves, do.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardamums, do.</td>
<td>52 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round pepper, do.</td>
<td>17 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long pepper, do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry ginger, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh do., do.</td>
<td>24 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumminseed, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniseed, per ser</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sour limes, per ser</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemon-juice, do.</td>
<td>5 d.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine vinegar</td>
<td>5 d.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane vinegar, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled ashtarghâr, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes in oil, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in vinegar, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemons in oil, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in salt, do.</td>
<td>1¼ d.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in lemon-juice, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled ginger</td>
<td>2¼ d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aadarshâhâ, do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips in vinegar, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled carrots, do.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
<td>½ d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Butter, Sugar, etc.

- Refined Sugar, per ser: 6 d.
- White sugar candy, do.: 5½ d.
- White sugar, per man: 128 d.
- Brown sugar, do.: 56 d.

F. Spices.

- Turmeric (Hind. halâdî), do.: 10 d.
- Coriander seed, do.: 3 d.
- Sîyâhâna (Hind. kalaumjî), do.: 1½ d.
- Assafetida, do.: 2 d.
- Sweet fennel, do.: 1 d.
- Cinnamon, do.: 40 d.
- Salt, per man: 16 d.

G. Pickles.

- Pickled bamboo, per ser: 4 d.
- Do. apples, do.: 8 d.
- Do. quinces, do.: 9 d.
- Do. garlic, do.: 1 d.
- Do. onions, do.: ½ d.
- Do. bâdâjân (egg-plant), do.: 1 d.
- Do. raisins and mumâqqâ, do.: 8 d.
- Do. kachnâr, do.: 2 d.
- Do. peaches, do.: 1 d.
- Do. sâkajna (horse-radish), do.: 1 d.
- Do. karîl buds (capparis), do.: ½ d.

1 Kâkh the Chukor partridge.—P.
2 The Common Quail.—P.
3 The Rock Bush-quail.—P.
4 Kâksâk saltzus raisins; mumâqqâ large black raisins.—P.
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 Iran and Turan 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, etc., are everywhere to be found. Ever since the conquest of Kabul, Qandahar, and Kashmir, loads of fruit are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bazars well supplied. Musk-melons come in season, in Hindustan, in the month of Farwardin (February–March), and are plenty in Urduoghish (March–April). They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called nakhpar, baba-shaykh, salsher, alche, barg-i may, dud-ichiragh, etc. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of Shahrivar (August), they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kabul; during the month of Azar (November), they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshan, and continue to be had during Day (December). When they are in season in Zabulistan, good ones also are obtainable in the Panjab; 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 Khurulud (May) to Amurdud (July), whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmir grapes during Shahrivar. Eight sers of grapes sell in Kashmir for one dam, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per man. The Kashmiris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

1. Badrang, not gourd. Perhaps a citron.—P.J.
2. March–April.—P.J.
3. April–May.—P.J.
4. August–September.—P.J.
5. November–December.—P.J.
6. December–January.—P.J.
7. May–June.—P.J.
8. July–August.—P.J.
From Mihr (September) till Urdibihist grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries, which his Majesty calls shāhālū, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, girdalūs, and ḍūčkas, etc., many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān. From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples.

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

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

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

### A. Tūrāni Fruits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arhang melons, 1st quality, at</td>
<td>2½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd and 3rd do., at 1 to 2½ R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul melons, 1st do., at 1 to 2½ R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd do., at ½ to 1 R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3rd do., at ½ to 1 R.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinces, 10 to 30 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, per man, 8½ to</td>
<td>15 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, 10 to 100 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul and European apples, 5 to 10 for</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir grapes, per man 108 d.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates, per ser</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raisins (kishmish), do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ābjoš (large raisins), do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plums, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūbānī (dried apricots), per ser</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qandahar dry grapes, do.</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs, per ser</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaqq, do.</td>
<td>6½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jujubes, do.</td>
<td>3½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almonds, without the shell, do.</td>
<td>28 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., with do., do</td>
<td>11 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, do., do.</td>
<td>9 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīlghūzā, 2 lbs., per ser</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simjīd (jujubes), do.</td>
<td>6½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistachios, without shell, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaus' nuts, do.</td>
<td>4½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filberts, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazel, 2 lbs., do.</td>
<td>2½ d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1[1] September—October.—P.]
4[4] Edible seed of pinus Gerardiiana.—P.]
5[5] Girdgūn is properly the walnut.—P.]

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[1] September-October.—P.]  
[3] Edible seed of pinus Gerardiiana.—P.]  
[4] Girdgūn is properly the walnut.—P.]
B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.

Mangoes, per hundred, up to 40 d. Tendū, do. 2 d.
Pine-apples, one for 4 d. Üširā. *(*)
Oranges, two for 1 d. Angūhal.
Sugarcanes, two for 1 d. Delā, do. 1 d.
Jackfruits, two for 1 d. Güla. *
Plantains, do. 1 d. Bholoṣari, per ser. 4 d.
Bers, per ser. 2 d. Tarkul, two for 1 d.
Pomegranates, per man. Paniyāla, per ser. 2 d.
     80 to 100 d. Lahasaura, do. 1 d.
Guavas, two for 1 d. Gumbhi, do. 4 d.
Figs, per ser. 1 d. Karahri. 4 d.
Mulberry, do. 2 d. Tarri. *
Custard-apples, one for 1 d. Banga, two for 1 d.
Melons, per man. 40 d. Gūlar, per ser. 2 d.
Water-melons, one 2 to 10 d. Pilū, do. 2 d.
Khirni, per ser. 4 d. Barauta.
Mahwe, do. 1 d. Pīyār, do. 4 d.
Deyphal, do. 4 d.

* The original does not mention the price.

Mulberries and gūlars are in season during spring; pine-apples, oranges, sugarcanes, bers, üširās, bhoḷoṣaris, gumbhis, dayphals during winter; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, lasuaraus, karahris, mahweṣ, tendūs, pilūs, barautas, during summer; and mangoes, plantains, dates, delās, gūlās, pomegranates, guavas, water-melons, paniyālus, bangas, khirniṣ, pīyārs, during the rains.

C. Dried Fruits.

Coco-nuts, one for 4 d. Mahāṇā, per ser. 4 d.
Dry Dates, per ser. 6 d. Sūpyārī, do. 8 d.
Walnuts, do. 8 d. Kaṇgatta, do. 2 d.
Chirauncheh, do. 4 d.

Dates, walnuts, chirauncheh, and kaṇgattas are in seasons during summer, and coco-nuts, makhāṇās, and sūpyārīs, during winter.

[2] A small guava, but in Persia and locally too in Indus, a pear.—P.
[3] Sūry-phal. The custard-apple is sūl-phaḥ.—P. 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).
[4] Gūlar wild fig.—P.
D. Vegetables.

Pahal, per ser 2 d. Kachalū, per ser 2 d.
Gourd,1 one 2½ d. Chachindā, do. 2 d.
Bādinjān, per ser 1½ d. Sūran, do. 1 d.
Tura, do. 1¼ d. Carrots, do. 1 d.
Kandūrī, do. 1½ d. Singhāra, do. 3 d.
Sēmb, do. 1½ d. Sālak, do. 2 d.
Peth, do. 1½ d. Pindālū, do. 2 d.
Karīla, do. 1½ d. Siyāti.
Kakūra, do. 1½ d. Kaserū, do. 3 d.

Sūrans and siyātis are in season during summer; pahals, gourds, turās, kachalūs, chachindās, kandūris, sēms, peths, karīlas, kakūras, and singhāras during the rains; and carrots, sālaks, pindālus, and kaserūs, during winter. Bādinjāns are to be had throughout the year.

E. Sour Fruits.

Limes, four up to 1 d. Ghep.
Amla, do. 1 d. Bijaurā, one for 8 d.
Galgal, two up to 1 d. Āvelā,3 per ser 2 d.

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

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

Ambilī, per ser 2 d. Kait, four up to 1 d.
Badhal, one for 1 d. Kānkū.
Kamrak, four up to 1 d. Pākar, per ser ½ d.
Nāraṇga,4 two up to 1 d. Kānā, one for 1 d.
Mountain grapes * Lobhīrā.
Jāman, per ser 1 d. Janbhīrī, five up to 1 d.
Phālsa, do. 1½ d. Garnal.
Karaundā, do. 1 d.

* The original does not mention the price.

Kamraks and nāraṇgas,4 are in season during winter; ambilīs, badhals, mountain-grapes, phālsas, labhīras, during summer; and kaits, pākars, kānās, jāmans, karāundās, janbhīrīs, during the rains.

The fruits of Hindustān 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.

[1] Kudā pumpkin.—P.
[2] The water-nut.—P.
[3] The amble myrobalan.—P.
[4] The orange with flesh skin.—P.
The Mangoes: The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusrav*. This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmets of Tūrān and Irān place it above muskmelons and grapes. In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one seer and upwards. There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes. The tree looks well, especially when young; it is larger than a walnut-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 *qalīyas* (p. 64), 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 *koyalās*. 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 *Bhadiyya*. Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year; but this is rare. Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe; they must be quickly taken down, else the sweetness would produce worms. Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrāt, Mālwah, Khāndesh, and the Dekhan. They are rarer in the Panjāb, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Lāhūr his capital. A young tree will bear fruit after four years. They put 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 one; others yield for one year no fruit at all. When many mangoes are eaten, digestion is assisted by drinking milk with the kernels of the mangoe 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.

1 Vide the fourth note on p. 75 of my Persian text edition.
2 *Shiguruf*, beautiful, fine.—P.
Pine-apples\(^1\) are also called *kathul-i safar\(i\) or travelling jackfruits, because young plants, put into a vessel, may be taken on travels and will yield fruits. In colour and shape they resemble an oblong orange; and in taste and smell, a mango. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out these leaves, separate them, and put them singly into the ground; they are the seedlings. Each plant bears only once, and one fruit only.

*Oranges*\(^2\) have the colour of saffron, and the shape of quinces. They belong to the best fruits to be had in Hindustān. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

*Sugarcane*, which the Persians call *Nayshakar*, 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\(^3\) 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 ways of preparing it. One way is as follows. They pound *babūl*\(^4\) bark mixing it at the rate of ten *sers* to one *man* of sugarcane, and put three times as much water over it. Then they take large jars, fill them with the mixture, and put them into the ground, surrounding them with dry horse-dung. From seven to ten days are required to produce fermentation. It is a sign of perfection, when it has a sweet, but a stringent taste. When the liquor is to be strong, they again put to the mixture some brown sugar, and sometimes even drugs and perfumes, as ambergris, camphor, etc. They also let meat dissolve in it. This beverage, when strained, may be used, but it is mostly employed for the preparation of arrack.

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\(^1\) Jahānurr in his *Memoires* (*Tazkī-i Jahānprī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3) states that the pine-apples at his time came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese.

\(^2\) *Kathul.*—*P.*

\(^3\) *Waţab,* a span.—*P.*

\(^4\) A species of acacia, the *kībar* of the Panjāb.—*P.*
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 Budhassa, 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 extinguished at once.

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 lime, etc., 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

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[1] *Kips* the gut of a sheep stuffed with mince and rice.—P.
[2] *săla* might mean ironed.—P.
[3] *Sänsä* is the common purple flag-iris.—P.
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 Mahavata tree resembles the mango tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called Gilaunda, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The Bholsiri tree is large and handsome; the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles the jujube.

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

The Panjedila fruit resembles the Zardala; 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 Gumbhi has a stem the branches of which are like creepers; its leaves and fruits, as those of the kunar, come from below the roots.

The Turri 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 Pevar 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 Chirventa. Its tree is about a yard high.

The Coco-nut is called by the Persians Jauk-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; the fruits ripen 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

1. The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand.
2. Zardala: the acid apricot.—P.
gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with pās-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and ḍhichaks (a kind of violin). There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes; each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best. Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison. The nuts weigh sometimes twelve sars and upwards. The bark of the tree is used for ropes; the large ropes used on ships are made of it.

Dates are called in Hindi Pind-khaṇḍū. 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 fūfal. 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. It is eaten with betel leaves.

The Singhāra is a triangular fruit; its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water. It is eaten raw or roasted.

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

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

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

The Siyālī root is long and conical; the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached.

The Orange\(^1\) has the shape of an egg. One kind is called kāghārī.\(^2\) 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 Amalbet is like a lime,\(^3\) 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.\(^4\)

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1. Nārasā, orange? — P.
2. Līmā, lime. Kāghārī is applied to a small green lime with a skin as thin as paper. — P.
3. Pīyaṁ-as ḍākī? — P.
The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergris; 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 Khusraw of Dihli, in one of his verses, says, “It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in Hindustân.” The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called Bilahrit 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 Kūker leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The Jauacūr leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The Kapiür leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The Kapiürkānt 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 Bangla leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of Chait (March–April), about New-Year’s ¹ time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with Karhanj leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put milk, sesame oil and its dregs, etc., about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names: 1. The Karhanj leaf, which they separate for seedlings and call Peri. The new leaf is called Gadauta. 2. The Nauṛ leaf. 3. The Bahuri leaf. 4. The Ckhār leaf. 5. The Adhimādā leaf. 6. The Agahniya or Leswár leaf. 7. The Karhanj leaf itself. With the exception of the Gadauta, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some;

¹ The 21st March is New Year’s Day. — F.
others keep it for seeding: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the Peči.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called Lāhāsā, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called Dholi; a lāhāsā is made up of dholis. 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 displayed in various ways. They also put some betel nut and kath on one leaf, and some lime paste on another, and roll them up; this is called a ḍiṃā. 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.

\[\text{A}^\text{i} \text{in 29.}\]

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 qalē; and Sufūṣat 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 are endless; some have, however, names, e.g. bashāṣat is a bitter and tart flavour, and aṣūṣa a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

\[\text{A}^\text{i} \text{in 30.}\]

ON PERFUMES.

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The court-hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloeswood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by his Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes; whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used

1 An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the pān leaf. It looks brown, and stains the tongue and the gums red. [Catechu ?—P.]
2 In Persian čānas; but in Anglo-Indies, čhāna.
in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair. I shall give a few recipes.

1. Santūk is used for keeping the skin fresh: 1½ tolas Civet; 1 t. Chāvra; 2 māshas Chambeli essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. Arjuna ⅔ t. sandalwood; 2 t. Iksīr and Mid; 3 t. Chāvra; 1 t. violet root, and gehla (the seed of a plant); ½ m. camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. Gulḳāna: Pound together 1 t. best Ambergris; ½ t. Lādan; 2 t. best musk; 4 t. wood of aloes, and 8 t. Iksīr-i Salrū; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a seri of the juice of the flower called Gul-i surkh, 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 Bahār, and pound it again on Samāq stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called Bahār-i Nārānji, and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black Raghūn (also called black Nārbū). A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. Rūh-aftrā, 5 s. Aloewood; 1½ s. Sandalwood; 1½ s. Lādan; Iksīr, Lābān, Dhūp (a root brought from Kashmir), 3½ t. of each; 20 t. violet root; 10 t. Usāna, called in Hind. Chharpā: Press till it gets tenacious like syrup. To be made into discs with four bottles of rose-water. It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine.

5. Opatna is a scented soap: 2¾ s. Lādan; 1½ s. 5 d. Aloewood; the same quantity of Bahār-i Nārānji, and 1½ s. of its bark; 1 s. 10 d. Sandalwood; 1 s. 5 d. Sundīr-i tāfī, called in Hind Chharp; the same quantity of USNA; 3½ t. musk; 1 s. 4 t. pācha leaves; 36 t. apples; 11 t. Sučā, called in Hind Moṣh; 5 d. violet root; 1 t. 2 m. Dhūp; 1½ t. Ikanki (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurrūbād, called in Hind. kachūr (zurrumbet); 1 t. 2 m. Lābān; 106 bottles of rose-water; 5 bottles of extract of Bahār. Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose-water. When it has become less moist let it dry. 6. Aṭīmjāy, 4 d. Aloewood; 2 d. Sandalwood; 1 d. violet root; 3 d. Sundīr-i tāfī; 3 d. Duvālak; 4 t. musk of Khatū (Cathay); 2½ t. Lādan; 7½ d. Bahār-i Nārānji. Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. Kīhta, 24 t. Aloewood; 6½ Lādan, Lūbān, and Sandalwood; Iksīr and Dhūp, 2 t. of each; violet root and musk, 2 t.;

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1 This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter.
2 Gul-i surk in Persian is a pink fragrant rose that blooms in Spring.—P.] 
3 Samāq (vide samāq) is the hardest kind of marble.—P.] 
4 Orange-flower bloom.—P.] 
5 Sweet basil.—P.] 
6 Vide below the twelfth flower.
1 t. Ushna; mix with 50 t. refined sugar, and boil gently in two bottles of rose-water. It is made into discs. It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating. 8. Bukhūr: 1 s. Aloewood and Sandalwood; ¼ s. Lādan; 2 t. musk; 5 t. Ikṣīr; mix with two sorts of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. Fattāla: 5 s. Aloewood; 72 t. Sandalwood; Ikṣīr and Lādan, 20 t. of each; 5 t. Violet root; 10 t. Lubām; 3 t. refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. Bārjūt: 1 s. Aloewood; 5 t. Lādan; 2 t. musk; 2 t. Sandalwood; 1 t. Lubām; ½ t. Camphor. Then distill it like Chūsa (vide below). 11. Abīr-Ikṣīr: 3 s. Sandalwood; 26 t. Ikṣīr; 2 t. 8 m. musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. Ghasūl (a liquid soap), 35 t. Sandalwood; 17 t. Kutāl (†); 1 t. musk; 1 t. Chūsa; 2 m. Camphor; 2 m. Med. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

### A List of Perfumes and their Prices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfume</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amber i ashhab</td>
<td>1 to 3 Muhurs, per tolā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zobād (civet)</td>
<td>¾ R. to 1 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk</td>
<td>1 to 4½ R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāgnūm aloes Hind. Agar</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūsa (Distilled wood of Aloes)</td>
<td>½ R. to 1 R., per tolā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurī</td>
<td>3 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmsīni Camphor</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>1 to 3 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafrān</td>
<td>12 to 22 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafrāni-i Kamandi</td>
<td>1 to 3 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafrān (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>8 to 12 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
<td>32 to 55 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṣa-yī musk</td>
<td>3 to 12 M., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalambak (Calambic)</td>
<td>10 to 40 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlāras</td>
<td>3 to 5 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber i Lādan</td>
<td>1½ to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūfūr i Chūsa</td>
<td>1 to 2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araq i Fīna</td>
<td>1 to 3 R., per bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araq i Bād i Muskh</td>
<td>1 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosewater</td>
<td>½ to 1 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araq i Bahūr</td>
<td>1 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araq i Chambeli</td>
<td>¼ to ½ R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet-root</td>
<td>½ to 1 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 According to some MSS. Kauval.
2 Most of the following names are explained below.
A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The Senāth. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.

2. The Bholsāthi. Whitish; in the rains.

3. The Chambeli. White, yellow, and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter.


6. The Champa. Yellow. All the year; especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries.

7. Ketki. The upper leaves are green, the inner ones yellowish-white. It blooms during the hot summer.


10. The Jāhī. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.


13. The Khurā. From Leo to Libra.


17. The Singārā. It has small white petals. In the hot season.

18. The Violet. Violet. In the hot season.


20. The Kapūr bel.

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty.

2. The Gul-i Kāmar. White and also bluish. In the rains.
3. The Ja'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 Ratan-manjari. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.
6. The Kesā. In the hot season.
14. The Kadum. Outside green; in the middle yellow threads; the inside leaves white. In spring.
16. The Surjan. White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle. During the rains.
17. The Sirī khundū. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.
18. The Jāit. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
20. The Lāhit. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The Gul-i Karamī. White. It is smaller than the Chambēl, and blooms during the rains.
22. The Dhanaantar resembles the Nīlūfar. During the rains.
24. The Dupahriṇā. Bright red and white. All the year.
26. The Sudarsan. Yellow; it resembles the Nīlūfar, but is smaller.
27. The Kanglā. There are two kinds, red and white.
29. The San. 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 *sará*; 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 Simā 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 is the best, and the black is the worst; the middling sort is pistachio-coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of *ashhab*. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is the better. Next in quality is the pistachio-coloured *Ambar*; and the inferior to it the yellow kind, called *Khashkkhashi*. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bazaar-dealers will mix it with wax, *Mandal*, and *Lōdan*, etc.; but not everyone has recourse to such practices. *Mandal* is a kind of *Ambar* taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

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

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 snakes 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,¹ which like camphor so much that they seldom leave them. 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 the year or any other cosmical disturbances, camphor is found in large quantities.

Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called Ribāḥī, or Qayyūr.² 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 Ribāh near Qayyūr, 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 Bayṭār, 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 kinds it is the best, the whitest, has the thinnest layers, and is the cleanest and largest. Inferior to it is the kind called Qurqūy, which is blackish and dirty. Still inferior is the light brown kind called Kaqūkab. 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 Jūdāna or Bhīmaṇī. If kept with a few barley grains, or peppercorns,³ or surkh dāna, it will evaporate the less. The camphor which is made of Zurumbād by mixing it with other ingredients, is called Chīnī or Maggit-camphor. White Zurumbād is finely pounded, and mixed with sour cream ⁴ of cow or buffalo; on the fourth day they put fresh cream ⁴ to it, and beat it with the hand till foam appears, which they take away. With this they mix some camphor, put it into a box, and keep it for some time in the husks of grains. Or, they reduce some white stone to fine powder, mix it at the rate of ten dirhams of it with two dirhams of wax, and half a dirham of oil of Violet, or oil of Surkh Gul. The wax is first melted, and then mixed with the powder, so as to form a paste. They then put it between two stones, and make it thin and flat. When it gets cold, it looks like camphor, bits of which are mixed with it. Unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others.

4. Zabād (civet) is also called Shākh. It is a moist substance secreted during the rutting season by an animal which resembles a cat, having how-

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¹ Fac. the cheeta or hunting-leopard.—P.
² Fassur according to Marco Polo. Fassur is a state in Sumatra.—B.
³ Bāyar dealers give a few peppercorns along with every piece of camphor.
⁴ Dejā, buttermilk, not cream.—P.
ever, a larger face and mouth. The zabād which is brought from the
harbour-town of Sumatra, from the territory of Āchīn, 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 tol to eight
māshas. Some civet cats become so tame as to keep still 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 becomes afterwards one of the finest
perfumes. The perfume 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. Then they smear the zabād on the
inside of the cup, keep it at night inverted in extract of Chumber, or
Rāy-bel, or Sūrkh gol, or Gud-i Karna, and expose it at daytime 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. Gauna looks greyish white, but does not smell so well as the preceeding.
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 Āchīn. The price of this animal varies from 100 to 200 Rs.

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

7. Īl, 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 quality, Jalalī or Hindī. 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 Samandūra; the Qumārī, which is inferior to it; the Qāqūlī, next in rank; the Barri; the Qīnī; and the Chinese, also called Qismūrī, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the Jalāli, the Mūyatāqi, the Laudāqi, the Rīdāli. But of all kinds, the Mandali is the best. The Samandūra is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whiteness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in water it settles at the bottom, is not fhrons, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrat, and nowadays it grows in Chāmpānīr. It is generally brought from Achin and Dahmāra. 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. Chuwa 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 in, 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 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 ser of wood aloes will yield from two to fifteen tolās of Chuwa. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people.

* The last three names are doubtful.
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 Maqūšārī. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

10. Silārūs (stораx) is called in Arabic Mīshah. It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear is called Mīshah-yi sāyīla (liquid); the other kinds, Mīshah-yi yābīsa (dry). The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish.

11. Kalambak (cælémíc) is the wood of a tree brought from Zirbād ( )); 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.

12. The Malāqārū is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When pounded it looks reddish white.

13. Lubān (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java. Some take it to be the same as Mīshah-yi yābīsa. When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor. The Lubān which the Persians call Kundur-i daryā’ī (mastix) is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. Azfār” t-fih, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind Nakh, and in Persian Nākhan-i boğā. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on sumbul; it is found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Basrah, and Bahrayan, the latter being considered the best. It is also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer it to the other kinds. It is heated in butter; some expose it to the fire, pound it, and mix it with other perfumes.

15. Suganāh yūgalā (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 Sevī resembles the Gul-i Surkāh, but is smaller. It has in

1 Zirbād (Zirābād), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. Ghībān” t-fihāt. (The Persian translation of the Malay Bēwāk angīn, "below the wind, leeward," being the Malay name for the countries and islands to the East of Sumatra.—B.)
the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals. *Habitat*, Gujrat and the Dakhin.

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

3. The Rāybel resembles the jasmin. There are various kinds; single and double, etc. 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 lime tree; but they are somewhat smaller and softer.

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

5. The Champa 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.

6. The Ketki 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 Keera 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 perfume 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 Dakhin, Gujrat, Mälwah, and Bihār.

8. The Chalta 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 Hamsha Balbár, 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

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1 Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.
2 Sarābārī-paykar, a fir-cone?—P.
3 Lala is the name of the common red poppy, as well as of the tulip. P.
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 lime tree. It blooms in seven years.

9. The Tashib gulat 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 Bhalsari 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 Singarhar 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 Kusa looks like a Gul-i surkh; but the plant and the leaves are larger. It has five or a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in the middle. They make Anbirma and an extract from it.

13. The Padal 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 Jutli has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The Nisur looks like a simple Ray-bel, 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 Kapur bel has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower. This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe.

17. The Zafarda (saffron). In the beginning of the month of Urdibishah, 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 Aban; 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 two-thirds 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

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1 Toda a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Saba Kabul).
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 *pales* receiving two *pales* of salt. At the time of Ghāzi Khān,1 the son of (Khāji) Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven tarks of saffron flowers, of which one tark was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhī sers of clean, dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshāhī sers2 of saffron flowers they had to give two sers 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 Panpūr, which belongs to the district of Mararāj.3 The fields there extend over nearly twelve kōs. Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspūr, near Indragol, not far from Kamrāj, where the fields extend about a kōs.

18. The *Aftābī* (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 *Kanwal*. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the *shagāqīq*,4 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.

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1 He was the contemporary of Shīr Khān; vide Ahū 3-Eṣfāl’s list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book. A good biography of Ghāzi Khān may be found in the beginning of the Maʿarif-i Raḥimī, Persian MS. No. 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
2 One Kashmirī Tark = 8 sers (of Akhar) = 4 Kashm. sers; 1 Kash. sers = 7½ pales.
3 These places lie to the south of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir; vide Mararāj, the text has in 1787, Vide Sūhā Kābol, third book.
4 The *shagāqīq* is probably the *anemos*.”—P.“
20. The *Jafarī* is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger... One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter refresh 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 *Gudhal* resembles the *jūghāsū* 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 *Rotanmanjari* has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin. The tree and the leaves resemble the rāy-bel. It flowers in two years.

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

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

26. The *Nāy kesar*, like the *Gul-i surkh*, has five petals and is full of fine stamens. It resembles the walnut 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 *Hinnā* plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The *Srīkandhi* is like the *Chambeli*, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

29. The *Hindu* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Nāfaramān*. Different plants have often flowers of a different colour.

30. The *Dupahriya* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamesha-bahar*. It opens at noon. The stem is about two yards high.

31. The *Bhān champā* resembles the *Nīlāfar*, 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 *Sudarasan* resembles the *Rāy-bel*, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sūsan* flower.

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Footnotes:
1. *sa| ṣa* - *guts entangled in quarrels* - P.
2. *Tumāgha* locally survives in the sense of a hawk's hood. - P.
3. *Sūsan* is properly the flag-iris. - P.
are similar. The other three, \textit{ubal} has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad. The \textit{Ratamvāli} is round and small. Its juice, boiled and are often with vitriol and \textit{mu'asfar}, furnishes a fast 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 \textit{Sūnurd} resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the \textit{Chambeli}. It flowers in two years.

36. The \textit{Mālī} is like the \textit{Chambeli}, but smaller. In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed. It flowers in two years more or less.

37. The \textit{Karī} has three small petals. It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well. The flower is also boiled and eaten; they also make pickles of it.

38. The \textit{Jait} plant grows to a large tree; its leaves look like Tamarind leaves.

39. The \textit{Champala} is like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant are like walnut 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 \textit{Lākhī} 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 \textit{Karaveeda} resembles the \textit{Jāhī} flower.

42. The \textit{Dhanantar} resembles the \textit{Nilūfar}, and looks very well. It is a creeper.

43. The \textit{Siras} flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a \textit{tumāqha}. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the \textit{Pipal} and \textit{Bar} trees. The tree grows very large; its wood is used in building. Within the stem the wood is black, and resists the stroke of the axe.

44. The \textit{Kanglā}, has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The \textit{San} (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the \textit{Chinār}. 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 \textit{Pat-sān}. It makes a very soft rope.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} Mu'asfar is perhaps bastard saffron.—P.\textsuperscript{2} Bar: the banyan tree.—P.\textsuperscript{3} Chinār: the plane tree.—P.}
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 Yásman-i kalábûd, the Sūsan, the Rayhân, the Raśnâ, the ZÊbâ, the Shagâyiq, the Tâj-i khurâs, the Qalâha, the Nâfarmân, the Khâtìm, etc. 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 Bâbab, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained; and travellers nowadays 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, etc., 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 bârs (or loads) (5 surkh = 1 mâsha; 16 mâshas = 1 karg; 4 kargs = 1 pal; 100 pals = 1 tula; 20 tulás = 1 bâr); i.e., according to the weights now in use, 96 mans. The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two ghvâris (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 jûjans. 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 Irânî, 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 Lâhâr, Ágra, Fatâhpûr, Ahmâdâbâd, Gujût, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

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*Aspell Ṣâfî, Ṣâfî, Ṣâfāyân, Ṣâfāyân. — P.]
[BAlso spelt Ṣâfî, Ṣâfî, Ṣâfâyân. — P.]
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 Ghiyās-i Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhrs, 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.\footnote{1} His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate the demand.

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

1. The Takanchiga 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.\footnote{2} It requires seven yards and seven girîhs,\footnote{3} and five girîhs 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 misqâl of silk is required.

2. The peshwâz (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front. It is sometimes made without strings.

\footnote{1} Or as we would say, the prices have become less by \textit{66}\% and even \textit{76} per cent.
\footnote{2} The coats used nowadays both by Hindus and Muhammadans resemble in shape our dressing gowns (Germ. Schlafrock), but fitting tight where the lower ribs are. There the coat is tied; the Muhammadans make the tie on the left, and the Hindus on the right side. In the Eastern parts of Bengal, many Muhammadans adopt the old Hindu fashion of wearing a simple unsewn piece of muslin (chidur).
\footnote{3} It is not stated in A\textsuperscript*4 how many girîhs the tailor's goz, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 girîhs = 1 goz, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, see the 87th and 88th A\textsuperscript*418 of this book. The Persian word girîh is pronounced in India girak.
3. The Dūdāhi (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four girhās for the outside, six yards lining, four girhās for the binding, nine girhās for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One mīqāl of silk is required.

4. The Shāh-ajīda (or the royal stitch coat) is also called Shāsi-khāt (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 Sūzānī requires a quarter of a ser of cotton and two dāms of silk. If sewed with baḵšīya ¹ stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with ajīda stitches costs four rupees.

6. The Qalāmānī requires $\frac{3}{4}$ s. cotton, and one dām silk. Cost of making, two rupees.

7. The Qaḇā, which is at present generally called jāma-yi pumba-dār, 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 qaḇā, and contains more wadding. In Hindustan it takes the place of a fur-coat. It requires seven gan of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihā binding, nine for bordering, 2½ s. cotton, 3 m. silk. Price, from one-half to one and one-half rupees.

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

10. The Fargul resembles the yāpanjī,² but is more comfortable and becoming. It was brought from Europe,³ but everyone nowadays wears it. They make it of various stuffs. It requires 9 gan 6½ girih stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 rupees.

¹ Baḵšīya, in Hind. baḵšīyā, corresponds to what ladies call backstitching. Ajīda is the buttonhole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which baḵšīya and ajīda now have. Sūzānī, 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, etc., on stuffs, the leaves lying pretty loosely on the cloth; hence we often find sūzānī work in rugs, small carpets, etc. The rugs themselves are also called sūzānī. A term sometimes used in dictionaries as a synonym for sūzānī is chākī; but this is what we call white embroidery.

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

³ The etymology of the word farqul is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, nowadays current in India, are Portuguese; as, sāla, a petticoat; fita, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are padri, clergyman; girīd, a church, Port. igreja; kōhī, cabbage, Port. couve; chāhī, a key, Port. chave.

Abū l-Fazl’s explanation (see my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vallée II, p. 665a.
11. The Chakman is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Dūrā, wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 gaz. stuff, 5 girīh binding, and 2 m. silk. The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 R.; of wool, 1 1/2 R.; of wax cloth, 1 1/2 R.

12. The Shalwār (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 gaz 11 girīh cloth, 6 girīh for the hem through which the string runs, 3 gaz 5 girīh lining, 1 1/4 m. silk, 1/3 s. cotton. Price, from 1/4 to 1/2 rupee.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chiras, favas, and dupattas, 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 woollen stuffs, especially shawls; and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness, that his Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many.

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms. Instead of jāma (coat), he says sarbūtarī, i.e., covering the whole body; for isar (drawers), he says yār-pirhān (the companion of the coat); for nīmtana (a jacket), tanzeb; for fauta, patgāt; for burqa (a veil), chitrāgupta; for kulāh (a cap), sis sখ; for mūg-bāf (a hair ribbon), keskhān; for pathā (a cloth for the loins), kateb; for shāl (shawl), parmarm; for , , , , parmarm; for kapārdhār, a Tibetan stuff, kapārnur; for pāy-afzār (shoes), charndhār; and similarly for other names.

1 As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Voller's form charpa.
2 Stuffs of different shapes used for making turbans.
3 In allusion to the practice of Sāfī, who only wear garments made of wool (sāf). Abū 'l-Fāzl often tries to represent Akbar as a Sāfī 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 ness in praise has often been brought against Abū 'l-Fāzl, though it would more appropriately lie against Fayzī, 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 eulogiums with self-complacency.
4 The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar's predilection for Hindu terms.
5 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banaras MS. has pardak Firāng, or European Pardak (?).
ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, ETC.

His Majesty improved this department in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the Tāz 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 Alchas, also called Tarkhārs, 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 Zardozī, Kalābatūn, Kashāda, Qalghā, Bāndkhān, Chkit, Aloha, Parzdār, 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 nowadays called mist, 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 Urnasd day (first day) of the month of Farwardin, provided they be of a good quality, have a higher rank assigned to them than pieces arriving on other days; and if pieces are equal in value, their precedence or otherwise, is determined by the character of the day of their entry; and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank; and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour. The following is the order of colours: tāz, safidalcha, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, mauve like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the Ratanmunjānī.

1 Alecha, or Alācha, any kind of warrad (mukattāt) stuff. Tarkhār means cordon.
2 Zardozī, Kalābatūn (Forbes, kalabatūn), Kashāda, Qalghā, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; Bāndkhān, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; Chkit is our Chkhit, which is derived from Chkit. Parzdār are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush like.
3 Akbhar, like the Parsees, bessed 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 Aryan. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.
flower, coloured like the Kāsā flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, ... bhojpata coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the galghah flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like China-ware, violet, bright pink, mangoe coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the Pākhàh. 2

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 Lāhor also there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl, called māyān, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for chirãs (turbans), futas (loin bands), etc.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

**A. Gold stuffs.**

| Brocaded velvet, from Yezd. 2 per piece | 15 to 150 M. |
| Do. from Europe, do. | 10 to 70 M. |
| Do. from Gujrat, do. | 10 to 50 M. |
| Do. from Kāshān, do. | 10 to 40 M. |
| Do. from Hirāt, do. | 10 to 40 M. |
| Do. from Lāhor, do. | 10 to 40 M. |
| Do. from Barakah (1), do. | 3 to 70 M. |
| Mutabbaq, do. 4 | 2 to 70 M. |
| Mīlak, do. | 2 to 70 M. |
| Brocade, from Gujrat, do. | 4 to 60 M. |
| Tās 5 Brocade, from do. do. | 1 to 35 M. |

1 The text contains two doubtful words. The next word bhojpata is the back of a tree used for making ashes tubes.

2 Pākhàh is the Common Ring-dove of India, the Turia riatia of Jordan.—P. J.

3 Yezd is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khorūsān. Kāshān lies in Irāq-i Ājam, north of Isfahān. The asses of Khāsān are wiser than the men of Isfahān, which latter town is for Persia what Brest is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, the kingdom of Fife for Scotland, or the town of Schilda for Germany, or Bihār for India—the home of fools. During the time of Moguls, the Sایids of Bārbār enjoyed a similar notoriety.

4 Mutabbaq, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from Khaṭīk, and Mīlak from Nāushāh, in Turkestan. (Ghipāz 1-5-09.)

5 Tās means generally brocade; Dāštak is a kind of brocaded silk; Mughayyush is silk with stripes of silver—the Ghipāz says that Mughayyush comes from the Hind, i.e., hair to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arâbicized form of the Hind word as garandaf, a cloak, for the Hind, kurāpāl; Orifal, a kind of muslin for trîpâl, as it consists of three fruits, etc. Mashtakar is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; Dēdā is coloured silk; Kāhā, moirée antique; Khāz is filosia-silk. For tufṣela (vide Freytag III, p. 333), we also find tufṣela.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dārā-i-bāf, from Gujrāt</td>
<td>2 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūqayyāsh, do.</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirvānī Brocaded, do.</td>
<td>6 to 17 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushahjar, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehā silk, do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārā, do.</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Chinese Tartary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navār, from do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khazz silk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṣfūla (a stuff from Mecca)</td>
<td>from 15 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtahevūr, from Gujrāt</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīndīl</td>
<td>1 to 14 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīra (for turbans)</td>
<td>½ to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupattā, do.</td>
<td>9 to 8 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fotās (join bands)</td>
<td>¼ to 12 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpanes</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Text does not give the prices.

**B. Silks, etc., plain.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velvet from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Kāshān, per piece</td>
<td>2 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Mashhad, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Hīrat, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. Khāfī, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhūr, do.</td>
<td>2 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Gujrāt, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qāṣṣa-yī i Pūrābī,1 do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tājā-bāf, per piece</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārā-i-bāf, do.</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutabbag, do.</td>
<td>1 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirvānī, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 10 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīlāk, do.</td>
<td>1 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānhkāb, from Kābul and Persia, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavār (?), do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāri (?), do.</td>
<td>4 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushahjar, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Yazd, per piece</td>
<td>1 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A kind of velvet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Hirāt, per piece</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārā, per yard</td>
<td>1 R. to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siihrang, per piece</td>
<td>1 R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qulā, 2 do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālān, 3 from Europe, per yard</td>
<td>1/2 to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāfta, 4 do.</td>
<td>1/4 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anbari, do.</td>
<td>4 d. to 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārā, do.</td>
<td>1/8 R. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrāpūrī, per piece</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qubāb, do.</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ūdh bandpūrī, do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 1 1/2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāh, per yard</td>
<td>1/8 to 1/4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīsīr, per piece</td>
<td>1/2 to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sār, per yard</td>
<td>1/8 to 1/4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tassar, 5 per piece</td>
<td>1/4 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain Kurtawār Satin, per yard</td>
<td>1/8 to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūparīrūr, formerly called Kapūrdhūr, do.</td>
<td>1/8 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ache, do.</td>
<td>7 to 12 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafīla, per piece</td>
<td>3 R. to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khās, per piece</td>
<td>2 R. to 9 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chastār, do.</td>
<td>4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmal, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tausukh, do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrī Sīf, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangājāl, do.</td>
<td>4 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhirun, do.</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohan, do.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhona, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atān, do.</td>
<td>5 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasūmī, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāfta, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmidī, do.</td>
<td>1/2 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Changing silk.  
2 A stuff made of silk and wool.  
3 Generally translated by lines. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is Muslin.  
4 Properly, woven; hence taffeta.  
5 Nowadays chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; vulgo, tessa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panchtoliya, per piece</td>
<td>1 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhola, do.</td>
<td>1/4 to 2 1/2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālū, per piece</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorvā, per piece</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahādur Shāhī, do.</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garba Sūttī, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shōla, from the Dakhin, do.</td>
<td>1/2 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīhrkul, do.</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīndīl, do.</td>
<td>1/4 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarband, do.</td>
<td>1/2 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupatta, do.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katāncha, do.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fota, do.</td>
<td>1/4 to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goshpech, do.</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhit, per yard</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gassina, per piece</td>
<td>1/4 to 1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silāhāp, per yard</td>
<td>2 to 4 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. Woollen stuffs.**

Scarlet Brocade, from Turkey, Europe, and Portugal,

per yard ........................................ 2 1/4 R. to 4 M.

Do, from Nāgor and Lāhor, per piece ........ 2 R. to 1 M.

Sūf-i murabbā, do. ........................... 4 to 15 M.

Sūfī . . . . 2 do. ............................. 3 R. to 14 M.

Parmnarm, do. ................................ 2 R. to 20 M.

Chōra-ye-Parmnarm, do. ....................... 2 R. to 25 M.

Fota, do. ........................................ 1/4 to 3 M.

Jāmāi-čā Parmnarm, do. ....................... 1/4 to 4 M.

Goshpech, do. ................................ 1 1/2 R. to 15 M.

Sarpech, do. .................................. 1/4 to 4 M.

Aghrī, do. ...................................... 7 R. to 2 1/2 M.

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1. The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (vide Hadīnī II. p. 290, l. 2 from below; p. 328, l. 7) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abū Fazl 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 nowadays 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 Muhammadanas in this country, called in Hindī, topi, and in Persian takhtījā (vide Bahār-i Āṣa) 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.
Parmgarm, per piece . 3 R. to 2½ M.
Katūs, do. . 2½ R. to 10 M.
Phūk, do. . 2½ to 15 R.
Durman, do. . 2 R. to 4 M.
Patū, do. . 1 to 10 R.
Rakkar, do. . 2 R. to 1 M.
Migri, do. . 5 to 50 R.
Burd-i Yamanī, do. . 5 to 35 R.
Mānji (?) namad, do. . 2 R. to 1 M.
Kawsak (?) namad, do. . 2 R. to 1 M.
Taklaw namad, from Kābul and Persia .
Do., country made, do. . 1½ to 5 R.
Loṭi, do. . 14 d. to 4 R.
Blankets, do. . 10 d. to 2 R.
Kashmirian Caps, do. . 2 d. to 1 R.

* The price is not given in the text.

Āṭān 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 white body, 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 qābil, i.e. capable of being acted upon, and muqtaza, i.e. subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat.

Āṭān 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 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 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

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1 Kâliqī (from khalīd) referring to states of mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, etc. These, Abû 'l Fârîd says, a painter may succeed in representing, but the power of writing is greater.

2 The fabulous cup of King Jamshed, which revealed the secrets of the seven heavens.

3 Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Hâfiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bâtabâk. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

4 The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.
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 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\(^5\) we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by qala\(^5\), 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\(^6\), or the qala\(^6\), of any hard substances. Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances; it may be a 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 pianos, two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other. Some, as Abū Ḍalī Ṣīnā, call this modifying element (ṣārīz) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (maṣṭūrīz). 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 Hindī, so and so many\(^1\) 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 Ḥamzah as one with the alif. The reason for writing an alif and a lām (2) separately as the end of the single letters in the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a sākin letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter lām is preferred\(^2\) as an example is because the letter lām is the

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1 Abū Ḍalī Ṣīnā has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because \(\text{ذ، س، ی} \) have the same fundamental sign.
2 Or rather, the alif was preferred to the sākin, or yā, because these two letters may be either sākin or mutahārrik. But this custom has become established to call the alif, when mutahārrik, hāmor; and to call the alif, when sākin, merely alif. \(\xi\) Abū Ḍalī Ṣīnā, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled Rāšīd evi \(\xi\) Abū Ḍalī Ṣīnā, which is read all over India, says that the lām-alif has the meaning of not.
middle letter of the word alif, and the letter alif the middle letter of the word lām.

The vowel-signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink; thus a red dot placed over a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an ʼa; a red dot in front of the letter signified a ʼa; and a red dot below a letter an ʼi. It was Khalīl ibn-i Aḥmad,1 the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel-signs as they are now in use.

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste; hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian, Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Māqṣūlī, Kūfī, Kashmirī, Abyssinian, Rayḥānī, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, Rūḥānī, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ādam-i Hafthazārī; but some mention Idrīs2 as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the Māqṣūlī character. According to several statements, the Kūfī character was derived by the Khalīfah ʼAlī from the Māqṣūlī.

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-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the Māqṣūlī has no curved lines at all; hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character.

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

In Iran and Tūrān, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

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1. He is said to have been born A.H. 100, and died at Basrah, 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, etc.

2. Adam is called Hafthazārī, because the number of inhabitants on earth at his death had reached the number seven thousand. A better explanation is given by Badkoni (II, p. 237, l. 10), who puts the creation of Ādam seven thousand years before his time. Fde the first 4th of the Third Book.

3. Idrīs, or Enoch.
This page contains a passage in English, discussing the history and characteristics of the Arabic alphabet, particularly its characters and their names. The text mentions famous copyists and their works, and references other historical figures and events. The page also includes footnotes providing additional context and information.
the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the Taṣlīq very much.

The eighth character which I have to mention is the Nastaṣlīq; it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mir ʿAlī of Tabrīz, a contemporary of Timūr, derived it from the Naskh and the Taṣlīq; but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the Nastaṣlīq character written before Timūr’s time. Of Mir ʿAlī’s pupils, I may mention two: 1 Mawlānā Jaʿfar of Tabrīz, and Mawlānā Azgar; and of other calligraphists in Taṣlīq, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Awarāh (near Hirāt), an excellent writer; Mawlānā Bārī of Hirāt; and Mawlānā Sultān ʿAlī 2 of Mashhad, who surpasses them all. He imitated the writing of Mawlānā Azgar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: Sultān Muḥammad-i Khandān; 3 Sultān Muḥammad Nūr; Mawlānā ʿAlī 4 of Hirāt; Mawlānā Zayn 5 of Mashhad; Mawlānā Abdi of Mashhad; Muḥammad Qāsim Shāhī 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 Nastaṣlīq; as Mawlānā Sultān ʿAlī of Qāyin; 6 Mawlānā Sultān ʿAlī of Mashhad; 7 Mawlānā Hīrānī; 8 and after them the illustrious Mawlānā Mir ʿAlī, 9 the pupil, as it appears, of Mawlānā Zayn 10 of Mashhad. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultān ʿAlī of Mashhad. The new method, which he established, is a proof of his genius; he has left many masterpieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Mawlānā. He said, “I also have brought writing to perfection; but yet, his method has a peculiar charm."

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1. The Mir ʿAlī mentions a third, immediate pupil of Mir ʿAlī, Mawlānā Ḥusayn Kāshānī, and relates that he put Mir ʿAlī’s name to his own writings, without asking offence to his master.
2. The Maḥtab-i ʿAlī 4 of Mashhad is called also a friend of Amir ʿAlī Sher, and died A.H. 910, during the reign of Ḥusayn Mirdas, mentioned in the fourth note.
3. The Maḥtab-i ʿAlī 4 of Hirāt was called Khandān, as he was always hungry. He was a friend of Amir ʿAlī his collector, and died A.H. 915.
4. In the Maḥtab-i ʿAlī 4 of Mashhad, the ʿAlī was Mawlānā Sultān ʿAlī of Mashhad, who is called also a friend of Amir ʿAlī Sher. He died A.H. 921.
5. Mawlānā Mir ʿAlī 4 of Hirāt, died A.H. 924. As a poet he is often mentioned together with Mir Kṣam, son of Mir Ḥusayn of Dīlāh, and Bayzām Kān, Jīrān’s Kāshānī, as a master of Ḍaṭṭāq poetry. Ḍaṭṭāq, or entering, is the skillful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.
The following caligraphists are likewise well-known: Sūfī Nasr Ḫālū, also called Ṣadr-dī Ṭarāqī; Arquīn; Ṣābū Ḫālū; Khwāja Ṣābū Ḫālū-i Ṣayyāfī; Ḥāji Muḥammad; Mawlānā Ṣābū Ḫālū-i ʿAshūpāz; Mawlānā Muḥīʾ of Shīrāz; Mūqir d-Dīn-i Ṭanūrī; Shams d-Dīn-i Ḫaṭṭāʾī; Ṣābū Ṣe-Raḥīm-i Ḫalūlī (l); Ṣābū Ḫaṭṭāʾ; Mawlānā Jaḡār of Ṭabriz; Mawlānā Shāh of Mashhad; Mawlānā Maṭrūf 4 of Baghdād; Mawlānā Shams d-Dīn Bāyūsāngūr; Mūṣīn d-Dīn of Farāḥ; Ṣābū Ḫaṭṭāʾ of Sabzvar; Mawlānā Ṣīmāt Ḫālū-i Bawwāb; Khwāja-i Muḥīʾ-i Marwārī; the inventor of variegated papers and sand for strewing on the paper: Sultān Ṣādāt, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh; Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥakim Ḥāfīz; Mawlānā Maḥmūd Siyārū; Mawlānā Ṣanāʾī 5 d-Dīn Husayn; Mawlānā Ṣīr-i Šīrāzī; Khwāja Muḥammad Husayn Mūsāī; and Ashraf Khān, 6

1 He lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (1404-47).
2 A contemporary and rival of the great poet Ṣalmān of Sāwāh (died 789). The name Maṭrūf appears to have been common in Baghdād since the times of the famous saint Maṭrūf of Kārkh (a part of Baghdād).
3 The Maṭrūf and the Miṭlāf also mention Mīlā Ṣabāʾi Bākī, and Ṣayyīd Hāfīz.
4 According to the Maṭrūf and several M.S., Ṣīmāt is by mistake. Mawlānā Ṣābū Ḫaṭṭāʾ and the Mūsāī of Sultān Ṣādāt.
5 Mawlānā Darwīsh Muḥammad was a friend of the famous Amir Ṣalīḥ Sher, vizier of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā, king of Khorāsān (A.D. 1470 to 1505), and patron of the poet Ḫaṭṭāʾ. Mawlānā Darwīsh entered afterwards the service of Šāh-Šīrūs Safavī, king of Persia (A.D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the he may be found in the Maṭrūf-i Ḫāṣṣā, p. 751.
6 Khwāja Ḫaṭṭāʾ, the contemporary and successful rival of the pr caligraphist. He was Private Secretary to Sultān Husayn Mīrzā.
7 This is the title of Muḥammad Ḳāṭḥ, a Sāyīd from Mashhad—see to the Ṣabzvar-i Ḳāṭḥ, from Ḳārāshāh. He served Ḫumayn as Mīr Ṣabīr and Mīr Ṣādūq. He accompanied Tādī Beg on his retreat from Dīl imprisoned by Bāyyān, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Ḳāṭḥ in 1457 when Bāyyān had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the 1 Ashraf Khān, and served under Ṣūṣī Ḳhān in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Ḳāṭḥ’s reign, A.H. 973. In Ṣābū Ḫaṭṭāʾ’s list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khān is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Bāyyān mentions him the contemporaneous poets. Ṣābū Ḫaṭṭāʾ’s son, was, A.D. 1596, a commander of five hundred.
In conclusion, I may mention: Shāh Māhmūd 3 of Nishāpūr; Māhmūd Isā-ḥaq; Shamsu'd-Dīn of Kirmān; Mawlānā Jamshed, the riddle-writer; Sultān Husayn of Khujand; Mawlānā ʿAyyshī; ʿCiyāṣu'd-Dīn, the gilder; Mawlānā ʿAbduṣ-Samad; Mawlānā Malik; Mawlānā ʿAbdu'l-Karīm; Mawlānā ʿAbdu'r-Rahmīn of Khvārīzma; Mawlānā Shāykh Muhammad; Mawlānā Shāh Māhmūd-i Zarrīṅqalam (or gold pen); Mawlānā Mūḥammad Husayn 4 of Tabriz; Mawlānā Hasan ʿAlī of Mashhad; Mīr Muṣīzī of Kāshān; Mīrza Ibrāhīm of Iṣfahān; and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art.

His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists. ʿNastaʿliq 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 Mūḥammad Ḥusayn 5 of Kashmir. He has been honoured with the title of Zarrīṅqalam, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlānā ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzīz; his maddāt and dawāṭr 6 show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr ʿAlī. Of other renowned calligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mawlānā Bāqīr, the son of the illustrious Mullā Mīr Allī; Mūḥammad Amin of Mashhad; Mīr Husayn-i Kulānkt; Mawlānā ʿAbdu'l-Hay; Mawlānā Daurī; 7 Mawlānā ʿAbdu'r-Rahmīn; Mīr ʿAbdu'llah; Nizāmī of Qazwīn; ʿAlī Chaman of Kashmir; Nūrī ʿllah Qāsim Arslān.

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

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3 According to the Ṣafarī and the Mirsāt, Shāh Mūḥammad of Nishāpūr. Both mention another calligraphist, Mīr Ṣafīd-i Ahmad of Mashhad.
4 He was the teacher of the celebrated calligraphist ʿJāmād, whose biography will be found in the Mirsāt. Vide also the preface of Dr. Spranger's Gulistan.
5 He died A.H. 1020, six years after Akbar's death.
6 By Maddāt (extensions), calligraphists mean letters like ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ. By dawāṭr, letters like ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ.
7 Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals; call the spaces between them ʿa, ʿb, ʿc, of which ʿa is the highest. Every letter which fills the space ʿb is called a shāşık; as ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ. The diacritical points are immaterial. Every line above ʿb is called a marzūs; every line below ʿb, i.e., in ʿa, a dāmūs. Thus ʿ consists of a shāşık and a marzūs; ʾ of a shāşık and a dāmūs. The knob of a ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ, is called kallā. Thus ʿ is a Maddā, consisting of a kallā, and a dāmūs; ʾ also.
8 In Grammar the word marzūs means the same as shāşık in calligraphy; thus ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ, consist of a marzūs, and a shāşık. Thus, ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ, are called hāmmah. By ʿśād, calligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or filling a written letter with ink (Hind. ṣapār bharat), or erasing (Hind. ṣapār).
9 His name is Sulīmān Ḍabīd; he was born at Hind. Daurī is his poetical name. Vidi Bedāl's list of poets (vol. iii of the Bibl. Indica). Akbar bestowed on him the title of Kāłīk-i Mulk, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Kīrāwān Mūḥammad Husayn, an Akhūd (vide Badāmī, ii, p. 294, where for Ibrāhīm, in the Tarjīm, read Barāhīm).
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, Hindi, 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 reader daily stops, 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 Akhlaq-i Naṣiri, the Kāmiyā-yi Saʿādat, the Qābaṣnāma, the works of Shāraf al-Munayr (vide p. 50), the Gulistān, the Hadiqa of Ḥakim Samā, the Masnawi of Maṣnawi, the Jāmi-i Jam, the Bustān, the Sharḥ al-Nāmā, the collected Masnawis of Shaykh Nizāmī, the works of Khwārazm and Mawlānā Jāmī, the Divān of Khāqānī, Anwār, 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 Zīch-i Jadid-i Mirzā (vide 3rd book, 6th in 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amir Fathullah Shah al-Shīrāz (vide p. 34), and also the Kishnjoshi, the Gangādhar, the Molehā Mahānand, from Hindi (Sanskrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahābhārata which belongs to the ancient books of Hindūstan has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqib Khan, Mawlānā Abd al-Qādir of Badāin, and Shaykh Sultan of

1 Observe that the Arabic books are placed last. (But see p. 184, line 4.—R.)
2 Regarding this renowned man, vide Abū l-Fazl's list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 161.
3 Nulla. Abd al-Qādir, poetically styled Qādirī, was born A.H. 947 (or 949) at Badāin, a town near Behlul. He was thus two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaykh Mūsā Shāh, and was a pupil of the Saint Bāshār of Samhāl. Abd al-Qādir, or Badāinī, 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 Ma'ārif-i Ṭabā'ī. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court Poet for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jalāl Khān Qārki (vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 2151). For forty years Badāinī lived in company with Shaykh Mūsārak, and Fazl and Abū l-Fazl, the Shaykh's sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badāinī looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the Rūmāqis (Baddāsi,
Thanesar. The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses; His Majesty calls this ancient history Razmnama, the book of Wars. The same learned men translated also into Persian the Ramayana, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rama Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Haji Ibrahim of Sarhind translated into Persian the Athbaran 2 which, according to the Hindi, is one of

II. pp. 336, 360, from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand slokas 150 Ashrafis and 10,000 Tanga abs; and parts of the Mahabharat: extracts from the History of Rashid; and the Baqer-i-Asmar, a work on the Hadis. A copy of another of his works, entitled Nashir-e-Rashid, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled Musta Abut i-Tawarihi, is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the Akbarname or the Tabaqat-i Akbar or the Mubai-i-Rahim. It is especially of value for the religious views of the emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time. The History ends with the beginning of A.H. 1004, or eleven years before Akbar's death, and we may conclude that Badami died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the Mir-i-Arbur i-Tabaqat, it was made public during the reign of Jahangir, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badami's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Turuk-i Jahangiri unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badami's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahangir's reign, in which the Mubai-i-Rahim was written, whose author complained of the want of a history besides the Tabaqat and the Akbarname.

In point of style, Badami is much inferior to Bakhtawar Khan (Mir-e-Qalam-Adab) and Muhammad Kajini (the Qalam-gir Nama), but somewhat superior to his friend Mirza Nhab-i-Dulja Ahmad of Hirat, author of the Tabaqat, and to Qabo I. Hamid of Lahor, author of the Fazlakhanma.

Quoted by Qadir of Badami must not be confounded with Maviana Qadir, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

1 Vide Badami II., p. 278: and for Haji Ibrahim, iii., p. 139. [ii. p. 278.—B.]

2 "In this year (A.H. 885, or A.D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaykh Bhawan, had come from the Dakhin and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the Athbaran. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islam. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaykh Bhawan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaykh Faysal, and then Haji Ibrahim, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the Athbaran there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter स, and resembles very much our ला ताहि-हि ताहि. Besides, I found that a Hindi, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindus bury the dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaykh used to (defeat) other Brahmins in argument; and they had in fact led him to embrace Islam. Let us praise God for his conversion!" Badami, ii., p. 212.

The translation of the Mahabharat was not quite a failure. "For two nights His Majesty himself translated some passages of the Mahabharat, and told Naqbi Khan to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqbi Khan; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless abstractions—enough to confound the most learned—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me a Harimshwar and a turnip-eater, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqbi Khan and Mullâ Sher, and another part by Sultan Haji of Thanesar; then Shaykh Faysal was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Haji wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred just together, closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of flies on the
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, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Fayz-i Fayzī. At the command of His Majesty, Muḥammad Khān of Gujrat translated into Persian the Tajuk, a well-known work on Astronomy. The Memoirs of Bābar, the Conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirzā ʿAbd al-Rahmān Khān, the present Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmīrī into Persian by Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād. The Muṣ̱jam al-Buddān, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullah Ḥamad of Thathah, Qāsim Beg, Shaykh Munawwar, and others. The Haribote, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlānā Shere (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 Damnah, and published it under the title of ʿAyār Dānīsh. The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naṣr-Allah-i Mustawfi and Mawlānā Ḥusayn-i Wāviz has translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words. The Hindī story of the love of Nal and Daman, which melts the hearts of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my

original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from Court, and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue nowadays the fight between Panjāb and the Kurdu. 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 Islam; for He allows men to return to Him in repentance! This Rassānāma was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and ʿAbd al-Fazl wrote an introduction to it of about two fas. etc." Badshahi, ii, p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen fas (or 24) is among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One fas (or 24) = sixteen pages quarto, or two sheets.

1 This work has been printed. Abū ʿAbd al-Fazl's words Hindī veil are an allusion to Lilawati's sex.


3 During this year (A.H. 999, or A.D. 1590-1), I received the order from His Majesty to re-write in an easy style, the History of Kashmir, which Mullah Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, 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." Badshahi, ii, p. 274.

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

5 For ʿAyār-i Dānīsh. Such abbreviations are common in titles.
brother Shaykh Fazī-i Fayzā, in the masnavī metre of the Layl Majnūn, and is now everywhere known under the title of Na'īl Damān.¹

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. Naqīb Khān, and several others, commenced this history. A very large portion was subsequently added by Mullā Abīmad of Thathah, and the whole concluded by Jaṣur Beg-i Āsaf Khān. The introduction is composed by me. The work has the title of Tārīkh-i Alfi,² the History of a thousand years.

The Art of Painting.

Drawing the likeness of anything is called taṣwīr. 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 Dārōghas 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 masterpieces, worthy of a Bihād,³ 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, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even immanate

¹ Fayzā’s Na’īl Damān (for Na’īl Damān contains about 4,200 verses, and was composed, A.H. 1008, in the short space of five months). It was presented to Akbar with a few asharafs as azaq. It was put among the set of books read at Court, and Naqīb Khān was appointed to read it out to His Majesty. It is, indeed, a masnavī, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khusraw of Dīhilī, has composed.” Bādi’i, ii, p. 296.

² In A.H. 1560, A.D. 1561-2, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadians that Iṣlām and the world were approaching their end. Various men argued, pretending to be Iṣlām Maḥfīz, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Bādi’i’s belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar’s disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the Dīn-i Iṣlāḥ. The Tārīkh-i Alfi was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

³ The copy of the Tārīkh-i Alfi in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal (No. 19) contains no preface, commences with the events subsequent to the death of the Prophet (8th June, 632), and ends abruptly with the reign of Umar ibn-煊 Aḥmad-Maḥīk (A.H. 99, or A.D. 717-18). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, not from the Hijrah. For further particulars regarding this book, vide Bādi’i, ii, p. 317.

⁴ Bihād was a famous painter, who lived at the court of Shāh Ismā‘īl-i Safawī of Persia.” Sīrdjollughāt.
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 muddling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus;¹ their pictures surpass our conception 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 ʿAli of Tabriz.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. Khwāja ʿAbd-ʿṢamad, styled Shīrīngulam, or sweet pen. He comes from Shīrāz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee² 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 Khwāja’s pupils became masters.

3. Daswanth. He is the son of a palkie-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of 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 Khwāja. 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 masterpieces.

4. Basāwan. 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 Daswanth.

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Kesū, Lāl, Mukund, Mushkīn, Farrukh the Qalmāq (Calmuck), Mādhū,⁴ Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tāru, Sāwlī, Haribās, Rām. 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

¹ Compare with Abū ’l-Fazl’s opinion, Elphinstone’s History of India, second edition, p. 174.
² Better known as a poet under the name of Jidā. See the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the Story of Amir Hamzah, mentioned on the next page.
³ He was a Čahāravārk. Vide the list of grandees in the second book, No. 266.
⁴ Mentioned in the Ma’asir-i Rakhīm (p. 753); as in the service of ʿAbd-ʿṢamad Khān Khānān, Akbar’s commander-in-chief.
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 masterpieces 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 Chingiznâma, the Zafarnâma, this book, the Razmâmâ, the Ramâyan, the Nal Daman, the Kalilah Dammah, the 'A'â-yâr Dânîsh, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses 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 Ma'nâ-sâbîrâs, A-hâdîs, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1,200 to 600 dâms.

At 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 bazars.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords (khaṣa 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 khaṣa swords (in consequence of presents, etc.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the kotal swords. There are also twelve yakbandīs (!), the turn of every one of which recurs after one week. Of Jāmdhars and Khaṇeṣas, 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 barchhas are required monthly. Of eighty-six Māṣh, hādi bows, Bhādāyan 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 Bār-i Ām, or Levee, the sons of the Amirs, and other Manṣulāris and Ahadis, carry the Qur in their hands and on their shoulders, i.e., every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, pyārī war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several qatār of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels they use Bactrian camels, etc., for that purpose. At court receptions, the Amirs and other people stand opposite the Qur, ready for any service; and on the march they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, nappāras, flags, the hāndhās, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the Qur, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mīrṣakhshis. 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 I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word yakbandī is not in the dictionaries.
2 The text has an unintelligible sentence.
3 Five camels are called qātār, in Hind. qatār. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swords (slightly bent)</td>
<td>£.5 to 15 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khādā (straight swords)</td>
<td>1 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gneśī sačā (a sword in a walking stick)</td>
<td>2 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamādhār (a broad dagger)</td>
<td>£.5 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanjar</td>
<td>£.5 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāpwa</td>
<td>£.5 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jām khāk</td>
<td>£.5 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāk</td>
<td>£.5 to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhanbwa</td>
<td>£.5 to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katāra</td>
<td>£.5 to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsīnk moth</td>
<td>£.5 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamān (bow)</td>
<td>£.5 to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takhsī kamān</td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārak</td>
<td>£.5 to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrows, per bundle</td>
<td>£.5 to 30 R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quivers</td>
<td>£.5 to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudi</td>
<td>£.5 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirbardār (arrow drawers)</td>
<td>£.5 to 2½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paikānḵash (do.)</td>
<td>£.5 to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesa (a lance)</td>
<td>£.5 R. to 6 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barucha</td>
<td>£.5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāk</td>
<td>£.5 to 1½ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sainthī</td>
<td>£.5 to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selara</td>
<td>10 d. to £.5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurz (a war club)</td>
<td>£.5 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shashpar (do.)</td>
<td>£.5 R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kestan (1)</td>
<td>1 to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabar (a war axe)</td>
<td>£.5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piyāzī (a club)</td>
<td>£.5 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žaḡhnōl (a pointed axe)</td>
<td>£.5 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakar-basela</td>
<td>£.5 to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabar žaḡhnōl</td>
<td>£.5 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranāgāla</td>
<td>£.5 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārd (a knife)</td>
<td>£.5 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gneśī kārd</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quanchī kārd</td>
<td>3 R. to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāqū (a clasp knife)</td>
<td>£.5 to 3½ R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be pūrdār, an arrow with a feather at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.
2 This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. Vide my text edition, 21, 1, 1. The dictionaries give no information.
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 nowadays guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 maans; 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. Dāroghas 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 pieces, and properly put together again 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 Gaunjälś. Guns which a single man may carry are called Narjälś.

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each Sāba 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 Gaunjälś and Narjälś.

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

1 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.

2 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.
ON MATCHLOCKS, ETC.

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a marksman. 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; they then 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 Damānah. 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., Ustād Kabīr and Ḥusayn.

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 Daul. 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 tānka, 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.

1 The text has an unintelligible word: the variants lectioes are marked on p. 125 of my text edition. Note (13). The Banāsī MS. has ॐς. The word appears to be a foreign term.
2 Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Fīḍa Tāsuk i Jāhāngīrī, p. 16.
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 tarīwīsh takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouthpiece 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 filler. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected and completed at His Majesty's command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom-piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the purgaz, etc. 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 sāda (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 quality of inlaid gold and enamel; the colour of the barrel is uniform. A gun thus far completed is called rangīn (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.

1 Tarīwīsh means a trickling; the particular meaning which it here has is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries.

2 Purgaz, or Purgaz, may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put, or the ramrod itself. The word is not in the dicta, and appears to be unknown at the present day.
THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments in order to clean matchblocks. 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. Plate XV will best show what sort of a machine it is.

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 sāda (plain), rangīn (coloured), and koftkār (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as khāṣa, i.e. for his special use. First, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. Secondly, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. Thirdly, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. Fourthly, thirty-one kotals. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away; kotals are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; kotals; plain; coloured; koftkār, not handed over to the slaves; koftkār, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from peskhush presents, or from such as were bought; dāmānaks, selected from peskhush, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five khāṣa guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a kushī, 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 khāṣa guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half kotals, fourteen; quarter kotals, seven; one-eighth kotals, four; one-sixteenth kotals, two; one-thirty-second kotals, one. When kotals guns are given away, they bring half kotals; similarly, the place of a gun,
when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the days, the kotals, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the koftkär not in charge of the slaves, the koftkär in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected Damūnaka, 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 practices 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 Sanyrām one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty’s private guns, and is used during the Forwardīn month of the present era.

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ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.


[Page 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.

1 A man placed over ten. The rank of the Mirdaka appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a Bukhshālī, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a Dadkhāzī was the lowest Maqāhīdār rank (see the second book). Mirdaka is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after the horses.
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 horses; 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 a 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 lak 1 to one hundred rupees;

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1 During the reigns of Akbar's successors, the price of a well-trained war elephant rose much higher. *Visa Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p. 198. At the time of Shahjahân, the first white elephant was brought from Pêgh, *Pâdisahâdâma*, i, p. 267.
elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common.

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. Bhuddar. 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 frightened when it thunders.

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

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

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1 This excrescence is also called Gajmanik, or elephants' pearl. Forbes has also Gajmanik, and the Dala' s Sātā, جراپ جی دی والی [?].
2 In the fourth book of this work.

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*The time is differently given. The emperor Jahāngīr says in his Memoirs (p. 120):—
"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 foetus 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." "Vol. IV. Johnstone's remarks on the same subject, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1868."
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 made 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 shows aversion to intercourse with the male; and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants, at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue.

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky; by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men. A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two. For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother; after that period they commence to eat herbs. In this state they are called bōl. When ten years old they are named pūt; when twenty years old, bākka; when thirty years old, kalīna. 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

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1 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.
halves of a ball, whilst the ears look like winnowing 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 its rider. But elephants
differ very much in the amount of fierceness and boldness.

When they are hot, a blackish discharge exudes from the soft parts
between the ears and the temples, which has a most offensive smell; it is
sometimes whitish, mixed with red. They say that elephants have twelve
holes in those soft parts, which likewise discharge the offensive fluid. The
discharge is abundant in lively animals, but trickles drop by drop in slow
ones. As soon as the discharge stops, the elephant gets fierce and looks
grand; in this state he gets the name of Taftî or Sarhârî. 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 Singâdhâl; and
when the fluid trickles from all three places, Tal-jor. When in heat,
elephants get attached to particular living creatures, as men or horses;
but some elephants to any animal. So at least according to Hindu books.

1 Châlna uphâ. This word, though common, is not in our dictionaries. It is a flat
piece of wicker work, from one to two feet square. Three sides of the square are slightly
bent upwards. They put grain on it, and seizing the instrument with both hands, they
throw up the grain, till the husks, stones, and all other refuse collect near the side which
is not bent upwards, when the refuse is removed with the hand. We use sieves for such
purposes.
The Bhaddar ruts in Libra and Scorpio; the Mānd in spring; the Mṛga in Capricorn and Sagittarius; the Mṛi in any season. Elephant drivers 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 Gaumukha: 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 in heat. 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 in heat 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 hasī, gaj, pīl, kāthi, etc. 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. Airārabata, in the East; 2. Pandarika, south-east; 3. Bāman, south; 4. Kumuda, south-west; 5. Anjan, west; 6. Fokpadanta, north-west; 7. Sārababāma, 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 apart, belong to the second; such as are . . . 4 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-feet, from the

5 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps ḍhāshoṣay, graceful, is the correct reading.
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.

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 Dev misāj (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 Ganañhara misāj (angelic). 3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are Brahman misāj (of a brahminical temper).
4. Such as are very strong, in good condition, fond of fighting, un governable, are said to have the temper of a Khattri, 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 Śūdra misāj. 6. Elephants which remain hot for a long time, and are fond of playing tricks, or are destructive, and lose the way, have the temper of a Pishācha (spectre). 7. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a Rācchhas (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 found in the Sūbah of Āgra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Sūba of Ilāhābād (Alla-habad), in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, and Ratanpūr, Nandampūr, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Sūba of Mālwa, in Handiyah, Uchhod, Chandeli, Santwā, Bijāgarh, Raisin, Hoshangābād, Garha, Haryāgarh; in the Sūba of Bihār, in the neighbourhood of Rahtās

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1 Narwar, where Abū I-Fazl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Salim (Jahāngīr), Long. 77° 56', Lat. 23° 30'; Ghoushārat, near Dinagpur, Long. 89° 17', Lat. 25° 12'; Jashnāgar (Abū I-Fazl evidently means the one south-east of Sargachī), Long. 83°, Lat. 23° 14'; Sargachī, Long. 83° 8', Lat. 22° 8'; Bastar, Long. 81° 58', Lat. 18° 13'. The towns from Handiya to Haryāgarh lie all between Long. 75° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Ujālār). For Uchhod (śāh) the third book has Uchhod (śāhī). The Fort of Rahtās, the scene of Sher Shāh's first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 36'. The name Putāk (śāh) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have nowadays disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abū I-Fazl.
and Jhārkhand; and in the Śāba of Bengal, in Orīsā, and Sātgāw. The elephants from Panmah are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindi sāhu. 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 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 Ayūr. 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 the 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 everything 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 Daroghas. Certain elephants were also declared khāja, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

Árin 42.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience:
1. Mast (full blood); 2. Shergir (tiger-seizing); 3. Sōda (plain);
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.

Árin 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

1 The same phrase as on p. 13, line 12. It refers to the year 1560, when Bayram fell in disgrace, and Akbar assumed the reins of the government.
happiness of his subjects, this matter was properly inquired into, and wise regulations were issued for guidance. 1. *Most elephants.* Large ones get daily 2 mams 24 sers; middle-sized, 2 m. 19 s.; small ones, 2 m. 14 s. 2. *Sherjis.* Large ones, 2 m. 9 s.; middle-sized ones, 2 m. 4 s.; small ones, 1 m. 39 s. 3. *Sudas.* Large ones, 1 m. 34 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 29 s.; small ones, 1 m. 24 s. 4. *Munyholas.* Large ones, 1 m. 22 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 20 s.; small ones, 1 m. 18 s. 5. *Kuras.* Large ones, 1 m. 14 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 9 s.; small ones, 1 m. 4 s. 6. *Phandurkiyas.* Large ones, 1 m.; middle-sized ones, 36 s.; small ones, 32 s. 7. *Mokals.* Large ones, 26 s.; middle-sized ones, 24 s.; third class, 22 s.; fourth class, 20 s.; fifth class, 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.

**THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES.**

1. *Most elephants.* There are five and a half servants for each, viz., a *Mahawat,* 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 dāms per month; but if the elephant be *khatkor,* 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 *Mahawat.* His monthly pay is 110 d. *Thirdly,* the *Meths,* of whom there are three and one-half, or only three in case of small elephants. A *meth* fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant. *Meths* of all classes get on the march four dāms daily, and at other times three and a half.

2. For every *Sherji,* there are five servants, viz., a *Mahawat,* at 180 d.; a *Bhoi,* at 103 d.; and three *Meths* as before.

1 i.e., either eleven servants for two elephants, or the last was a boy.
3. For every Sūda, there are four and a half servants, viz., a Mahāwat, at 160 d.; a Bhoī at 90 d.; and two and a half Meths.

4. For every Manjhora, there are four servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 140 d.; a Bhoī, at 80 d.; and two Meths.

5. For every Karha, there are three and a half servants; viz., a Mahāwat at 120 d.; a Bhoī, at 70 d.; and one and a half Meths.

6. For every Phandurkiya, there are two servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 100 d.; and a Meth.

7. For every Mokal, there are likewise two servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 50 d.; and a Meth.

Female Elephants. 1. Large ones have four servants, viz., a Mahāwat, at 100 d.; a Bhoī, at 60 d.; two Meths. 2. Middle-sized ones have three and a half servants; viz., a Mahāwat, at 80 d.; a Bhoī, at 50 d.; and one and a half Meths. 3. Small ones have two; viz., a Mahāwat, at 60 d.; and a Meth. 4. Mokals have likewise two; viz., a Mahāwat, at 60 d., and a Meth.

The Faujdār.

His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants. Such a troop is called a hālqā; the superintendent is called Faujdār. 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 those respects. When a Faujdār is raised to the dignity of a Sādī (a commander of one hundred) or higher, he has twenty-five elephants assigned to himself, the other Faujdārs, as Bīstīs (commanders of twenty) and Daḥbāshīs (commanders of ten) being under his orders. The same order is followed from the Daḥbāshīs up to the Hazārīs (commanders of one thousand). The pay of officers above the Sādī is different. Some Faujdārs have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A Sādī marks two horses. A Bīstī of the first grade has 30 rupees per mensem; second grade, 25 R.; third grade, 20 R. A Daḥbāshī of the first grade has twenty R.; second grade, 16 R.; third grade, 12 R. Bīstīs and Daḥbāshīs mark one horse, and belong to the Akadīs. Such Faujdārs as have thirty or twenty-five elephants assigned to themselves have to pay the wages of the Mahāwat and of one Bhoī of that elephant, which they select for their own use; but such as have twenty or ten only pay for a Mahāwat.

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

A in 45.

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS.

1. The Dharma is a large chain, made of iron, gold, or silver. It is
made of sixty oval links, each weighing three sere; 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 Adda is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied. As it
annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued.

3. The Beri is a chain for fastening both hind feet.

4. The Baland is a fetter for the hind feet, an invention of His Majesty.
It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running.

5. The Gaddh beri resembles the Adda, and is an additional chain for
the hind legs 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 extent that
it necessarily stops. This useful invention, which has saved many lives,
and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty.

7. The Charkhi is a piece of hollowed bamboo half a yard and two
tassjes 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 flaxen 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. Andhiyari, i.e., darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into Ujyafi, i.e., light, is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square. It is made of brocade, velvet, etc., and tied with two ends to the Kilaa (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 canvas, to keep it better down. This completed the arrangement.

9. The Kilaa \(^1\) consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half yards long. They are laid at the side of each other, without, however, being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad. A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is; the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly. Sometimes it is made of silk or leather. Others fix small pointed iron-spikes to the kalaa, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

10. The Dulta is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a staff. This they tie over the kalaa to strengthen it.

11. The Kaanar is a small pointed spike, half a yard long. This they likewise attach to the kalaa, and prick the elephant’s ears with it in order to make the animal wild or to urge it on.

12. The Dor is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat. When properly tied it is an ornament. They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement. They also attach many other trappings to it.

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

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

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

16. The Chaura\(\) consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

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\(^1\) This should be Kallaan. Abh\(i\)'i-Fa\(s\)i spells the word wrong; vide my text edition, p. 135, l. 10. It looks as if Abh\(i\)'i-Fa\(s\)i had mistaken this Persian word for a Hindi term; else, why should he have any spelling at all? In Vulker's Persian Dictionary, ii, p. 6626, read khoor for khoor, and sa khoor for his enumeration (?): tabysa.
broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. *Pitkachh* 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 *kalāsa*, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. *Qutās* (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 *Tayyā* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the *Tayyā* there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the *kalāsa*, to which both are attached. Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the *kalāsa*; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The *Qutās* 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. *Qutās* 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 *Pākhar* is like an armour, and is made of steel; there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk.

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

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

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

25. The *Gatelī* 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 *Pāy ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The *Ankus* is a small crook. His Majesty calls it *Gajbāga*. It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

1 i.e., an elephant-man. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ankus*, "which sounds offensive to a Persian ear." Rushidi. Hence the Persians pronounce it *aspak*. 
28. The Gad is a spear which has two prongs instead of an iron point. The Bhoi makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory.

29. The Bhaungri 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 Jagawat resembles the Gad (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoi uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The Jhanda, or flag, is hung round with Quitas, like a togh. 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 Shergir and Sada, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ dams. Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindi kambal, at 10 d. each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 d. For Manjhola and Karha elephants, four of the first; three of the second; and seven of the third, are allowed. For Phandurkiyas and Mokals, and female elephants, three of the first; two of the second; four of the third. The saddlecloth 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 halqa-dar is allowed ten sers of iron for chains, etc., 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 kalava of the elephant on which the Fasjdar rides, at 8 d. per ser; but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, etc., at their own expense.

A sum of twelve dams is annually subtracted from the servants; but they get the worn out articles.

A in 46.

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY’S USE (Khasa).

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 ghī, and half a man of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc.; and some have one and a half man of milk in addition to their grain. In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar canes, more or less. His Majesty takes the place of the Mahawa.

Each elephant requires three bhois in the rutting season, and two, when cool. Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 d., and are fixed by His

1 Toqh is the same as tog. Vide A* in 10, p. 32.
2 Liquides are sold in India by the weight.
Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four Meths. In the Halqas, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each Khāsa elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed. First class big female elephants have two and one-half meths; second class do., two; third class do., one and one-half; for the other classes as in the Halqas.

As each Halqa is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every Khāsa elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten Khāsa elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called Dāhā idār. They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees per mensam. 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 Aḥādī. His Majesty 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.

\.\ in 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING KHĀSA-ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephant, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command. His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people.1

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace.

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the bhois. And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, e.g., the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present; the former, 100 R.; the Dāhāī, 31 R.; the Naqib, 15 R.; the Mushrif (writer), 7½ R. Besides, the regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech.

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting; some are always

1 Jahangir, in his Memoirs, gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect: vide Tuzuk, p. 16.
ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over, if the combatants were khāsa elephants, the bhois receive 250 dāmas as a present; but if other elephants, the bhois get 200 dāmas.

The Dhuḥṣādār of khāsa elephants receives one dāma for every rupee paid as wages to the bhois and meths; the Mushrif is entitled to ¼ dāma, and the Naqīb to ¼ dāma. In the case of halqa elephants, the Sādāwāl, the Dhuḥṣādār, and the Bistā, are entitled to 1 dāma for every rupee; and the Mushrif and the Naqīb receive the allowance given for khāsa elephants.

^ in 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 khāsa elephant the Bhois are fined three months' wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhois and Meths are fined two-thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddledcloth, 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 khāsa elephant, the Bhois lose three months' pay and are further suspended for one year.

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched to inquire into the fatness or leaness of the khāsa elephants. If elephants are found by them out of flesh to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the Pāqoscht Regulation (vide A in 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the bhois are likewise liable to lose a month's wages. In the case of halqa elephants, Aḥādīs are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the Mahāwd and the Bhois are fined three months' wages. If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the kālī—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 dāroqaha paying two-thirds, and the Fawṣādār one-third. Should the injury not reach as far as the kālī, 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 khāsa elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct.
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 ʻIrāq-i ʿArab and ʻIrāq-i ʻAjam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Tibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drovers after droves arrive from Türān and Irān, and there are nowadays 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 the ʻIrāqī 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 Panjāb, horses are bred resembling ʻIrāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of Sāwātī;¹ so also in the district of Patī Haybatpūr,² Rajwāral, Tihāra, in the Sūba of Āgra, Mewāt, and in the Sūba of Ájmīr, where the horses have the name of pachwariya. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horse is bred, which are called gūt: and in the confines of Bengal, near Kūch [-Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the gūt and Turkish horses, and are called tānghān,³ 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.

¹ Several good MSS. read Sārjī.
² Hālibatpūr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76° 2': Tihāra, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 75° 25'.
³ Tānghān.—P.}
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 Kārnānasārā, 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 half as much again above the price fixed by them, and does not keep them waiting for their money.

†\text{in } 50.

\text{The Ranks of the Horses.}

There are two classes of horses: 1. \textit{Khāra}; 2. Those that are not \textit{khāra}. The \textit{khāra} 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. \textit{si-aspī}, \textit{bis-aspī}, \textit{dah-aspī}, i.e., belonging to the stables of thirty, twenty, and ten. A horse

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1 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.

2 Abā 'l-Farīd mentions this very often in the \text{in}. Contractors generally received cheques on a local treasury; but they might be sent from there to another local treasury, unless they bribed the collector, or made over their cheques, for a consideration, to Mahājana (bankers). It was the same in Persia. “The clerks, whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazīr Mīrāz Sālih, brother of the great Persian historian Nāmūdar Hay) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (mādāsādī), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mīrāz Bahān, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mīrāz Sālih 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.” 

\text{Tāhir باhsbās’s تُحیم.}
whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a Dāh-muhrī stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a Bīst-muhrī stable, and so on.

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

Arrin 51.

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

A khāṣa 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 khāṣa 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 horses get fresh grass, they give it half a ser of ghī. Two dāms are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass is available. About three bighās of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses, they stop the ghī; 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 Ḫūāṭi and Ṭurkī 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 dām being given for boiling one man of it. The horses also get once a week a quarter ser of salt. When ghī and fresh grass are given, each horse, provided its price be above thirty-one muhurs, gets also one ser of sugar; whilst such as are worth from twenty-one to thirty muhurs, only get half a ser. Horses of less value get no sugar at all. Before green grass is given, horses of a value from twenty-one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one man and ten sers of ghī; such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs thirty sers; but horses up to ten muhurs get neither ghī, brown sugar, nor green oats. Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a dām, though it is mostly given in a lump. Ḫūāṭi and Ṭurkī 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 bighā of

[1] Mozh, a small, hard, blue grain used, when well boiled, for fattening horses. Dām "grain" colloquially amongst horse-dealers, etc., means "gram."—P.

[2] Kharid is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.

[3] Qand-i ṭarākh is probably gur.—P.]
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 mares 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 khāṣa horse. The gūf 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 1½ d., when in the country; but they do not get ghi, molasses, or green oats. Qisūns [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 dām 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 sucks its dam for three months; after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows; then, for six months, two and three-fourths 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, ETC.

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the khāṣa horses on which His Majesty rides.

For the whole outfit of a khāṣa horse, the allowance is 277½ d. per annum; viz., an arvak, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 d.; a gāṭpōkh (a covering for the mane), 52 d.; a woollen towel, 2 d.—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old arvak, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old gāṭpōkh; a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 d.; halters for the

[1] Khurad is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.
[2] Qam-i anak is probably gor.—P.
[3] Dīna colloquially means, as here, gram.—P.
nukhta \(^1\) (headstall) and the hind feet, \(^2\) 40 d.; a pusht-tang (girth), 8 d.; a magas-rān (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 d.; a nukhta and qayza \(^3\) (the bit), 14 d.; a curry-comb, 1½ d.; a grain bag, 6 d.; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 14 d. These articles are given annually, and fifteen dāms, ten jetais, 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\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; viz., for the ortak, 39\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; the yālposh, 27\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a coarse saddle cloth, 30 d.; the girth, 6 d.; the nukhta and qayza, 10 d.; and the nukhta ropes and feet-ropes, 32 d.; the magas-rān, 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 qisrāqs, and gūt, the allowance is 117\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; viz., an ortak, 37 d.; a yālposh, 24\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a jul, 24 d.; a nukhta band and a pāy-band, 8 d.; a nukhta and qayza, 8 d.; a pusht-tang, 5 d.; a magas-rān 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.

1. The Karāh \(^6\) 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 Saṭṭ, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten kāṣṭha horses. The price of making one is 140 d. For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, etc., there is only one. 3. The Kamand, attached to iron pegs, is 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

\(^1\) Nukhta for nukht.-P.

\(^2\) 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 hind legs 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 leading horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the basket towards the mouth of the horse. The word nukhta, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced saṭṭa. Similarly, qisrāq is pronounced qisrāṣ; vide Journal As. Soc., Bengal for 1866, i. p. 26 n.c.

\(^3\) In modern Urdu qayz, is a snaffle.—P.

\(^4\) The items added only give 116\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.

\(^5\) Altogether 196\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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.

\(^6\) Karse or jarā, H. 1.—P.
wages of the rope maker. 4. The Ḍabanīn melḥ, or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five ārs, and costs 15 d. 5. The Tabartakhmaq, or hammer, weighs five ārs, 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 khāṣa stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dāroghas; 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. Naṣl, or horseshoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight dāms were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. Kūndlān. One is allowed for ten horses. The price of it is 80½ R.

A‘in 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The Ātbeqī 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 Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The Dārogha. 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 Ahadīs. 3. The Mushrif, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty’s orders are carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees. 4. The Dīda-īr, or inspector. His duty is occasionally to inspect the horses before they are mustered by His Majesty; he also determines the rank and the condition of the horses. His reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by the Mansabdārs or Ahadīs. 5. The Aqkhtachī. He looks after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadīs. 6. The Chābuḵsumār rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Ahadī. 7. The Hādā. This name is given to a class of Bājpūts, who teach horses the elementary

1 This appears to be the same as the Hind. ṭaj, which our meagre dictionaries describe as a "kind of tent".

2 Or Mīnā Rās Khānās, i.e., Ābd-er-Rahām, son of Bayrām Khān; vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 29.
steps. Some of them get their pay on the list of the Aḥadīs. 8. The Mirdahā is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Aḥadī; but in other kḥāṣā stables, he only gets 170 d.; in the country-bred stables, 160 d.; in the other si-āspī stables, 140 d.; in the biṣṭ-āspī stables, 100 d.; and in the dāh-āspī stables, 30 d. Moreover he has to look after two horses. 9. The Bayṭār, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Aḥadī. 10. The Naqīb, or watcher. Some active, intelligent men are retained for supervision. They report the condition of each stable to the Dāroqāhs and the Mushkhīf, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness. The two head Naqībs are Aḥadīs, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 d. 11. The Sāʿīs, or groom. There is one groom for every two horses. In the chikhil-āspī stables, each groom gets 170 d.; in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 d.; in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 d.; in the country-bred stables, 126 d.; in the other si-āspī stables, 106 d.; in the biṣṭ-āspī stables, 103 d.; and in the dāh-āspī stables, 100 d. 12. The Jilawādī (vide Āʿīn 60) and the Payk (a runner). Their monthly pay varies from 1,200 to 120 d., according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred kroh (kos) a day. 13. The Naʾībān, or farrier. Some of them are Aḥadīs, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 d. 14. The Zindār, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding. In the kḥāṣā 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 Akhāsh, or water-carrier. There 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 Farrāsh (who dusts the furniture). There is one in every kḥāṣā stable. His pay is 130 d. 17. A Sipandāsūt is only allowed in the stables of forty horses;

\[1\] The seeds of sipand (in Hind. awsi, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (nagri-taad, chakhrus ruzdas), 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 Sipandāsu. Vide the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under Shikbā. 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 horseshoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fatehpur Sikrī.

[Sipand P., or barmal A., is wild rue not mustard.—P.]
his pay is 100 d. 18. The Khākrūb, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan Halālkhur; 1 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 dāroghas 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 dārogha has not received the extra allowance. Each cooly gets two dāns per diem.

Å*m in 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 Dāroghas and Mush rifas. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the Bātikhi (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a Bārgīruwār.

Å*m in 55.

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES.

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word نظر (nozr, sight), sometimes with the word دیج (dāgh, mark), and sometimes with the numeral سه (seven). 2 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 5Irūq and Mu jammās 3

1 Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked; vide p. 46, 1. 29; p. 55, l. 18; p. 65, l. 16; p. 60, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under ramjahk. Halālikhār, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for kālikhār, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, etc. The word Halālikhār 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.whāt, a prince, which like the proud title of khāliṣ, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc., is an example of the irony of fate.
2 Vide Å*m in 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A.H. 981, a.d. 1576, when Shāh Hāsh had been appointed Mir Bağbā shi. He followed the regulations of Ala-un-Dīn Khilji and Sher Shāh; vide Baidāmi, pp. 173, 100.
3 Mu jammās, i.e., put nearly equal to an Irōq horse; vide 2nd book. Å*m in 2. [I think mujammās means half-breod.]
horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turki and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays 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.

AY'sn. 36.

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 (Salim), 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 khāsa 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.

AY'sn. 37.

ON FINES.

When a khāsa horse dies, the Dārogha has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdaha ten d., upon every muhur of the cost price; and the 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 Dārogha for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur; for two horses, two rupees
upon every muhur; and from the Mirdaha 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 Mirdaha is fined ten dāms upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms.

Āṣṭān 58.

ON HORSES. KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two khāṣa horses; but of courier-horses, three, and one of each stable from the seventy mulums down to the ten muhur stables and the gūṭs. They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a misl.

First misl: one from the chihulaspī stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of khāṣa courier horses. Second misl: one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the stud-bred; one from the chihulaspī stables; one courir 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 mulums.

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth misl. But when prince Shāh Murād joined his appointment, his Majesty also rode the best horses of the stables of forty mulums. 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 mulums, khāṣa horses of forty mulums, and courier horses. Third misl, one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud-bred, and the seventy-muhur horses. Fourth misl, horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty mulums.

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten mulums and the gūṭs.

[1] Rākṣatr, ambling, a roadster.—P.J.

[2] Prince Murād in the beginning of the fortieh year (1266) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gujrat, and ordered to take Ahmadsnagar. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that Murād'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 Abū 'l-Faīl to bring the prince back to court. Abū 'l-Faīl came just in time to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (sorī, delirium tremens) brought on by habitual drunkenness. Mirāt.
ON DONATIONS.

Whenever his Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six kūnas stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with a 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 kūna horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one dān to the Ātbegi, two to the Jilawdār; eighteen and one-half to the groom, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqīb, the Akhtachi, and the Zindār. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty dāms were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a dām less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty dāms were given; for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses, and stud-breds, ten dāms, 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 dāms; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten dāms; for courier horses, five; for stud-breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWĀNA.

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 dāms upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten dāms per muhur are divided as follows:—The Ātbegi gets five dāms; the Jilawbegi, two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqīb, nine jetals; the groom, a quarter dām; the Taḥsildār, fifteen jetals; the remainder is equally divided among the Zindār and Akhtachi.

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

[1] Kāhār, ambling; a roadster. [P.]
[2] Jilaw is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called javdāna. The adjective jilawbān, which is not in the dictionaries, means referring to a led horse. We have to write jilawbān, not jilawān, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives: as māna, javdāna, from mān, jamān, not māni, or jamān. The jilawdār, or javdāhār, is the servant who leads the horses. The jilawbegi is the superintendent of horses selected for presents. The taḥsildār collects the fee.
THE CAMEL STABLES.

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown 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 Iran and Turan.

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 khasha camels, which is named Shakhpasand (approved of by the Shah), 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 fineness of the art of wrestling.

Camels are numerous near Ajmir, Jodhpur, Nagour, Bikainir, Jaisalmar, Batindah, and Bhainsir; the best are bred in the Suga of Gujrat, near Caichh. 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 Thatha.

The success of this department depends on the Arseina, i.e., female camels. In every country they get hot in winter and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of Bugdur. The young ones of camels are called sar (male) and maha (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the sar the name of bughdi, and to the female that of jammasa. The bughdi is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the jammasa 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 bugdur and a jammasa goes by the name of ghurd; the female is called maha ghurd. If a bughdi, or a lok, couples with a jammasa, the young one is called bughdi or lok respectively. But if a bughdi or a lok couples with an arseina, the young male is named after its sire and the young female after its dam. The lok is considered superior to the ghurd and the maha ghurd.

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1 In the text maha, which also means a female camel—a very harmless pum. Vide Dr. Spruner's Gulistan, preface, p. 8. Regarding the word bugdur, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1866, p. 59.
2 Corruption of buhadi—P.
When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into qatārs (strings), each qatār consisting of five camels. The first camel of each qatār is called peshang; the second, peshdara; the third, miyāna qatār; the fourth, dumdost; the last camel, dumdār.

**Āsin 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 bughdis 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 jammacas, gharda, miyaha gharda, 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 damas per ser. As the ser has now 30 damas, 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 Pāgosht rule (Āsin 83); and when the rutting season is over, the Dāroghas 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 to the Pāgosht 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.

**Āsin 63.**

**THE HARNESSES OF CAMELS.**

The following articles are allowed for ḫūsa camels: an Afsār (head stall); a Dūm-afsār (crupper); a Muhār kūñī (furniture resembling a horse-saddle, but rather longer—an invention of His Majesty); a kūñī

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1 So according to the best MSS. The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of peshāng, the leader of a troop. Peshāra means "in front of the belly, or middle, of the qatār."  
2 Chaw-gāh, grazing-places. — P.
(which serves as a saddle-cloth); a Qutārchi; a Sarbehī;¹ a Tang (a girth); a Sartang (a head-strap); a Shebband (a loin-strap); a Julāqī (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a Gardanband (a neck-strap); three Chādars (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 qatārs of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a Mshaffa, 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 qatārs they allow three qatārs coloured articles.

For Bughātis, 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 kalāqī (an ornament in shape of a rossette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a pushtpozi (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a dum-afśār (a crupper), 1½ d.; for a takaltū (saddle-quilt) and a sarbehī, both of which require 5 sers of cotton, 20 d.; a jul (saddle-cloth),² 68 d.; a jahāz-i gajkārī,³ which serves as a mahārkīthī (vide above), 40 d.; a tang, shebband, gulāband (throat-strap), 24 d.; a tanāb (long rope) for securing the burden—camel-drivers call this rope tāqa tanāb, or kharwār—38 d.; a bālāpōsh, or covering, 15 d.⁴

For Jammānas, two additional articles are allowed, viz., a gardanband, 2 d.; and a sina-band (chest-strap), 16 d.

The cost of a set of plain furniture for Bughātis and Jammānas amounts to 168½ d., viz., an afśār, studded with shells, 10 d.; a dum-afśār, ½ d.; a jahāz, 16½ d.; a jul, 32½ d.; a tang, a shebband, and gulāband, 24 d.; a tāqa tanāb, 37½ d.; a bālāpōsh, 28 d.⁵

For Loks, the allowance for furniture is 143 d., viz., an afśār, jahāz,

¹ The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. sarbī, like qutārī, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that sarbehī is a sort of quilt.
² A jul (—jilāt H.) is a heavy horse-covering of blanket and felt.—P.]
³ Gajkārī appears to be the correct reading. The Arab. jahāz means whatever is upon a camel, especially the saddle and its appendages, generally made of coarse cotton steeped in lime (gaj). Hence gajkārī, white-washed.
⁴ These items added up give 236 d., not 225, as stated by Abū l-Faṣıl. 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 20 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 triennially, but had to last a longer time.
⁵ These items added up give 168 d., instead of Abū l-Faṣıl's 168½ d.
kharvīr, according to the former rates; a jul, 37½ d.; a tang, shebband, gulāband, 14½ d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.¹

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the woodwork. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every qatār, 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.²

5Alafti camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ d. for country-bred camels, and loks, viz. [for country bred camels] an afsār, 5 d.; a jul, 36½ d.; a sardoz, ½ d.; a tang and a shebband, 10½ d.; ³ and [for loks], an afsār, a tang, and a shebband, as before; a jul, 45½ d.; a sardoz, ¾ d.

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

Shalita tūs, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every qatār, at a price of 30½ d. for bughfīs and jamāmas, 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 5alafti camels.

A² in 64.

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

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

¹ The items added up give 114 d., instead of Abū’l-Fazl’s 143 d.
² Hence the Government paid, as a rule, ¹⁷⁄₈ = 1¾ of the estimates presented.
³ The addition gives 52½ d., instead of 52½. The following items, for loks, give added up 62½.

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For each Bughdā and Jamūmūz 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) sers of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz., three sers for anointing, and \(\frac{1}{4}\) ser for injection into the nose. So also \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. of brimstone, and 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) s. of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. of brimstone, 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) s. of butter-milk, and \(\frac{3}{4}\) s. of grease for injecting into the nose-holes.

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once, a year.

\(\text{In 65.}\)

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS.

His Majesty has formed the camels into qatārs, and given each qatār 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 mensim.

The qatārs are of three kinds—1. Every five qatārs are in charge of an experienced man, called Bistopanji, 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 qatārs, 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 qatārs are in charge of a Panjādī, or commander of five hundred. Ten qatārs are under his personal superintendence. With the exception of one qatār, Government finds drivers for the others. The Panjāhīs and Bistopanjies are under his orders. Their salary varies; nowadays many Yūthāshis ¹ are appointed to this post. One camel is told off for the farrāshes. A writer also has been appointed. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each Panṣadī under a grandee of the court. Several active foot-soldiers have been selected to inquire 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 Panṣadī. If a camel get lame or blind, he is 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

¹ Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.
as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital to the frontiers of the empire, in 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 Raibāri is also put in charge of fifty stud arvānas, 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 arvānas get no allowance for grain or grass. For every bughur, bugdii, and jammāza in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 s. of sesame oil, 2 s. of brimstone, 6½ s. of butter-milk.¹ The first includes ½ s. of oil for injection. Loks, arvānas, ghurds, and māga ghurds, get only 3½ s. of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6½ s. of butter-milk,² and ½ s. of brimstone.

Butas and Dunūbīlas—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens; they are allowed 2½ s. of oil, inclusive of ½ s. for injection into the nostrils, ½ s. of brimstone, and 4½ s. of butter-milk.³

Full-grown stud-camels get weekly ½ s. of salt-petre and common salt; butas get ¼ s.

The wages of a herdsman is 200 d. per mensem. For grazing every fifty stud-camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 d. per diem. A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present to His Majesty three arvānas 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 bugdii and jammāza, each camel being assessed to yield four sees of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with dum-afsārs, wooden pegs, etc.

The following are the prices of camels:—a bugdii, from 5 to 12 muhurs; a jammāza, from 3 to 10 M.; a bughur, from 3½ to 7 M.;³ a mongrel lok, from 8 to 9 M.; a country-bred, or a Baluchi lok, from 3 to 8 M.; an arvāna, from 2 to 4 M.

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels. A first class bugdii, not more than 10 mams; a second class do., 8 m.; superior jammāzas, loks, etc., 8 m.; a second class do., 6 m.

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

¹ Mād, wānī.—P.² In text "from 4 to 7",—P.³ The text has also here: a māga bughur from 3 to 5; a ghurd from 3 to 8; a māga ghurd and a lok from 3 to 7.—P.
THE GÄW-KHÄNA OR COW\(^1\)-STABLES.

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow\(^1\) is considered suspicious, 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,\(^2\) and butter. It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government.

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrat are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses. Nor do they dung whilst running. The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs. Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakhin. 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 worth more than 10 Rupees. His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of duims [5,000 Rupees].

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmir, the Qutāz, 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 everything 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 khāṣa and called kotal. They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen\(^1\) on hunting expeditions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Å in 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\(^1\)-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 Å in 22).

\(^1\) Gyr, ox. The bullock only is used for work.—P.  
\(^2\) Māst, curds.—P.
There is also a species of oxen, called guināī, small like qūt horses, but very beautiful.

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

\[\text{\textit{Āś\textit{\textit{in} 67.}}\]

**THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.**

Every head of the first, khaśa class is allowed daily 6\\% s. of grain, and 1\\% d. of grass. The whole-stable gets daily 1 mun 19 s. of molasses, which is distributed by the Dārogāh, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office. Cattle of the remaining khaśa 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, 1\\% 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 guīnī get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only 1 d. Second class do, 2\\% s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only 1 d.

A male buffalo (called arna) gets 8 s. of wheat flour boiled, 2 s. of ghī, 1 s. of molasses, 1\\% 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 grain, and 2 d. for grass. Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 s. of grain, and 2 d. for grass. First class oxen for leopard-waggons get 6\\% s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1\\% d. for grass; but now they get a quarter less, and grass as before.

The milch-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 thāj. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 s. of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 s. The buffaloes of the Panjāb are the best in this respect. As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two dāms weight of ghī for every sēr of milk.

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1. Dēna—gram, see p. 142, note 1.—P.]  
2. Qadā-d sīphāh, see p. 142, footnote 3.—P.]  
3. Shēr in India is the tiger, but shēr in Persia is the lion.—P.]  
THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW STABLES.

In the khāja 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 Aḥādis; others get 300 d., others 256 d. down to 112 d. Bāhals, or carriages, are of two kinds:—1. Chātrīdār or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the chātr, or umbrella); 2. without a covering. Carriages suited for horses are called ghur-bahāl. For every ten wagons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed. The head driver, or Mīrdāhā, 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 2,200 dāms [55 Rupees].

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

Formerly the Dāroghas paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a dām as āng money—āng is hemp smeared with ghi, 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 Dāroghāship 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 Dāroghas they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court and for the transport of building materials. But subsequently 200 wagons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50,000 mams of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial wagons 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 Pāgoshti regulation (vide A. in 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 1 1/2 d. were given for grass. For other bullocks, the allowance is 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 König, 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, etc., the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government.

18th June.

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 everything, and its breeding is encouraged. It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground; and it 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 Pakhali, and its neighbourhood. The simple inhabitants of the country used to look upon mules as asses, and thought it derogatory to ride upon them; but in consequence of the

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 Sackār of Pakhali lies between Arak (Aitock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindes. Tide towards the end of Book III.
interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found.

Mules are chiefly imported from Iraq, and Arab and Ajam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into qatārs of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each qatār, which is called bardost, [instead of peshdara, vide A* in 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

A* in 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 one lot.

A* in 71.

THE FURNITURE OF MULES.

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ d.; an iron chain weighing 2 s., 10 d.; a ranakī (crupper) of leather, 4 d.; a pālān (pack-saddle), 102 d.; a shāltang (shawl strap), and a palās-tang (blanket strap), 36½ d.; a tāqa tanāb (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 d.; a qāṭār shalāq (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every qatār, 10 d.; a horsehair saddle, 40 d.; a kalāwa (vide A* in 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 4½ d.; a sardoq (a common head stall), 4 d.; a khurjīn (wallet), 15 d.; a fodder-bag, 4 d.; a magas-rān (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 tāqa tanāb and sardoq, 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 qatār is in charge of a keeper. Türānis, Irānis, and Indians, are appointed to this office; the first two get from 400 to 1,920 d.; and the
third class, from 240 to 256 d. *per mensem*. Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R. (400 d.) and upwards, have to find the *peshang* (first mule of their *qa'dar*) in grain and grass. Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year as to leanness or fatness. Once a year they are paraded before His Majesty.

If a mule gets blind or lame, the muleteer is fined one-fourth of the cost price; and one-half, if it is lost.

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water. They get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. for grass. The furniture for asses is the same as that for country-bred mules, but no saddle is given. The annual allowance for repairs is 23 d. The keepers do not get above 120 d. *per mensem*.

\[\text{Fig 72.}\]

**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 everything 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 passed 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.

[\[The *peshang* is selected for being a quick-stepper and for intelligence.—P.\]]
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 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 slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illumining 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 bewilder ing 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 honour of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light. 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

1 Flos Abh. 3, Farl's Preface, pp. 18 and 40.
the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun, and the introduction 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 Sūfis, 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 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 daybreak, musicians of all nations are introduced, who recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four gharaṣs 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 daybreak, they are allowed to make the hornish vide A in 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.

Arnav 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, darzan (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 anything 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 Dāroghas and Bitīkhis (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.

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

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. Note A in 77 and the Note after it.
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 *mansub*, a *jutir*, 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 His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz., prostration1 (*sijda*); 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 worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has

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1 The prostration, or *sijda*, is one of the positions at prayer, and is therefore looked upon by all Muhammadans 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 *rasekada* had been the usual salutation. It was *Nizam* of Bakhshish who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpūr (before 1586). The success of the innovation made Mullā Aqlām of Kābul exclaim, "Oh that I had been the inventor of this little business!" *Bij. III.* p. 153. Regarding *Nizam*, or Ghāzi Khān, *Sīr* Abī 'l-Fezzī's list of Grandees, 2nd Book, No. 144. The *sijda* as an article of Akbar's Divine Religion, will be again referred to in the note to A* in 77.
ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the Darbâr-i "Am (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.

A'in 75.

ON ETIQUETTE.

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 anyone 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 searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king.

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, partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

1 The words of the text are ambiguous. They may also mean, and leads him to praise me as the man who directed him towards this example.
2 The finger tips of the left hand touch the right elbow, and those of the right hand the left elbow; or, the fingers of each hand rest against the inner upper arm of the opposite side. The lower arms rest on the kamar-i-râz. When in this position, a servant is called shad-i-affâ'id, or ready for service. Sometimes the right foot also is put over the left, to the formers merely touching the ground. The shoes are, of course, left outside at the jamb-i-maymûn. Some the emperor sits on the throne (see Plate VII) with crossed legs, or shad-i-maymûn, a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called shad-i-maymûn, 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 vainglory. The position suitable for society is the jadid 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.
The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight. The second prince stands from one and one-half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve. So also the third; but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance. But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer.

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty. After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne.

All others stand in the Yasal. One or two attendants stand nearer than all.

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 Diqah, or assembly of expenditure, has been announced. Their merits are inquired 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 Tūrān and Iran, Turkey and Europe, Hindustān and Kashmir, are fixed by the proper officers in

1. Yasal signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the Quṣ (vide p. 118), the Mullahs, and the Ulama, etc.
2. The servants who hold the sīng-bār, Āż-i-ta, or the fans.
3. This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. Vola next Aż-i-ta.
4. As settling a family-point, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, etc.
5. Abru-i-Fazal 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, Aż-i-ta 1) a horse was given to each recruit on joining, for which he was answerable.
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 nowadays only men appointed to the post of an Ahadi bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them is then increased or decreased, though it is generally increased; for the market of His Majesty's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before His Majesty depends on the number of men available. Every Monday all such horsemen are mustered as were left from the preceding week. With the view of increasing the army and the zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two döms for each horseman.

Special Bitkčits [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Ahadis. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Ahadi to buy his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadis who 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.

\[\text{A*in 77.}\]

**HIS MAJESTY AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE.**

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies

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1. As Ahadis drew a higher salary (II, A* in 4) they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.
2. A* in 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Ahadis.
3. So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 198, l. 10, has As it is not customary for Ahadis to buy a horse, etc. Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to A* in 4 of the second book, an Ahadi was supplied with 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 Abū ʿAbd al-Fadl evidently means: for in the whole A* in he speaks of newcomers.
4. A note will be found at the end of this A* in.
among men, one class of whom turn to religious (dīna) and the other class to worldly thoughts (duryā). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders, and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one;*

Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol.

There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,

Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of thousands of 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 anyone muster sufficient courage, and

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1 As prophets, the leaders of the Church; and kings, the leaders of the State.
2 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 faith and dharma. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Sāṅkṛitya 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 Abū 'l-Fazl's preface with this A'in.
3 The world.
4 These Śāṅkū 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, the lover, and both are one, Brahmin = man; the idol = God's lamp = thought of God; house = man's heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere "the bright assembly of God's works".
5 The text has failed, which means to put a collar on one's own neck, to follow another blindly, especially in religious matters. All things which refer to prophetship and revealed religion they [Abū 'l-Fazl, Hakim, Abū 'l-Feth, etc.] called logiūdiā, i.e., things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575] a great number of Portunense, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning." Baddā. u. II, p. 281.
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 everything that is conflicting. A king will therefore some-
times observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or some-
times 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 have since been waiting in joyful expectation. His Majesty, how-
ever, 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 inten-
tions; 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 inquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his
holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors

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1 Vide Abū J-Farīl's preface, p. iii. 1. 10.
2 This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor.
Akhbar spoke. "From Mirzā Shāh Muhammad, called Ghairin Khān, son of Shāh Beg Khān,
who had the title of Dawrān Khān, and was an Aghian by birth." The author heard him
say at Lābor, in A.H. 1032. "I asked Nawnī: Fālīg Kohā, who has the title of Khān-i
Aṣārum [ vide List of Grandees, second Book, A* in 30], whether the late emperor, like the
Messiah, had really spoken with his august mother. He replied, "His mother told me
it was true." Doähīs al Muṣbīh, Calcutta edition, p. 290. Bombay edition,
p. 260. The words which Christ spoke in the cradle, are given in the Qurʾān, Sūr. 19, and in
the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Christ, pp. 3, 111.
could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as Sannyasis, Yogis, Secras, Qalunars, Hakims, and Siftis, and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits as soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandsmen, 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 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 it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfills the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people 1 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, 2 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.

1 "He [Akbar] showed 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 Go Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1823, 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.
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 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 shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle 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, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire 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 Shag'y, upon which is engraved "The Great Name", and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "Alläh Akbar." This teaches the novice the truth that

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1 "He [Akbar] showed, besides, no partiality to the Muhammadans; 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.
2 The text has zuhān-i hūl, and a little lower down, zuhān-i hūlāli. Zuhān-i hūl, or symbolical language is opposed to zuhān-i maqāl, spoken words.
3 Or rather, from his head, as the text has, because the casting aside of selfishness is symbolically expressed by taking off the turban. To wear a turban is a distinction.
4 Shag'y means nisw; secondly, anything 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 Rudkin, the members wore on their turbans.
5 The Great Name is a name of God. "Some say it is the word Allāh; others say it is Āl-Somad, the eternal; others Al-Hayy, the living; others Al-Qayyūm, the everlasting;
"The pure Shahid and the pure sight never err."

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it; and from the wise counsels they receive they soon state their wishes openly. They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light. Others, according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices.

But it is impossible, while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings. Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject.

**Ordinances of the Divine Faith.**

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allâh Akbar," and the other responds, "Jallâh Jallâluh." The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode 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 birthday,
and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird catchers.

Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.

Note by the Translator on the Religious Views of the Emperor Akbar.

In connexion with the preceding A*in, 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, are, besides Abu 'l-Fazl's A*in, the Muntakhab* Tawarih by Abu 'l-Qadir ibn-i Mulak Shâh of Badâon—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p. 110, and to a longer article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869—and the Dobiatun* 1-Mazâhi, 2—a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pârsi tendencies. Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa, as Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monessaro, Francisco Enriques, etc., of whom the first is mentioned by Abu 'l-Fazl under the name of Padre Radulf. 3 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. 1, 1834, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Badâon, 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

1 Printed at Calcutta in 1809 with a short dictionary, and reprinted at Bombay A.H. 1272 [A.D. 1856]. This work has also been translated into English at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund.

2 Not Padre Rodulf, as in Elphinstone's history, but *lMa* the letter /m/ having been mistaken for a /n/.
I shall commence with extracts from Badāmī. The translation is literal, which is of great importance in a difficult writer like Badāmī.

Abū ’l-Fażl’s second introduction to Akbar. His pride.


It was during these days [end of 982 A.H.] that Abū ’l-Fażl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor, came the second time to court. He is now styled ʿAlīm. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the Ṣaḥābi, 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 ḥā’irāt, which contained all subtleties of the Qurʾān; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abū ’l-Fażl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words Tafsir-i Akbar (Akbar’s commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abū ’l-Fażl 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 Abū ’l-Fażl’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 Ḥabshi and others), Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nābi and Māḥdīmān Mulk, and other learned men at court, unanimously

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

The year 1080 A.H. commenced 14th May, 1572 (Old Style).

1981—3rd May, 1573
1982—22nd April, 1574
1983—12th April, 1575
1984—21st March, 1576
1985—21st March, 1577
1986—10th March, 1578
1987—28th February, 1579
1988—17th February, 1580
1989—5th February, 1581
1990—26th January, 1582
1991—10th January, 1583
1992—4th January, 1584

2 Qur., Sūr. II, 256.
represented to the emperor that Shaykh Mubārak also, in as far as he pretended to be Mahdī,1 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 dispatched police officers to bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaykh, with his two sons, had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaykh, at first, took refuge with Salīm-i Chishti at Fathpūr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaykh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujarāt. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubārak applied to Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka [Akbar's foster-brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaykh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubārak was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he [ʿAzīz] could really not see why the Shaykh was so much persecuted. The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaykh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn; and Abū ʿl-Fazl when once in favour 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 shamefaced 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 Shaykhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

He used to say, openly and implicitly:

O Lord, send down a proof 2 for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrodes 3 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!

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1 Vgl. p. 113, note 2.
2 Badāūnī belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawi rumours for his own purposes; see below. The extract shows that there existed before 992, heretical innovators, whom the emperor allowed to be persecuted. Matters soon took a different turn.
3 That is, a man capable of teaching the ʿUmmās a lesson. Abū ʿl-Fazl means himself.
4 Nimrod, or Namrud, and Pharaoh, are proverbial in the East for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat which had crept through the nose to his brain. He could only relieve his pains by striking the crown of his head; but at last he died from the effects of his own blows.
And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the ūlamās (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following Rubā‘ī 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 Mūjtaḥīd, 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 Shaykhs and ūlamās.

Commencement of the Disputations. [Badāonī 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 Muṣnīyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qurān), and the word of the prophet (the Ḥadīths, or Tradition). Questions of Sūfism, scientific discussions, inquiries 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 Yā Ḥū and Yā Ḥādī, 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 Sulaymān, ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150

1 A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muḥammādian law. There are few Mūjtabāhs. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding Rubā‘ī is translated by Sir H. Elliot in the Muḥammādian Historians of India, p. 244.
2 By some ascetics Yā Ḥū means O He (God), and Yā Ḥādī, O Guide. The frequent repetition of each name is a means of knowledge. Some faqīrs repeat them several thousand times during a night.
3 The edition of Badāonī calls him Karānān. He is sometimes called Karunī, sometimes Karānān. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 990, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.
Shaykhs and Ulamās, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mirzē Salaymān, a prince of Sūfī tendencies, and a Sāhib-i ḫalā was coming to him from Badakhshān.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called Anāptalān, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the Ulamās and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the Ulamās, and the heretical (Shīṭic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullā Sherī, a poet of Akbar’s reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shaddād (cite Qur., Sūr. 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, Shaykhs, Ulamās, 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 Ulamās to the south; and the Shaykhs to the north. The emperor then used to go from one side to the other and make his inquiries... when all at once, one night, ‘the vein of the neck of the Ulamās 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 [Bādānī], ‘In future report any of the Ulamās that cannot behave and that talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall.’ I gently said to Āsaf Khān, ‘If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulamās 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.”

Soon after, another row occurred in the presence of the Emperor.

[Bad. II., p. 219.]

“Some people mentioned that Hājī Ḥibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a decree, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow clothes, quoting at the same time a Tradition as his proof. On hearing this, the Chief Justice, in the meeting hall, called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick in order to strike him, when the Hājī by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.”

1 Ḥāfīz is the state of ecstasy and close union with God into which Sāfis bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.

2 The text has shakht Juma, the night of Friday; but as Muhammadans commence the day at sunset, it is our Thursday night.

3 As women may use.
Akbar was now fairly disgusted with the Ulama 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 Ulama; 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 Mawlānā Ālab-i-llāh of Sultānpūr, who had received the title of Makhdūm-i-Mulk, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Hāji Ibrāhīm Shaykh Abū'l-Fazl (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 Mawlānā 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 Mawlānā, to whose position one might apply the verse of the Qurān (Sur. XVI, 72), "And some one of you shall have his life prolonged to a miserable age, etc." Among other stories, Khān Jahān said that he had heard that Makhdūm-i-Mulk had given a fatawa, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary fatawa, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gūjrat, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia) had to suffer injuries at the hand of the Qizilbash (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.

Khān Jahān also related that the Mawlānā 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 This extract as given by Sir H. Elliot on p. 244, conveys a wrong impression. Akbar did not prohibit pilgrimages before A.H. 990.
2 Alms are due on every surplus of stock or stores which a Sunni possessee 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.
"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 Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimadars and other deserving people of the Panjab—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur. 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 such circumstances, he said 'No:' for Shaykh 'Abdul-Nabi had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlana was fast sinking.'

But a heavier blow was to fall on the Ulama. [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 nikah). The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet. The emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age, he had not restricted himself 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 Shaykh 'Abdul-Nabi had once told him that one of the Mujahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulama present replied that the Mujahid alluded to was Ibn Abi Layla; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qur'an verse (Qur., 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 Shaykh 'Abdul-Nabi, 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 Shaykh,' 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 Ulama, having collected
every tradition on the subject, decreed, first, that by muṣāḥah [not by nikāḥ] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, secondly, that muṣāḥah marriages were allowed by Imām Mālik. The Shiʿahs, as was well known, loved children born in muṣāḥah wedlock more than those born by nikāḥ wives, contrary to the Sunnīs and the Ahl-ʿāl Jamāʿat.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled Nāṣir al-rasūl [vide note 2, p. 194], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the Mawṣūla of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of muṣāḥah marriages.

"Another night, Qāżī Yaṣṣūb, Shaykhus Abū ʿAbd al-Faqīl, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the Anāṭikal, o tank. Shaykhus Abū ʿAbd al-Faqīl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding muṣāḥah marriages, which his father (Shaykhus Muḥārak) 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 sectarians customs, is this:—Imām Mālik and the Shiʿahs are unanimous in looking upon muṣāḥah marriages as legal; Imām Shāfīʿī and the Great Imām (Ḥanafī) look upon muṣāḥah marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāżī of the Mālikī sect decide that muṣāḥah is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfīʿīs and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk.' This pleased His Majesty very much."

The unfortunate Shaykhus Yaṣṣūb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qāżī. 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 Mālikī Qāżī Ḥasan ṢArab as the Qāżī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaṣṣūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāżī Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made muṣāḥah marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūm ʿAbd al-Mulk, Qāżī Yaṣṣūb, 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, Mawlānā Jalāl ʿd-Dīn of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,
"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 Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimadān and other deserving people of the Panjāb—all came up, one story after the other. His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur. 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:1 for Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabi had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlānā was fast sinking."

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"At one of the above-mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many freeborn women a man was legally allowed to marry (by nikāḥ). 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 Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabi had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulama present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abī Layyā; and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qurʾān verse (Qur., Sūr. IV, 3). 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two,2 and three and three, and three and four, and four and four,' but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh 'Abdū 'n-Nabi, 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 Shaykh,' he said, 'told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me.' He never forgot this.

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1 i.e., he meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him.
2 Thus they got 2 + 2, 3 + 3, 4 + 4 + 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" = 8. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the hadīth of Akbar's freeborn princesses was acknowledged.
every tradition on the subject; decreed, first, that by mutaṣah [not by nikāh] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, secondly, that mutaṣah marriages were allowed by Imam Malik. The Shi‘ahs, as was well known, loved children born in mutaṣah wedlock more than those born by nikāh wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl-i Jamāṣat.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled Najāt al-rushid vide note 2, p. 104], in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khan fetched a copy of the Musafta of Imam Malik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imam had cited as a proof against the legality of mutaṣah marriages.

"Another night, Qāzī Ya‘qūb, Shaykh Abū ‘l-Fażl, Ḥāji Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the Anāṣiṣalā‘o tank. Shaykh Abū ‘l-Fażl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding mutaṣah marriages, which his father (Shaykh Mubārak) 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:—Imam Malik and the Shi‘ahs are unanimous in looking upon mutaṣah marriages as legal; Imam Shāfi‘i and the Great Imam (Hanafī) look upon mutaṣah marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that mutaṣah is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfi‘ī’s and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk.' This pleased His Majesty very much."

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"The Emperor then said, 'I herewith appoint the Mālikī Qāzī Ḥasan ‘Arab as the Qāzī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Ya‘qūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzī Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made mutaṣah marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūm ‘l-Mulk, Qāzī Ya‘qūb, 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, Mawlānā Jalāl ad-Din of Multān, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,
was ordered from Ágra (to Fatehpúr Sikri) and appointed Qāzī of the realm. Qāzī Yaṣqūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāzī.

"From this day henceforth, the road of opposition and difference in opinion lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mujtahid of the empire." [Here follows the extract regarding the formula Allāh * Akbar, given on p. 175, note 1.]

[Badāwūl, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Ḥakīm Abū ʾl-Faṭḥ, Ḥakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qull, and lastly to Ḥakīm Humām), and Nūr ʾd-Dīn, who as poet is known under the name of Qarārī. They were brothers, and came from Gilān, 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, Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazdī, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the Sahābah (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imāms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shiʿah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bār— that bastard! — and by Shaykh Abū ʾl-Faṣl and Ḥakīm Abū ʾl-Faṭḥ, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

"At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qāzī Jalāl ʾd-Dīn and several Ulamāʾ to write a commentary on the Qurʾān; but this led to great rows among them.

"Deb Chand Bāja Manjhora—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 (Sūrat ʾl-baqarah) of the Qurʾān.

"His Majesty had also the early history of the Islām read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the Sahābah. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as taqādū, or religious blindness, and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty inquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."
In the beginning of the next year [964], when His Majesty was at Dīpālpūr in Mālvāh, Sharīf of Amūl 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 Sūfīc nonsense in the school of Mawlānā Muhammad Zāhīd of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khyārāzmi, 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 Mawlānā also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs:

"There was a heretic, Sharīf by name,  
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame.

In his wanderings he had come to the Dakhin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dakhin wanted to kill him. But he was only put on a donkey, and shown about in the city. Hindustān, 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 Mālvāh, and settled at a place five kās 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 Islam casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called Nisīncīa, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Anti-christ) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millennium. 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 durūnā (vide p. 168, note 2), like an Indian camel. He talked privately to His Majesty; no one dared to draw near them, but I sometimes heard from a distance the word Šīm (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths', or 'the groundwork of things'.

1 Chahâr-i avrop. Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Hariri and the Crusaders.
"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 Maḥmūd of Basalḵwān (a village in Gilān), who lived at the time of Timūr. Maḥmūd who had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but fūdū, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language'. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Bahr o Kūza (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 in his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy! And this Sharīf—the dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled Tarashshuk-i Zuhūr, in which he blindly follows Mir ʿAbd al-Awwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words māformūdand (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 1904], 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 1886, they became violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islām were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points. The ʿUlamā, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other ʿKāfers, or accursed.

[Bad. II, p. 255.]

"Makhdūm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nābi, in which he accused him of the murder of Khizr Khān of Shīrūn, who was suspected to have reviled the prophet, and of Mir Ḥabshi, whom he had ordered to be killed for heresy. But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with ʿAbd al-Nābi, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nābi called Makhdūm a fool, and cursed him. The ʿUlamā now broke up into two parties, like the Sibūs and Qibtās, gathering either round the Shaykh, or round Makhdūm al-Mulk; and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor.
by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth.

"His Majesty till now [986] had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth. But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islam. Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth; and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through, His Majesty grew colder and colder, till at 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 Tâhmâsp of Persia had died, and Shâh Ismâ'îl II had succeeded him. The Târikh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words خَلَّ اَلْجِرَاحَهُ فَمَا تَرَى مَرْضٌ وَقَدْ أَلْفَ دُولَةَ [984]. Shâh Ismâ'îl 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'îl, son of Shâh Tâhmâsp, had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister Pârî Jân Khânum. Mir Haydar, the riddle writer, found the Târikh of his accession in the words شاهانشâh-i rûz zamân [984] 'a king of the face of the earth' and the Târikh of his death in Shâhanshâh-i ser-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 Mâzandaran. Sultan Muhammad Khudâbanda, son of Shâh Tâhmâsp, but by another mother, succeeded, and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the Şâhâbâh.

"But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindûstân from Persia."
Badaoni'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 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 inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamitic) 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, they grew, gradually as the outline of 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,

1 Explained in Arab dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (nabuus). Akbar, as will be seen from the following, was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection.
for the truth of their own and the failacies of other religions, and inculcated their 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 Islāmic 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 showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,

"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr."

When it was too late to profit by the lesson,

She could but frown, and hang down the head.

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Purukhotam, author of a commentary on the . . ., whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence. At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debi was pulled up the wall of the castle, sitting on a chārpāc, 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 Hindūism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahādev, Bīshn, Kishn, Rām, and Mahānāi, 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." Insaneeore flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

1 Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of inquiry 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.
revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the *Ahl-i Kütüb, Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence.

Sometimes again, it was Shaykh Ṭāj"d-Dīn of Dihli, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaykh is the son of Shaykh Zakariyyā of Ajodhan. The principal *Ulamā of the age call him Ṭāj"d-Arifīn, or crown of the Sūfis. He had learned under Shaykh Zāmān of Panipat, author of a commentary on the Liwāṣih, and of other very excellent works, was in Sāism and pantheism second only to Shaykh Ibn *Arahi, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the Nuzhat* Arvāh. Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Sūfī triffes. As the Shaykh was not over strict in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Sūfī will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy. He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh—God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the Fuṣṣī * Hikam, 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 Shaykh 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 Qur'ān or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far-fetched. Besides, he mentioned that the phrase Inān-i Kāmil (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the sījda (prostration), which people mildly call zamānas (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the Inān-i Kāmil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king *Kušbay-Murādūt; the sanctum of desires,
and Qibla-yi 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 sects. And after this, when...

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shāykh Ya'qūb of Kashmir, a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʿAynal-ʿI-Qāṣat of Hamadān, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of Al-haḍī (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God’s name of Al-muẓīl (the tempter), that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary.

Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalifahs, called the whole ʿAbdāl, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnā and the ʿAlī-jaʿmāṭat, and represented every sect, except the Shiʿah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ʿUlamāʾ, of whom one called lawful what the other called unlawful, furnished His Majesty with another reason for apostacy. The emperor also believed that the ʿUlamāʾ of his time were superior in dignity and rank to Imām-i Ḥaţāzālī and Imām-i Rāzī, and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ʿUlamāʾ, 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 ʿPāde. They have an infallible head, called ʿPāde. 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

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* As the anāʾib (or the use of holy names as Kaʿbalah (the temple of Makkah) or Qibla (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).
* The text has an unintelligible sentence.
* According to the Islam, God leads (ḥād) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.
* ʿAlī-jaʿmāṭat is a term which is often joined with the word Sunnā. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾān, or upon the Tradition, or upon the opinion (ṣiṣla) of famous ʿAbūkhīṣ; or lastly, upon ijaʿma agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the ʿImām. Hence ʿAlī-jaʿmāṭat comprises all such as believe ijaʿma binding.
* Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of ʿImām ʿAḥmad ʿAḥmadī are the Ḥāfiz ʿAḥmadī and the ʿImām-ṣī. ʿAḥmadī which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Akbar liked.
* The text has ʿAḥmadī.
Jesus, ordered Prince Murad\textsuperscript{1} to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū ʿl-Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual \textit{Bismi ʾllāhī ʾr-raḥmānī ʾr-raḥımī},\textsuperscript{2} the following lines were used—

\begin{center}
\textit{Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū}
\end{center}

(O thou those names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, "O thou whose name is gracious and blessed"; and Shaykh Fazl added another half, in order to complete the verse

\begin{center}
\textit{Subhānā-kā īrāsin-kā Yā hū.}
\end{center}

(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 Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God’s blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.

Bīr Bār also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain in 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 Bīr Bār, 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 Nawrūz-i Jalālī\textsuperscript{3} 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,

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} Prince Murad was then about eight years old. Jahāngīr (Salīm) was born on Wednesday, the 17th Rabiʿaʿ ʿl-Awwal 977. Three months after him, his sister Shāhānšāh Khānum was born; and after her in the year 978 on 3rd Muḥarram (Bah. II, 132). Shāh Murad, who got the nickname of Pahārī, as he was born in the hills of Fatḥpur Sīkīrī. Dānyāl was born in Ajmir during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th, the Jumāsīla, ʿl-Awwal 979.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{2} The formula: "\textit{Bismi ʾllāhī}, etc." is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book.

The words \textit{Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū} are taken from the Dabšān; the edition of Bahāʾi has \textit{Ay nām-i tu-zāho Kirištī}, which, though correct in metre (vide my "Prosody of the Persian", p. 33, No. 32), is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabšān has a common Masnavi metre (vide my "Prosody", p. 33, No. 31), and spells \textit{Jesus} in its own. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

\textsuperscript{3} Vide the Tārīkh-i Muhīt, in the beginning of Book III.}
each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the seven colours of the seven planets.

The emperor also learned from some Hindus, formulae to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read their 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 (?) 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 Nausāri 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 favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsees, and ordered Abū 'l-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 Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents. The custom of Rākhī (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets) became quite common.

When orders in opposition to the Islām 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 Qur'ān says (Sūr 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 anything connected with the Islām was to be abolished.

Akbār publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.

[Rad. 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 Āmīr Timūr Sāhib-qirān, and Mīrzā Ulugh Beg-i Gurgān, and several others, had themselves read the Khuṭba (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first Jumādā 'l-awwal 987, in the Jāmī's Masjid of Fāthpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khuṭba. But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaykh Fayṣī had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of the Imām (leader of the prayer) to Hāfiz Muḥammad Āmīn, the Court Khwāfī. 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, Allāh! Akbar!"

[p. 269.]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qurān, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muḥam-
madans 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 enologies of the emperor instead. It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abū 'l-Faḍl, Fayṣī, etc.) 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

1 As Abū l-Faḍl has done in the Aṭā'ī. "But Fayṣī added the usual praise of the prophet (nafi) to his Nāl Daman, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends." Baḥšīwī.

2 Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula "Allāh! Akbar, etc." had been changed to Allāh! Akbar, we also find Allāh! Akbar in the heading of books, as in the Aṭā'ī.
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."

[pp. 270 to 272.]

"In the same year [987] a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhādūm 1 al-Mulk, of Shaykh al-Abī 'n-Nabī, sadir 1 sudūr, of Qāṭī Jalāl 1 d-Dīn of Mūlān, Qāṭīy 1 l-aqūfāt of Sadr Jahān, the muftī of the empire, of Shaykh Mubārak, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghāzi Khan of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. The objects of the document was to settle the superiority of the Imām-i Ādil (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 jihatād, and as to whom the term Mujtahid was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imām 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 Hindīstān 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 (89:4, 42), "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 Imām-i Ādil: whosoever obeys the Amīr, 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 Ādil (a just ruler) is higher
in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid. Further we declare that the king of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, the shadow of God in the world, 'Abd al-Fattah Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar Pudishah-i ghazi, 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 Qur'an, 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 Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulamas 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 Shaykh Mubarak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaykh 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 Imam 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 Imam became law.

But the state of Shaykh 'Abd al-Fazl resembled that of the poet Hayrati of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Mā-warā 'n-nahr (Turkistān), joined the old foxes of Shi'itic Persia, and chose 'the roadless road'. You might apply the proverb to him—'He prefers hell to shame on earth.'

1 The birthplace of the poet Hayrati is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistān. It is said that he was a great wine-hibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kāshān, and became a Shi'a. He was murdered there by a robber in 961.
"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'ban, at the distance of five kos from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Muhammad 'd-Din). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwaja 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 Maghdum I-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abd-ull-Nabi had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qur'â'n, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the prophet and the imâms. 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 Qur'â'n 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 Qur'â'n, 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 Qur'â'n.
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! ¹

¹ 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 fitnah-yi ummat, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Quth 'd-Din Muhammad Khan and Shâhâz Khan (vide List of grandees, 2nd book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Quth 'd-Din said, 'What would the kings of the West, as the Sultân of Constantinople, say, if he

¹ Badâoni bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abû 'l-Farâ, etc., who threw away the means of grace of the Islâm (prayers, fasts),
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. Shāh Bāz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Fir Bār—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shāh Bāz 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 Shāh Bāz in particular, and to the others in general, "Would that a shoeful of excrements were thrown into your faces."

[p. 276.]

"In this year the Tamakā (inland tolls) and the Jānya (tax on infidels), which brought in several krors of dāma, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire."

"In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpūr, headed by Muhammad Maṣṣūm of Kābul, Muhammad Maṣṣūm Khān, Muṣīzā I-Mulk, Ṣarbāzbahādur, and other grandees. They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd (vide above, pp. 184, 191), who was Qāziqāżāt at Jaunpūr; and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army. The course which this rebellion took is known from general histories; vide Elphinstone, p. 511. Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd and Muṣīzā I-Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Agra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnā.

"In the same year the principal ṢUlamā, as Makhdūm I-Mulk, Shaykh Munawwar, Mullā ṢAbī 'sh-Shukūr, etc., were sent as exiles to distant provinces."

[p. 278.]

"Ḥāji Ibrāhīm of Sarhind (vide above, p. 111) brought to court an old, worm-eaten MS. in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaykh Ḥamīd Ṣarbāzbahā. In this book, it was said that the Sāḥib-i Zamān 1 was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard. Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him

1 Sāḥib-i Zamān, or "Man of the Period ", is a title frequently given to Imām Mahdī.
were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought
a fabricated tradition that the son of a Sahābī (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 Hāj during discussions, behaved imprudently towards
Abū l-Fazāl, Hākim Abū ʿl-Fath and Shāh Fathū ʿIlāh, he was sent to
Rantanbhūr, where he died in 994.

"Farmāns were also sent to the leading Shaykhs and Ulāmās of the
various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to
inquire into their grants (side 2nd book, 11th in 19) and their manner of
living. When they came, the emperor examined them singly, giving
them private interviews, and assigned to them some lands, as he thought
fit. But when he got hold of those who had disciples, or held spiritual
soirées, or practised similar tricks, he confined them in forts, or exiled
them to Bengal or Bākhar. This practice become quite common . . . .
The poor Shaykhs, who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu
Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no
other place where to live, except mouseholes."

[p. 288.]

"In this year [988] low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned,
but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the
Sāḥib-i Zamān, who would remove all differences of opinion among the
seventy-two sects of the Islam. Sharif of Amul brought proofs from the
writings of Māhūd of Bāsakhwān (side above, p. 186), who had said
that, in 990, a man would rise up who would do away with all that was
wrong . . . ." And Khwāja Mawlawā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Jafrdān,
came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharifs of Makkah, in which
a tradition was quoted that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as
that time was now over, the promised appearance of Imām Mahdi would
immediately take place. The Mawlawā also brought a pamphlet written
by himself on the subject. The Shīχāhs mentioned similar nonsense
connected with Sāli, and some quoted the following Ruhāt, which is said
to have been composed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, or, according to some, by
another poet:

In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and on the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.

1 The text here does not give a clear meaning.
2 A Persian poet of the fifth century of the Hijrah. As he was a free-thinker and
Shīχāh, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The Fūkhāg-i Jakhānī is
full of verses from the works of this ancient poet.
"All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else." 

[p. 291.]

"At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of a man who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception. Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence. Thus Hakim Humam (cited above, p. 184) mentioned himself, and Shaykh Abū 'l-Faṣl his own father.

"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, honour, 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 Shaykh Jamāl Bakhtyār to bring Shaykh Qūtha 'd-Dīn of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God'. When Qūtha 'd-Dīn 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 Shaykh 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 Shaykh 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 Shaykh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other fāqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

"A large number of Shaykhs and Fāqirs 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 Shaykhs 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 Millenium of the Islāmic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaykhs and Ulamās 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 show the era of the Millenium, 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 sījda, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of sījda, the word zaminās was used. Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body, as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings and uproars. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. Of course, people sent in fictitious names, and got supplies of wine; for who could strictly inquire 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, 2 ' 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 Shaitānpūra, or Devilsville.

1 The coin showed the word &—B.  
2 Kajācē is unāsī, which is impossible. Akbar's order was well meant; but according to Balīqī, his Act of Segregation was impractical. The passage is remarkable, as it shows the open profanity among the Grandees, which annoyed Akbar very much. For another instance, see Bad. II, p. 20.
A Dārogha 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 well-known courtiers wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed. Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked.

"His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprieved 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 Rāja Bir Bar, a member of the Divine Faith, who had gone beyond the four degrees and acquired the four cardinal virtues. At that time he happened to live in his jagir in the Pargana of Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogi; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from every thing 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. Pandering 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

1 Faraḥ-ur-baqā, or the four virtues, viz., hikmat wisdom; šahādat courage; qissat chastity; ḥādat justice. Books on Ḥādīṣ divide each into several kinds. Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

2 "The last three things are inconvenient in kissing."
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 reproof of the world; and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islam looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftis also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qazis of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words ku-nā gaf'ālū ba'sān 'l-qaṣād (as some Qazis have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be ku-nā gaf'ālū ba'sān 'l-qaṣīn (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 1 and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. The words Kufr shāyit šud, or 'heresy became common', express the Türīkh (985). Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mīrzā Jānī chief of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confessions on paper as follows:—'I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islam in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Shāh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion.' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid (Abū 'l-Fagl) 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 Islam, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the beast belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed.

"'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say.'

"The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possesses one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their

1 The text has a tashkilā (? [Iṣ'āl] šamāla B.) ḫāk khākhāt-i shā'āsid, which I do not understand.
excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets, used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustanis, 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." A dog runs about in front of the house; don’t make him a messmate.

The ceremonial ablation after emission of semen was no longer considered 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 birthdays. Such feasts were called Ash-i hayat, food of life."

The flesh of a wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the 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 Islam, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, as the son of Mullâ Mubârak, a worthy disciple of Shaykh Abû ‘l-Fazîl 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 Nişâb “S.-Sibghâ.” Fourteen festivals also were

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1 Fâzîl.
2 I.e., that you are a dog.
3 According to the law, bathing is required after jâmâ and ißâdâm.
4 For the poor.
5 Provisions for the life to come.
6 The Muhammadian law enjoins Muslims to go to the Mosques simply dressed. Silk is forbidden. Muhammadians disapprove of our “Sunday dresses” and pewage.
7 Vide p. 43, note 1.
introduced, corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Musalmāns, 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 Tārīkh-i Ilahi, or 'Divine Era.' On copper coins and gold muhrs, the era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime; and Muhammadan law, the exegesis of the Qurʾān, 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  ست، 东海، and  ف، were avoided. Thus for أبلاً, people wrote  أباد الله; and for أحادي,  أحادي, etc. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shāhnāma, which Firdawsi 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,
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!

"Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the... in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

"In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islām, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islām with reason, the doctrines of Raʾy, Taḥṣif, and Taʾkwin, the details of the day of resurrection and judgment—all were doubted and ridiculed.

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1 The text has an unintelligible sentence.
2 That is, the word alif (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with alif on it (vide Marsden, p. 590) were struck about 991.
3 The word in the text is سائر (1). In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.
4  راية, or  ديدان:  راية دار  يمسور, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnis. The Shīhāb say there will be no actual seeing.
5 Taḥṣif. A man is called  بلال  kaḥal, bound by the law, first, if he belong to the  جثث; secondly, if he have  جض or a sound mind; thirdly, if he have reached  بلال, i.e., if he be of age.
6 Taʾkwin means existence between two non-exsistence (Gudama). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islām says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.
And if anyone did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well known how little chance a man has who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality in condition is a sine qua non in arguing.

A man who will not listen if you bring the Qur’ān and the Tradition, can only be replied to by not replying to him.

“Many a family was ruined by these discussions. But perhaps ‘discussions’ is not the correct name; we should call them meetings for arrogance and defamation. People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many presents. Thus Latif Khwaja, who came from a noble family in Turkistan, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi’s Shama’il, and asked how in all the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an idol. Other remarks were passed on the straying camel. Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet, in the beginning of his career, plundered the caravans of Quraysh; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband if the Prophet thought her agreeable, etc. At night, when there were social assemblies. His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as ‘The Forty,’ and every one might say or ask what he liked. If then any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said, ‘You had better ask the Mullâs about that, as we only settle things which appeal to man’s reason.’ But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Sahâbah, when historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Siffin, etc.—would that I were

1 The book of the famous Mubâhidî (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizi, which contains all Traditions regarding the figure and works of the prophet. The word idol is expressive of great beauty; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unbecoming to Muhammad, who had abolished idols.

2 This refers to the charge of adultery brought against Aisyah Muhammad’s favourite wife. The whole story will be found in Sade’s Qur’ān, Sur. 24, p. 288.

3 The Chibih haddâ, or 40 Absâles. After the death of Muhammad, the last of the long series of prophets, the earth complained to God, that henceforth she would no longer be honoured by prophets walking on her surface. God promised her that there should always be on earth forty (according to some, seventy-five) holy men, Absâles, for whose sake He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called the ‘Hasib.’

4 Fadak is a village not far from Makkah, which Fatimah claimed as her own; but Abu Bakr would not let her have it. Siffin is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle took place between ‘Abî and Ma’âlîs.

Both affairs form, even now-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnis and Shi’ahs. Hence the author of the Daštân has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader will find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Daštân.
deaf! The Shi'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersian or a new doubt came up: and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, ‘Who slanders others, slanders himself.’ . . . The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but: ‘Allāh Akbar’, and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mullah Sheri, at this time, composed a qiṣaṣ of ten verses, in which the following occur:

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
Will ever vanish from the earth.
I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:

‘This year the emperor has claimed prophethood,
Next year, if God will, he will be god.’

‘At the new year’s day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the Ulama and the pious, nay even the Qāẓī and the Muftī of the realm, to drink wine. . . . And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Fāyṣ, called out, ‘Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!’ On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called Sharaf’s sh-sharaf, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jagirs, or horses, or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought.

In this year Gulbadan Begum [Akbar’s aunt] and Salima Sultan Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Shāh Abū Turāb also, and Ismā’īl Khān of Gujarāt, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant. The stone contained, according to Abū Turāb, 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, Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor 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 (Qur’an); hence it is impossible to trust either.’

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why
at the approaching close of the Millenium, he did not make use of the sword, 'the most convincing proof,' as Shâh Ismâ'îl 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 Rubâ'î of Nâsîr-i Khusraw was often quoted at court—

I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdi 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, Râja Bhagawân said, 'I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmâns 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 Râja. But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued. The Târikâ was found in the words Ihdâs-i Badâ'at, the innovation of heresy (990).

"During those days also the public prayers and the azām, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like Ahmaud, Muhammad, Musâ'afu, etc., 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 Yûr Muhammad, Muhammad Khân, 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 all broke out in Agra, burnt down great and small families, and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!"

[p. 315.]

"In Rubâ'î 990, Mir Fathâ'illâh came from the Dakhin (vide above, p. 34). . . . As he had been an immediate pupil of Mir Ghivájâ's, 'd-Dîn Mansûr of Shiraz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters. His Majesty thought that Fathâ'illâh would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fathâ'illâh was such a staunch Shi'âh, and at
the same time, such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon, and of the nobility that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shi'ism. Even in the state hall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shi'ah prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots; but he convined at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor in Fathullah's presence, said to Bir Bar, 'I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could, in the space of a moment, leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm!' So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. 'Why,' said His Majesty, lifting up one foot, 'it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe!' And that wretch (Bir Bar) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, 'Yea, we believe! Yea, we trust!' This great foot-experiment was repeated over and over again. But Fathullah—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something, for he was a new-comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear.'

Here Badā'uni mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p. 110. It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit or from Hindi translations, or from both. Badā'uni clearly states that for some translations, as at the Atharban, Hindus were used as interpreters. For other works as the Mahābhārata, there may have been Hindi translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (vide p. 111, note 2) translated passages to Naqib Khān. Abū 'l-Fazl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the Aṣānī. 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 Ābān (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

1 As Fathullah was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Fathullah to make a remark on the Prophet's ascension (mīlāf).
who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

"A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun, he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukidars. For the word jamâ'at (public prayer). His Majesty used the term jismâ' (copulation), and for hâyyâ, he said yalâlû talâlû.

"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 Khayr-pûra and the other Dhamaspûra. Some of Abû'l-Fazl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of Jogis also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of Jogîpûra. His Majesty also called some of the Jogis, and gave them at night private interviews, inquiring 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 showed in public some of the gold made by him. Once a year also during a night called Sierût, 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

1. Hâyyâ šala, for "hâyyâ šala 'e-salâh" (the usual form of salât). "Come quick to the prayer," is a phrase which occurs in the Asâb. Yalâlû talâlû is a phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth.
for the longevity of the emperor, and said that: the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close; and that the cycle of Saturn was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet there were even now a class of Lâmas, 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 Lâmas, limited the time he spent in the harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening of the human body) under a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul, by metempsychosis, will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king.

"His Majesty gave his religious system the name of Tawhîd-i Hâlî, or Divine Monotheism."

He also called, according to the manner of the Jogis, a number of special disciples Chelâs (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the emperor; and every evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindus and Muhammadans, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering, and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the 1,001 names of the 'Greater Luminary,' and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd, prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1,001

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8 Zuhâl, in Persian Kavâsâ, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Niqâmi says saullus-saffâs be-kavâsâ suxpad, "He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing." Anser Sânâlî, in praise of some physician, Zuhâl cüppâ-d es-saawâstâhâ, "Saturn in wisdom is his pupil." Hence the famous astronomer Abu'l-Qasim has the faâqi (title) of Ghulâm Zuhâl. Besides, there are several cycles of years, over each of the seven planets reigns. The first cycle was that of Saturn, during which the ages of men were short. 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 Hâlî, who says, In chi shapû dâd shâwâr-suzûs suxpad. "What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon?"

names of "His Majesty the Sun," and told the emperor that he was an incarnation, like Râm Kishâr and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour 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 Fathpur, the ten cubit square of the Hanafis and the Qullatânis of the Shâfîs and Shî'ahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Hanafis was greater than that of the others.

"His Majesty once ordered that the Sunni should stand separately from the Shi'ahs, when the Hindustâns, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shi'ah side."

[p. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullâ Ilâhîâd of Amrohah and Mullâ Sheri attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to seîriships in the Duâb of the Panjâb. Mullâ Sheri presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled Hazâr Shu'âi or 'The Thousand Rays', which contained 1,000 qita's in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased."

At the feast of the emperor's accession in 992, numerous conversations took place. [Bod. II. p. 338.]

"They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles, and to follow the new religion. Instead of the usual tree, His Majesty gave his likenesses, 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 'Allâh' 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 everything else admitted which is forbidden in the Islam. A play-house was even

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1 Qullatânis, two large jars containing 1,200 qalâ of water. According to the Shî'ahs and the Shâfîs, water does not become muja, or cooled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 qalâ, or the cube of 3½ spans. Hanafah fixed (10 ½ jil) 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 Hanafis Sunnis.

2 Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of discipleship as, Ahmad, disciple of Âtâr; disciple of Muṣîn, disciple of Bayâzîd, etc., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (shajara) is given.
built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (side Second book, J* in 15). Interest and skatul (money given at the end of the play to the bystanders) 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 Siddiqa 1 was totally disapproved of. But why should I mention other blasphemies?—May the attention which any one pays to them run away like quicksilver—really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

"The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason why people should not believe the words of the prophets. So especially in the case of David 2 and the story of Uriah... And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastingly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor. But according to the proverb, 'What people sow, that they shall reap,' they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and 'the infallible' authority got the nickname of Abu-jahl. 3 Yes, 'If the king is bad, the Vizier is worse.' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns: but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and everything else was accessory.

"In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bazaars, which are held on New Year's day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem people, marriage-contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.

"The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office;

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1 Siddiqa in the title of Sadiqa, the daughter of Abd 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 Spranger's Life of Muhammad, III, p. 62.

2 David counts as a prophet. "The book revealed to him is the silver, or the Psalms.

3 Properly, father of ignorance. Badhmti means Abu-'l-Fazl, which name signifies father of wisdom. Besides, Abu-'l-Fazl had the title (Jakhalus) al-Allama, the most learned.
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 Hindustanis 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 Sultan Khwaja 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 Safar (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yusufzais. Badauni 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 Khan,1 and Khwaja Arab, pavemaster (colonel) of Khan Jahsh and Mullah Sheri, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words اکبر اس ان کشان expresses the Tarikh of the defeat, by one less. Hakim Abu'l-Fazl and Zayn Khan on the 5th Rabi'1 awwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Atak. But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bar. 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 Bir Bar 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,

1 Vide List of grandees. Text edition of the Akbar, p. 227, No. 229, where for Husayn read Husa. In the MSS. of the Akbar he is called or . My MS. of the Tahsildar reads , Patani Afghans, and calls him a Hanafi. The edition of Badauni has wrong . His biography is not given in the Ma'sir 7-aman,.

2 The letters give 994; hence one more = 994.
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 consum-
mated, 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 'Allāh Akbar',
and the other should respond 'Jallā Jallālu-hū'. These formulas were
to take the place of our salām, and the answer to the salām. The beginning
of counting Hindu mouths should be the 28th day, and not the 16th,
because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramājī. The
Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule.
But the order was not obeyed, though farmāns to that effect, as early as
990, had been sent to Gujarāt and Bengal.

"Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people
were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should
be decided by learned Brahmans, and not by Mussalmān 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.

"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 Tāriḵīh of this order is Fasād-i faṣl (995).

"On the 10th day of Muḥarram 996, His Majesty had invited the
Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh (who had just been appointed governor
of Bahār, Hājīpur, and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His
Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test
Mān Singh. He said without reserve, 'If Your Majesty mean by the

1 The text has not against the ideas of the Hindus.
2 The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which
Mavclari Aghā Ahmad Ṭāḥī had in editing Balād, and, give no sense.
3 This was an insult, because the Muhammadans in India face the west during prayer.
Vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 56.
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 Safar 996, Mirzā Fūlād Beg Barlās managed to get one night Mullā Ahmad of Thathah, on some pretext, out of his house, and stabbed him, because the Mullā openly reviled [as Shi'ahs do] the companions of the prophet. The Tārīkh of this event is expressed by the words Zīhe khunjar-i Fūlād, 'Hail, steel of Fūlād, or by Khāk-i saquārī, '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, and others too witnessed it—O God! we take revenge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mirzā Fūlād tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lāhor; for when Ḥakim Abū-Fath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mirzā, whether he had stabbed the Mullā 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 Mullā.' The Ḥakim 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 Mullā outlived the Mirzā three or four days. The Shi'ahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the anus, and plunged him several times into the river. After his burial, Shaykh Fayzī and Shaykh Abū'l-Fażl put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmir, the people of Lāhor one night took the hideous corpse of the Mullā 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
which he used in eating.

"In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced."

"In 1002, special orders were given to the khitālīs to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the ʻIbīn, ʻIbīn 5. The following are new:—"

"If any of the darsaniyya discs 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 pay their price. Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmāns, 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 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 Ḵāzī Khān returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharīfa, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the ʿaṣba 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

1 From darsana, for which see p. 165.
2 This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
During the Muharram in 1004, Šadr Jahan, murti of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandship of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the Shast of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his Hazariship. 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 Taqi of Shushtar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Sháhmána into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase jall Šazmatu-ha wá Šazna shánu-ha, wherever the word Šazn occurs. Among others that joined were Shaykhzada Gósála Khán of Banáras, Mullá Šáh Muhammad of Sháhábád, and Sháfi Ahmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muhammad Ghawa. They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise. The words mū-tarāsh-i chand, or 'several shavars', express the tāvir of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan, or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them, 'My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islám will still remain on your neck'. This Ahmad, 'the little Šáfi', is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaykh Ahmad of Egypt. He said that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age, he had come to India and the Shaykh had frequently told him to assist the Sultán of India, should he commit an error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case.'

So far, Badi,oni. We have, therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith. With the exception of Bih Bar, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badi,oni's remarks, the number of those that took the Shast must have been much larger.

1. Abū 'l-Faḍl.
2. Fayṣl, his brother, Akbar's court-poet.

1 Shast, which has been explained on p. 174, also means a fish hook.
2 Vide List of Grandees, Second Book, No. 322.
3 Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
4 Vide p. 112, note 3.
5 That is, over-zealous.
3. Shaykh Mubarak, of Nager, their father.
4. Jafar Beg Asaf Khan, of Qazvin, a historian and poet.
5. Qasim-i Kahi, a poet.
6. 'Abd al-Samad, Akbar's court-painter; also a poet.
7. Asgam Kijan Koka, after his return from Makkah.
10 to 12. Sadr Jahân, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
15. Mirza Jani, chief of Thathah.
16. Taqi of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaykhzada Gosala of Banaras.
18. Bir Bar.
Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the A'in; the others are mentioned in the above extracts from Badani. The literary element is well represented in the list.

The above extracts from Badani possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Parsis. This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the A'in, nor to the longer article in the Dabistan.

As the author of the latter work has used Badani, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new.

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar's birth.

[Dabistan, p. 390.\(^1\)]

"Khwaja Masud, son of Khwaja Mahmud, son of Khwaja Murshid-i Haqq, who was a gifted Sahib-i hali,\(^2\) said to the writer of this book, 'My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world 'reveals himself.' I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared, or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the Lord Jalal\(^3\) 'd-Din Akbar, the august son of Humayun Padishah and Hamida Banu Begum.'

The second miracle has been related above, on p. 172, note 2. These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author

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\(^1\) Vide also Shea and Troper's English translation of the Dabistan, III, p. 49.
\(^2\) Vide p. 171, note 2.
of the Dabistān has divided his article on the "Divine Faith". The second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badā'oni, which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shen's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tātārs. The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Aṣrān.

p. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Irān, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher."

p. 412. Abū l-Faql wrote, as a counterpart to his commentary on the Āyat al-Kursī (p. 177), a preface to the translation of the Mahābhārata (vide p. 111) of two juz.

p. 413. "When Sultan Khwāja, who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, he said that he hoped His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man. He was therefore buried in a grave with a peculiar lamp, and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him.

"Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islam, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; but so should also a Muslim woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism."

p. 414. "I heard from Mullā Tarson of Badakhshan, who was a Ḥanafī by sect, that once during the year 1058 he had gone on a pilgrimage to Kandahar, the burial place of Akbar. 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 Multān, I saw Shāh Salāmā Ilah, who has renounced the world, and is a muwahhid (Unitarian). He is very rigid in discipline and avoids the society of men. He said, he had often been in company with Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, 'Had I

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1 The author of the Dabistān gives much prominence to the idea that the power and success of the Tātārs was in some way mysteriously connected with their sun and star worship, and that their conversion to the Islam was looked upon as the beginning of their decline. It looks as if the writer wished to connect this idea with Akbar's successes and sun worship.

2 Regarding this Ardsher, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1858, p. 14. Akbar's fire temple was in the Harem.

3 Vide above, p. 214.

4 The words in italics are not in Badā'oni. 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 niqās 'l-Caghl.
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 Nawâb ʿAbd al-Ḥasan called Lashkar Khân of Maâh, had, report the same as having been said by Akbar.

"Salâm! ʿĪlâm 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, Tûrânîs, etc., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbashîs (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Shâh ʿAbbâs, son of Sultân Khudâbânda-yi ʿĪrânî, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjîs (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 Â† in which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 50; 51; 56; 59; 60; 61, ll. 20 to 24; Â† in 26, p. 64; p. 96, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Bâdûnî, vide above p. 189, l. 19; p. 103, note 3; p. 110, note 1; 111–113; p. 115, l. 4, because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islâm as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Â† in 72, p. 162; 163; Â† in 77, p. 162; Â† in 81, p. 236. In the Second Book, Â† ins 18, 19, 22–5; in the Third Book, end of Â† in 1 (Târikh Ilâhi): Â† ins 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 Â† in had been completed. Bâdûnî's history ends with a.H. 1004, or a.d. 1596; but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahângîr 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 Pârsî-Hinduism, dying as he had lived. The story related in that edition of Jahângîr's "Memoirs", which has been translated by Major Price, that Akbar died as a good Musalmân, and

† Vide the notes of Â† in 30 of the Second Book.
"repented" on his death-bed, is most untrustworthy, as every other particular of that narrative.\footnote{1}

With Akbar's death,\footnote{2} 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. 219, had died before Akbar; such as were still alive, as Sharif of Amul took to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahangir.\footnote{3} 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

\footnote{1} The story of Akbar's "conversion" is also repeated in Elphinstone's History, second edition, p. 364. The Mulla whom Akbar, according to Price's Memoirs, is said to have called is Sayed Jahan, who, as remarked above on p. 219, was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Taruk-i-Jahangiri, as published by Sayyid Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqbalnama, a poor production (though written in beautiful Israil Persian), or Khafi Khan, allude to the conversion which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Khafi Khan would have mentioned it, because he says of Badiu, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (vide Khafi Khan, 1, p. 196). The silence of the author of the Dabistan is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullai Tarsun, and the abuse uttered by his companion against Akbar (p. 220), are proofs that Akbar did not "repent." To this we have to add that Jahangir, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls Harat Nagari-i Aqqa; he also continued the jizyah, though offensive to pious Muhammadans, and Akbar's Solar Era, though it involved a loss to the revenue because for every 33 lunar years, the state only received taxes for 32 solar years; he allowed some Hindu customs at Court, as the Rikba (vide above p. 163), and passed an order not to force Hindus to join the Islam (Farsak, p. 100).

\footnote{2} Akbar died on the 12th Jumada-i 'Ula, 1014 a.m., which, according to note 3 of p. 180, is our Tuesday night [not Wednesday, as in Price, and all European Historians], the 16th October, 1605, old style. Hence Akbar would have died in the night which followed the day on which he celebrated his sixty-third birthday if we adopt our mode of reckoning: vide p. 64, note 1.

There is some confusion in the histories regarding the exact day of Akbar's death.

The Padshahnama (vol. 1, p. 69) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the Chaharshahbakhsh (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th Jumada-i 'Ula, corresponding to the 2nd Ash of Akbar's Era. The Mirak and Khafi Khan (1, p. 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight.

Padshahnama (p. 69) and Khafi Khan (p. 236) fix the jula or accession, of Jahangir for Thursday, the 20th Jumada-i 'Ula, or the 10th Ash, i.e. 8 days after Akbar's death.

Muhammad Hadi, in his preface to the Taruk-i-Jahangiri, says that Akbar died on the Shah-i Chaharshahbakhsh, 15th Jumada-i 'Ula; and Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Taruk refers the Jula to Thursday, the eighth Jumada-i 'Ula; but the word Jula is often confounded in MSS. with.

Again the Mirak, and Sharif-i Israil in his Iqbalnama, mention the Jula as having taken place on Thursday, the eleventh Jumada-i 'Ula. Lastly, the preface of the Farhang-i Jahangiri refers the jula in the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of Jumada-i 'Ula, [a mistake for al-ashar], corresponding to the ram-i bar, or the eleventh of Ashan.

\footnote{3} Vide Taruk, p. 22.
Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabstân collected his notes on Akbar's religion. 1

**THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.**

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The Khāqa 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 Halqa elephants are mustered, according to their number. On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered. The Bitikhl, 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 (dahā,3), 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 khāqa; its promotion in the halqas; the time when 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 Fawjdār has assigned to it. The rule is, that every Fawjdār 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 Fawjdārs.

Each day five tahwīlī (transferable) elephants are inspected by an

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1 Only one of Akbar's innovations, the Sūjā was formally abolished by Shāhjāhān. "During the reign of Shah Jahan (Akhbar), and Jamāl-malā (Jahāngīr), 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 Jālam. When His Majesty (Shah Jahan) mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to the reestablishment of the custom of the Jālam, the strict observance of which had died away, and turned his august zeal to re-establishing the edifice of the law of the Prophet, which had all but slumbered. Hence on the very day of his accession, His Majesty ordered that putting the forehead on the ground should be restricted to God, Malāhāt Khāsī, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, etc. His Majesty would not even allow the Zamīfus, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Tahwilī (Akhbar had fixed three, vide p. 166, l. 9)." Phalikdakhāna, I, p. 110.
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 Tabalettı 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 halqas are set apart for this purpose. The rank of the khâșa 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 halqas, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price. When all elephants have been mustered, the khâșa elephants are again examined, ten every day. Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves. After them come the halqas. 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 Fawjdârs 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 whomever he likes. If the number of the elephants of any Fawjdâr is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Fawjdârs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Fawjdâr 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 khâșa courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten-muhr horses have been inspected, they bring the Güts, Qisrûqs, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the Bûyûbh horses (vide p. 146, l. 25; p. 143, l. 10 from below, and A* in 54, p. 147). 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-muhr stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten-muhr stables. They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries. The precedence at musters of bāzār-horses is fixed according to the price. According to the number of horses available, from twenty to a hundred are daily mustered. Before the musters, experienced officers fix the prices, which are generally enhanced at the time of the parades. Horses above thirty muhrs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty. A cash-keeper attached to the State-hall is entrusted with money, so that horse-dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims. When horses have been bought they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange.

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three rupees for every 5Irāq, Mājānas (vide p. 147, note 3), and Arab, imported from Kābul and Persia; two and a half rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahār; and two from Kābul horses, and Indian Arab bred.

A* in 80.

THE MUSTER OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five qaṭārs are daily inspected. Those pānṣadēs (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest. The Head Dārogha has the permission to parade before His Majesty a qaṭār of excellent Bughdāis and Jammāzas. Then come the Bughdāis, and after them the Jammāzas, the Ghurds, the Loks, and all other camels. The commencement of the muster takes place
on Fridays, on which day double the usual number marches past. The precedence of camels is determined by their value.

\textit{Å'in 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 \textit{Đavan}—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.

\textit{Å'in 82.}

THE MUSTER OF MULES.

The muster of this beast of burden commences on Thursdays, when six \textit{qafārā} 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.

\textit{Å'in 83.}

THE PĂGOSHT REGULATION.\(^1\)

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores,

\(^1\) The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Akbar could justly inflict on the officers in charge of the animals belonging to the Court, if the condition of the animals did not correspond to his expectations. The daily extra quanta of food supplied to the animals, had been fixed by minute rules (Å'in 43, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Dāroghas (store-keepers) entered into their accounts, or day-books, the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fattness 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 fattness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food. (c) Similarly, he determined a fattness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (b), though Ahū 'l-Faqūl does not specify how this was done. The quantities A, B, etc.,
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 Paggahd 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 leaness. At the time of the musters also the degrees of fatness or leaness 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 leaness as reported, fixing at the same time the fine for leaness. 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 leaness of an elephant has been divided into thirteen classes...

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 Fawijdars, to mark, at the time of the musters of the baligs, one baliga which is the best in their opinion, and to put separate that which is the worst, the officers who inquire into the leaness and fatness, deduct fifty per cent. from the degree of the former, and count one half for the latter baliga. If the Fawijdar works in concert with the Dārogha, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Fawijdar is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dārogha for the remaining part of the food. The leaness of old elephants is fixed by the condition of the whole baliga. In the horse stables the grooms, water-carriers, and sweepers are fined one-fourth of the wages. In the case of camels, the Dārogha is fined the amount

were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as 8, 7A, 6A, etc. Thus in the case of elephants the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees.

Paggahd means a quarter of flesh, and evidently expresses that the food is only produced  
A instead of A. The name was then transferred to the regulation.

We do not know how the muster officers applied Akbar's rule, whether by measuring the circumference of an animal or by weighing it. The rule may appear fanciful and unpractical; but it shows how determined Akbar was to fathorn the dishonesty of his Dāroghas. Hence the carefulness which he showed in assessing fines (A. ms. 48, 27), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men, in reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by Alī, 4-Dīn Khānī and Sher Shāh, in fixing the perquisites in paying cash for all supplies, in allowing veterinary surgeons certain powers, etc.

\(^1\) 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 interpunction.
of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass. In the case of oxen used for carriages, the Dārogha 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.

A* in 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 everything 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 inquire 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 kāḍa; each has a name, and some peculiar qualities. A keeper is placed over every ten. There are three kinds of fighting deer, first, those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild ones; secondly, such as fight best with tame ones; and thirdly, such as fiercely attack wild deer. The fights are conducted in three different ways. First, according to number, the first fighting with the second, the third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole. At the second go, the first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. If a deer runs away, it is placed last; and if it is known to have run away three times, it ceases to be kāḍa. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 ḍāms. Secondly, with those belonging to the princes. Five kāḍa pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two kāḍa pair from His Majesty’s hunting-ground; then five other kāḍa pair. At the

1 To join Akbar’s Divine Faith.
2 The text has ā ḍā which is the Persian name of the cātār (H.), the “ravine-deer” of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.
same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting-ground fight, and afterwards five khāṭa deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince. Then fourteen khāṭa deer 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 khāṭa deer. The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhr. Thirdly, with the deer of other people.

His Majesty selects forty-two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets. The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven. To every set a Mal, a water-buffalo, a cow, a quagbūr (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 khāṭa 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 khāṭa deer is eight muhrs, and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhrs, if it be an Atlkal; and four, if an Aśīna. 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 Aśīnas. Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent. The latter is called Atlkal. In case of Mals, the betting is five muhrs; for water buffaloes and cocks, four; for cows and fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhrs on a khāṭa deer; and with one of his own rank, 3½ muhrs, if the bet is on an Atlkal; and three on an Aśīna; and so also in the same proportion on Mals, water-buffaloes, and cocks; but on cows, fighting rams, and goats, two. A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a khāṭa deer 50 rupees; and with one of his own rank, 30½ R. on an Atlkal, and 25 R. on an Aśīna; on a Mal 3½ muhrs; 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 30 R. on a khāṭa deer, with one of his own rank, 20 R. on an Atlkal; and 24 R. on an Aśīna.

1 Mal, according to Aṣhīn 8 of the second book, is the name for a Gujarāt wrestler.

2 In text qār, which in Persian is applied to the bull, cow, and bullock. It is improbable that cows were used for fighting. — P.

3 Or perhaps with his opponent in the set (māl).

4 See note 2 on previous page.)
on a Mal 3½ M.; on a water buffalo and cock, 2½ M., and on other animals as before. A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank on an Ațkal 27½ R.; on an Anīn 22 R.; on a Mal 3 M.; on other animals as before. A commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank, 25 R. on an Ațkal; 20 R. on an Anīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 M. [36 R.] on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 2½ M. on an Ațkal, and 2 M. on an Anīn; on other animals, as the preceding. A commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 21½ R. on an Ațkal; 17 R. on an Anīn; 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 khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank, 18½ R. on an Ațkal; 15 R. on an Anīn; 2½ M. on a Mal; on other animals as the preceding. A commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 15 R. on an Ațkal; 12 R. on an Anīn, and on other animals as before. A commander of One Hundred may bet 2 M. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 1½ M. on an Ațkal; 1 M. on an Anīn; and on other animals as before. A commander of Eighty may bet 16 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 10 R. on an Ațkal; 8 R. on an Anīn; 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 khāṣa deer; with one of his own rank 7½ R. on an Ațkal; 6 R. on an Anīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Twenty may bet 10 R. on a khāṣa deer; 6½ R. with one of his own rank on an Ațkal; 5 R. on an Anīn; on other animals as before. A commander of Ten may bet 8 R. on a khāṣa deer; and 5 R. on an Ațkal, with one of his own rank; 4 R. on an Anīn; on other animals as before. People who hold no māngasa, bet 4 R. on a khāṣa deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ R. on an Ațkal; 2 R. on an Anīn; 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 Anīn. 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 Bitikehī of this department appoints half the number of deer as Anīnas, and the other half as Ațkals. He then writes the names of the Ațkals on paper slips,
folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an Asūm. 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 khatśa deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the kotal deer; and the deficiency in the number of kotala is made up from half kota. One pair of kotala 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, 2 to 2½ R.

Deer are kept and fed as follows: Khāṣa deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 s. grain, ½ s. boiled flour, ¼ s. butter, and 1 d. for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty’s hunting-grounds, kota, 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 khatśa, 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 khatśa. 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, 1¼ s.

In the deer park, Mānasbādu, Ahādā, 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 ¼ s. of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter see 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 males also get weaned after two months, when they get ½ s. of grain, which is increased by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2½ s. From the fifth to the eighth month, they get ½ d. for grass, after which period they get ½ 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.

A in 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 Sarā is 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 inquired into every detail connected with this depart-
ment, 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.

A in 86.

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, ETC.

Many people are desirous of building houses; but honesty and
conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders. His Majesty has
carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of
articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied.
Red sandstone costs 3 d. per man. It is obtainable in the hills of Fatehpur Sikri, His Majesty’s residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture book of Māni [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red sandstone (sang-i gulūla), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the pharī, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 gaz long, 2¼ g. broad, and 1 g. high. Such a heap contains 172 mans, and has a value of 250 d., i.e. at the rate of 1 d. 11½ j. per man.

Bricks are of three kinds: burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three sers, and cost 30 d. per thousand. The second class cost 24 d., and the third 10 d. per thousand.

Wood. Eight kinds of wood are in general use. 1. Sisaut, unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 Hābi gaz long, and 8 Tāssūj broad and high, costs 15 d. 6 j. But if the height be only 5 or 6 T., 11 d. 10½ j. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. Nāzhū, called in Hindi Jīdh. A beam, 10 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 13½ j.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 3½ j. 3. Dasaug (1), called in Hindi Karī; a beam 3 T. broad, and 4 gaz long, costs 5 d. 17½ j. 4. Ber, 1 T. broad and high, 4 gaz long, 5 d. 17½ j.; so also Tūt, or Mulberry. 5. Mushlān (Bahūl), of the same cubic contents as No. 4, 5 d. 2 j. 6. Sīra, size as before, 10 d. 4 j. 7. Dayūl, same size, first quality 8 d. 22½ j.; second quality, 8 d. 6½ j. 8. Bakūya, same size, 5 d. 2 j.

Gai-i shirīn, 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. Qalī-yi sangīn, per man 5 d. 5 j. Sadafī 5 d. Chūma, or quicklime, 2 d. per man; it is mostly boiled out of kungur, a kind of 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-mekkh (large nails with broad heads), 12 d. per ser. Sītānī nails,

[1] Kīdān in text. In modern Persian this word means a sun-dried brick as opposed to āqar, a kiln-burnt brick.—P.

[2] In Platt’s text.—P.

[3] This word is spelt Chīd in Ar in 90, No. 59.


[5] “The Ber was in great request in Akber’s time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood.” Balfour’s Timber Trees of India.
5 d. per ser. Goga, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 d. for one hundred; second quality, 5 d.; smallest, 4 d.

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.

Khaprol, 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 thousand; enamelled, 30 d. for ten.

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

Bâs, 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 Ashrâfas [muhirs] per piece. They are used for making thrones. Bamboo, at a rupees per piece, is common. Patol, is made of the reed which is used for qalams (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ d. per square yâz; second quality, 1 d. Sometimes they sell patol at 2 d. for pieces 2 yâz long, and 1½ g. broad. Sirik 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 siriks broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

Khas 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 pûla, per ser from 100 to 10 d.

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

Kâh-i dâbh, straw, etc., which is put on roofs, 4 d. for a load of 2 mans.

Mûnj, the bark of qalams 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, etc., 3 d. per man.

Gum, of an inferior quality, is mixed with quicklime, 70 d. per man.

Sirîsh-i kâhî, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 d. per ser.

Lûk 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 qalâ. 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, gerū, 1 40 d. per man. There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwāliār.

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

ON THE WAGE OF LABOURERS.

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

Sang-turāsh (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 c. for each gaz; one who does plain work, 5 d. A labourer employed in quarries gets for every man he breaks, 22 j.

Carpenters, first class, 7 d.; second do., 6 d.; third do., 4 d.; fourth do., 3 d.; fifth do., 2 d. For plain job-work, a first class carpenter gets 1 d. 17 j. for one gaz; second class do., 1 d. 6 j.; third class do., 21 j.

Pinjara-sār (lattice worker and wicker worker). First, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 d. for every square gaz; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 d.; when hexagonal, 18 d.; when jaśfari [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical, the other horizontal], 16 d.; when ṣahasrājī [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 d. for every square gaz.

Secondly, when the work is ḍhāye-vasī (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 d. per square gaz; for second class do., 40 d.

Arra-kash (one who saws beams). For job-work, per square gaz 2½ d., if sīna wood; if māchū wood, 2 d. A labourer employed for the day, 2 d. There are three men for every saw, one above, two below.

Bildārs (bricklayers), 2 first class, daily 3½ d.; second class do., 3 d. If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 d. per gaz; for laying foundations, 2½ d.; for all other walls, 2 d. For digging ditches, ½ d. per gaz.

The gaz of a labourer contains 32 tassāj.

Chih-kum, or well-diggers, first class workmen, 2 d. per gaz; second class do., 1½ d.; third class, 1¼ d.

1 Gerū, H. Armenian bolo.—P.
2 Bel-dīr a digger, a plougher.—P.
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. Sain (Acacia suma)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Baxam (Caesalpinia spilopoda)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>11. Kharhar</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>12. Mahwa (Bassia latifolia)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>13. Chandani</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>14. Phulahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Red Sandal, in Hindi Rakhi Chandan (Pterocarpus santalinus)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>16. Chamri</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>17. Chamar Mamri</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>18. Ummab (Zizyphus sativa)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>19. Sisa Patang (vide No. 40)</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>20. Sandan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>21. Shamshad (Buxus sempervirens)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>22. Dhau (Grislea tomentosa)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>23. Amla, Hind Aywlah, (Emblica officinalis)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>24. Karil (Sterculia setida)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>25. Shankal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>26. Sali (Shorea robusta)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree Shāh Alā; but in Kābul and Persian it is called Alā Bālā.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Kailas (Cherry-tree)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Nimba (Azadirachta indica)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Dārhard (Berberis aristata)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Man</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Babul (Acacia arabica)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Sāgaun</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>34. Bijaysar</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Pilā</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Mulberry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. Dhāman</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. Bān Barās</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Sīrs (Acacia odoratissima)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Sisaū (Dulbergia sissoo; vide No. 19)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1 Alā-Bālā is a sour dark cherry.—P.]

[2 Gilās in Persia and Kashmir is a sweet cherry.—P.]
42. Chhaukar .......................... 12 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) 22
43. Duddhi ................................ 12 13\(\frac{1}{2}\) 32
44. Haldi ................................ 12 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) 30
45. Kain (Nauteca parviflora) ........ 12 8 20
46. Jâman (Jamboa) ..................... 12 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) 5
47. Parâs ................................ 11 29 —
48. Bar (Ficus indica) .................. 11 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) 17
49. Khandû ................................ 11 4 —
50. Chanâr 1.............................. 11 2 20
51. Chârmaghz (Walnut-tree) ...... 10 20 —
52. Champâ (Michelia champaca) .. 10 19\(\frac{1}{4}\) 22
53. Ber (Zizyphus jujuba) .......... 10 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) 21
54. Âmb (Mango, Mangifera indica) 10 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) 34
55. Pâparî (Ulmus) ..................... 9 34 —
56. Diyâr (Cedrus deodar) .......... 8 25 20
57. Bed (Willow) ....................... 8 9 30
58. Kumbhîr (Gumbhir (?), gmelina arborea) 8 13 34
59. Chîdh (Pinus longifolia) ...... 8 9 20
60. Pipal. The Brahmins worship this tree (Ficus religiosa) .......... 7 7 31
61. Kathal (Jacktree, Artocarpus integrifolia) .. 7 7 22\(\frac{1}{4}\)
62. Gurdaïn ................................
63. Rûherâ (Terminalia beilerica) ...
64. Palâs (Butea frondosa) .......... 6
65. Surgh Bed .......................... 6
66. Ák (Calotropis gigantea) ...... 5
67. Señbal (Cotton-tree) .......... 5
68. Bakáyin (Melia composita) .. 5
69. Lahsorâ (Cordia mérz) .......
70. Padâmkh (Cerasus capprinana) ..
71. And .................................
72. Safidâr .............................

In the above weights the ser has been taken at 28 dâms.

1 Chanâr, the Plano.—P.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

Arm 1.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY.

His Majesty guides the Imperial Army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.

With some tribes, His Majesty is content, if they submit; he does not exact much service from them, and thus leads many wild races towards civilization.

The Zamindars of the country furnish more than four million, 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 Alahdis, because they are fit for a harmonious unity. His Majesty believes some capable of commanding, and appoints them as commanders.

A large number are worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand. Turanis and Persians get 25 Rupees; and Hindustanis, 20 R. If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 R. Such troopers are called Barahwadi.

Some commanders, who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called Dakhitis.

In the contingent of a commander (manshabdâr) of Ten Thousand, other manshabdâres as high as Hazâris (commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Eight Thousand, Manshabdâres up to Haftshadis (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Seven Thousand, Manshabdâres up to Haftshadis (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve; in the contingent of
a commander of Five Thousand, other Mangabdras as high as Pranadis (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a Pranadis, Mangabdras as high as Sadis (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Mangabdras of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Mangabdras.

Some commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called Kumakias.

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.\(^1\) Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot-soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a tattu\(^2\) 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 A in 7). This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system. But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty; hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves, nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army. Horse borrowing was then the order of the day. His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System. Easy-minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, low men were taught honourableness 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

\(^1\) In text \(\text{بکار کشیده مبارزی بود.}\) – P.

\(^2\) For tattu H. pony. – P.
beneficial. Such are the results which wisdom and practical knowledge can produce: \( A^{+}\text{in } 2. \)

**ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.**

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system \([v i d e \ p. 147, n o t e 2]\). 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 inquired 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 everything 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, Yabous, Tuzis, and Jangla horses.*

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 dãms per mensem; and get daily 6 a. of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 d. per man), 2½ d. of ghe, 2 d. for sugar, and 3 d. for grass. Also, for a *jul, artak, yilpuck, girth* \(^1\) (His Majesty does not call it tang, but a *farukhi*), \(^2\) *gaddi nakhtaband,* \(^2\) *qayza* (which the vulgar pronounces *qayza*), *magassan,* *curry-comb, hatthi* (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, *pây-band,* nails, etc. \([v i d e \ p. 144]\), 70 d. per mensem, which outlay is called *kharj-i yawq-i asp* (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 d. for the saddle, and an *apchi* (\(^1\)) 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 inquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 d. by 81 d.; and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 dãms, 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

\(^1\) *Tang* is girth, but *farukhi* is a body-roller, not a girth.—P.

\(^2\) *Nakhtaband* for *nakht* head-stall.?—P.
each class of horses, except Janglas, which horses are nowadays entirely left out in the accounts.

The second class are horses bred in Persia,¹ or such as resemble Persian² 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 yarāq, 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. 147, note 3], and are mostly Turkī, or Persian geldings.³ 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, etc.; 15 d. less in ghi; 3 d. less for the groom; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 d.; second, 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fourth class are horses imported from Turān; though strong and well-formed, they do not come up to the preceding. Monthly allowance, 480 d. Of this, 298 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 60 d. less than for Mujannas horses, viz., 30 d. less for sugar, 30 d. less for grass; 10 d. less for the yarāq; 4 d. less for the saddle, bridle, etc.; 2 d. less for shoeing; 2 d. less for ghi. 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, 50 d.; third, 80 d.

The fifth class (yābū horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size. Their performances also are mostly bad. They are the offspring of Turkī horses with an inferior breed. Monthly cost 400 d. Of this, 239 d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 50 d. less than the preceding; viz., 28 d. for ghi; 15 d. less for the groom; 10 d. less for the yarāq; and 6 d. less for the saddle, bridle, etc. 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 Tāzī; the middling, Janglas; the inferior ones, Tātū.⁴

Good mares are reckoned as Tāzīs; if not, they are counted as Janglas.

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

¹ Īrāq, i.e. Ajam.—P. ² "Traqī horses,"—P. ³ Jāblak does not mean gelding but "of mixed breed".—P. ⁴ For Tātū, H.—P.
2. Jangla. Monthly cost, 240 d., of which 145½ d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ d. less than for Tāzi. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at 5 ells. Hence there are 15 d. less for grass; 9 d. less for grain; 6 d. less for ghee and molasses; 1 4½ d. less for the yariq; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ d.; second, 25 d.; third, 40 d.

Formerly mules were reckoned as Tāzi horses; but nowadays, as Jangla.

For Tāzi² the monthly expenditure is 160 d.; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Ah's J-Pazl's items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Bālī, one, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth, and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindustān was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwals responsible for it; vide Bālī II, p. 390.1.5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a Munabdar, brought horses with them, for which the Munabdar received from the treasury an allowance according to the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>VI.</th>
<th>VII.</th>
<th>VIII.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amāla</td>
<td>Persian Horses</td>
<td>Mughal Horses</td>
<td>Turk Hand</td>
<td>Yariq</td>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Jangla</td>
<td>Tikka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
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<td>Ghee</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
<td>7½ d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yariq</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle &amp;c</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td>53 d.</td>
<td>65 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original Allowance ........................................ 478 d. 438 d. 358 d. 298 d. 298 d. 188 d. 143½ d.

1st Increase ........................................ 81 d. 67 d. 72 d. 62 d. 62 d. 62 d. 22 d. 18½ d.

2nd Ditto ........................................ 90 d. 75 d. 60 d. 60 d. 60 d. 60 d. 25 d. 18½ d.

3rd Ditto ........................................ 90 d. 80 d. 80 d. 80 d. 80 d. 80 d. 25 d. 18½ d.

Total monthly cost in dāma 720 d. 680 d. 660 d. 480 d. 400 d. 320 d. 240 d. 160 d.

The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Ah's J-Pazl comes from Class IV; but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. Ghee and molasses were generally given together; vide p. 142.

¹ Claus.: seems in probably gup, H.—P.
² See footnote 8, p. 244.—P.
3. Elephants. The branded elephants of the army are divided into seven classes: Mast, Sherqir, Sadra, Manjhora, Karha, Phandurkiya, and Mukal, elephants; but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty's elephant stables [vide p. 131, l. 27].

The monthly allowance for Mast elephants is 1,320 dâms [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ minas. No elephant has more than three servants, a Mahâwat, a Bho, 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.

Sherqir elephants. Monthly cost, 1,100 d., which is 220 d. less than the former. Grain, 2 m. per diem, which makes 180 d. less per mensem; also 15 d. less for the Mahâwat and the Bho. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 d.

Sadra 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 Mahâwat and the Bho. An increase of 50 d. was sanctioned.

Manjhora 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 Mahâwat. No Bho is allowed. The additional grant is 60 d.

Phandurkiya 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.

Mukal 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, dâms are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation.

4. 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 dâms, 20 d. more were allowed.

5. 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.

6. Oxen for the wagons. For each waggon, the monthly expenditure is 600 d., viz. 480 d. for four oxen; 120 d. for grease, repairs, and additional comforts.
Elephants and waggons are only allowed to Mansabdârs, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

A*ia 3. THE MANŞÂBDÂRS. 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 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. 2 To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favour. 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

1 The Arabsians say mansab; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced mansab. It means a post, an office, hence mansabdâr, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

2 "When the Collector of the Diwân 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 (taqarrar), 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 Islam, the true religion; and to show contempt to false religion: 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 Islam-i Akhâ (Abû Hanîfah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the Jizya from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, "Either death or the Islam."" Turâzi Firdawî Shâhî, p. 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the sufi.
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 Mansabdars, from the Dababi (Commander of Ten) to the Dah Hazari (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand to his august sons.

The deep-sighted saw a sign, and inquirers got a hint from above when they found the value of the letters of God's holy name; they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign, and considered it a most auspicious omen. The number of Mansabs is sixty-six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of Allah, which is an announcement of eternal bliss.

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 mansab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Mansabdars vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his mansab, 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.

Yubashi (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 Dababi troopers are nowadays 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 Du-bista, the fixed number of Turki and Jangla horses, and of elephants, is not enforced. For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned generally Majmous, rarely

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6 Jalilah. This curious word is, according to Babr-i Ajam, an abbreviation of the phrase Jalil jadb-ke, "May His glory shine forth." It is then used in the sense of God, thus the dual jadabiya, saying Allah! Allah! and qadam-i jadb saying the word Allah 125,000 times. Similarly here: the 66 mansabs correspond to the value of the letters of Jalilah, i.e., 66 = 1 + 30 + 30 + 5 = 66. Abul 'l-Fazl makes much of the coincidence, for Akbar's name was Jalal-ud-Din, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say coincidence, because of the sixty-six mansabs only one half existed.

7 Abul 'l-Fazl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Had, oni says Akbar learnt the art from the Jogia.
Yābūs; and Dabhāshis are excused the Türkî horse, though their salaries remain as before.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR ON THE MANŠABS.

The sixty-six Manšabs, detailed by Abū 'l-Ħaḡl in the following table, appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Manšabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar's plan; but the list of grandees, as given by Abū 'l-Ħaḡl himself in the 30th Āʾīn of this Book, only mentions thirty-three—the three commands of the three Princes from 10,000 to 7,000; and thirty commands of the Manšabdārs, namely commands of 5,000, 4,500, 4,000, 3,500, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,250, 1,000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10. On the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Āʾīn, though the List of Grandees of Shāh Jahān's time (Pādshāḥnāma, II, p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Manšabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

Abū 'l-Ħaḡl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Manšabdārs of 500; he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list. Of the Commands below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, viz.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 (Yābūshis)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all, 1,388 Commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Manšabdārs from 5,000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abū 'l-Ħaḡl made his list.

As Abū 'l-Ħaḡl's List (Āʾīn 30), according to the testimony of Niğām-i Harawī is a complete list, it is certain that of the 66 Manšabs of the

1 Niğām 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 tafsil-i nāma-yi hur yah-rā afzālpanah Shāykh Abū 'l-Ħaḡl dar kitāb-i Akbarnāma marqām-i qalam-i badāʾī zagrām gardamāda.
following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shahjahān’s grandees in the Pādishāhīnāmā, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the Pādishāhīnāmā are:—Four commands of the princes (Dārā Shikoh, 20,000; Shāh Shujā, 15,000; Awrangzehb, 15,000; Murād Bakhsh, 12,000) and commands of 9,000, 7,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500.

From the fact that Abū l-Faḍl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the Pādishāhīnāmā up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar’s time, Maṇṣabas under 200, and at Shāhjahān’s time, Maṇṣabas under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of Amīr. To judge from Nizām’s Ṭabaqat and the Ma’ṣūr-i Raḥimī, Maṇṣabdārs from the Hazārī (Commander of 1,000) were, at Akbar’s time, styled umarā-khār, or umarā-i ṭizām, great Amīrs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to Maṇṣabdārs from the Hazārīs upwards. Nizām does restrict his phrases ba-maṭalabi-yī imārat rasīd, or dar jarga (or silk, or zumra)-yi umarā muntazam gusht, to commanders from Hazārīs.

The title Amīr-i ṭ-umārā (the Amīr of the Amīrs, principal Amīr), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously. Nizām gives his title to Adham Khān, Khisr Khwāja Khān, Mir Muhammad Khān Atkah, Maṇsafr Khān, Qutb d-Dīn Muhammad Khān, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bayrām Khān, Mun̄sim Khān, and Mīrzā ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥīm, the three latter being styled Khān Khānān,1 or Khān Khānān o Ṣipāshālūr.

In the Pādishāhīnāmā, however, the title of Amīr-i ṭ-Umarā is restricted to the first living grandee (Ṣāli Mardān Khān).

It is noticeable that Nizām only mentions commanders of 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000—for lower Maṇṣabas he does not specify names. Abū l-Faḍl gives three intermediate Maṇṣabās of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks we may conclude that these Maṇṣabās were unusual. This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders; for if we leave out the commands of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250, we have, according to Ān in 30, twelve steps from 5,000 to 500, and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs. 2,500) is the twelfth part of the salary of a commander of 5,000 (Rs. 30,000). The Pādishāhīnāmā gives fourteen steps between the

1 For Khān-i Khwāna, the Khān of the Khwāns. In such titles the Persian ṭāfī is left out.
commanders of 7,000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a commander of 7,000 at one kror of dāms per annum, or 250,000 Rs., stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion. The Persian Dictionary, entitled Ghīyās' 'l-lughāt, states that the salary of a commander of 5,000 is one kror, or 250,000 Rs., and that the salary of a Panṣādi, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs. per annum, the 12th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Manṣabdārs, as given by Abū 'l-Faḍl in the following table, are somewhat higher than those given in the Pādīshāh-nāma and the Ghīyās, whatever may have been the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be considerably reduced, if each Manṣabdar had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, etc., which Abū 'l-Faḍl specifies for each rank. Taking the preceding Ā in and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, etc., mentioned in the following table, would amount, for a commander of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary (Rs.)</th>
<th>Monthly Salary (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three classes which Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions for each Manṣab differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p. 249, l. 23.

A commander of 5,000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5,000 men. In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Manṣabdar. Thus Nizām says of Todar Mall and Qutb 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4,000 cavalry, and the latter 5,000 nakhars, or servants, i.e., soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4,000 (Nizām says 5,000), and Qutb 'd-Dīn a commander of 5,000. Of 'Abdul majid Āṣif Khān, a commander of 3,000 (vide Ā in 30, No. 49), Nizām says, "he reached a point when he had 20,000." In the Pādīshāh-nāma, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 commanders of 500 under Shāhjahān, only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers. This also explains the use of the word ژت after the titles of Manṣabdārs; as panj hazār-yi ژت sikhzār suwār, "a commander of 5,000, personally ژت, or by rank, and in actual command of 3,000 cavalry." Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as Shāyista Khān panj hazār-i, panj hazār suwār-i dwaṣpa sikaṣpa, "Shāyista Khān, a commander of 5,000, contingent 5,000 cavalry, with two horses, with three horses."
is called duaspä, if he has two horses, and sihaspa, if three, in order to change horses during eghär or forced marches. But keeping duaspä sihaspa troopers was a distinction, as in the Pādīshāhānāma only the senior Mansabdārs of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhażāris; 1 Chahārzāri; 2 Sihhażāri; 2 Dhażāri; 2 Hazār o pansaḍi; 1 Hazari; and 1 Haftaḍi.

The higher Mansabdārs were mostly governors of Şūbas. The governors were at first called sipahsālārs; towards the end of Akbar’s reign we find them called Hākima, and afterwards Şāhīb Şāboh, or Şūba-dārs, and still later merely Şūbas. The other Mansabdārs held Jāgira, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mansabdārs are also called tābīnatiyān (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called tābīnāt (followers); hence tābīnāshi, the Mansabdār himself, or his Bakhaštī (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Mansabdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general or the local treasuries; vide Aśins 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 Şāhbāz Khaṇ (vide pp. 148, 197) was appointed Mir Bakhshi. The following passage from Bādā,om (II, p. 190) is interesting:

"The whole country, with the exception of the Khāliqa lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as jāgīr; and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops or take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency, they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but really useful soldiers there were none. Şāhbāz Khaṇ, the Mir Bakhshi, introduced the custom and rule of the dāgh o mahallī, which had been the rule of Āla ʻd-Dīn Khilji, and afterwards the law under Sher Şāh. It was settled that every Amir should commence as a commander of twenty (bīnī), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and ...", as had

---

1. The pronunciation of the Persian word for "tabīnāt" is tābīnāt, the Indian pronunciation of tāχινάτ, the Persian word for "tabīnāt" is tāχιν, the Indian pronunciation of tāχιν, the Persian word for "tabīnāt" is tāχιν, the Indian pronunciation of tāχιν, the Persian word for "tabīnāt" is tāχιν, the Indian pronunciation of tāχι

2. The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For kā read Khaṭā; for ādāna, we have perhaps to read gādāna, having brought to the memory of (Akhlar); for tabīnā, read tabīnā; for pānaḥ Khaṭā, read pānaḥ be-Khaṭā; for ādāna, read ādāna.

3. The Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Šāhī says but little regarding it. The words dāgh o mahallī occur very often together.

4. Ojār o suhāde (1). For jār, a Turkish word, vide Vullers.
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 Safi, or commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Mansabs, 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 Hazari, Dhazari, and even Panj hazari, which is the highest Mansab; 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 attendants into soldiers' clothes (liba-i sipahi), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their jagirs, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the Mansabdar remained in status 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 (maddaf), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Muslim, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Mansab, or were made Krois (vide p. 13, l. 7 from below), or Ahadis, or Dakhilis 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 Divan-khama-yi khuss, 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 Ahadis into du-arpa, yakarpa (having one horse), and nimarpa (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.\(^3\)

Weigh well these facts, but put no question!

These were things of daily occurrence . . . . \(^2\) but notwithstanding

\(^3\) So according to one MS. The passage is not quite clear.

\(^2\) Here follows a sentence which I do not know how to translate.
all this, His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amirs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants.  

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men and of animals, carts, etc.; the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the Aṣīn; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (pp. 225-7, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (kastrot), in order to understand the whole (mahdat)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success. 

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's army. We may, however, quote a statement in the Pādi-shāhānāma regarding the strength of Shāhjahān's army; vide Pādishāhn. 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 Faujdārs, Khoris, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganas. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows:—

8,000 Mansabdārs.

7,000 mounted Ahaṣī and mounted Bargandār.

185,000 cavalry, consisting of the contingents (tābinān) of the princes, the chief grandees, and the other Mansabdārs.

"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 sūbas 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 (Shāhjahān). If a Mansabdār holds a jāgīr in the same sūba, in which he holds his manṣāb, he has to muster one-third of the force indicated by his rank. Accordingly a Shāhār-yi sūt sīh-hazār susūr (a commander of 3,000, personal rank, contingent 3,000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another sūba, he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly, a Chahār-hazār chahār-hazār susūr (a commander of 4,000, contingent, 4,000) has only to muster 1,000 cavalry."

1 Vide p. 11, note.
2 The edition of the Pādishāhnāma has wrongly 3,000.
3 Literally, he has to bring his followers (troopers) to the brand (dāgh) according to the third part.
"At the time the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055]. His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Manṣābdār should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a Panjhasāri panj hazār suwar (a commander of 5,000; contingent, 5,000) mustered only 1,000; viz., 300 sihaspa troopers, 600 du-aspa troopers, 100 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,200 horses], provided the income (hāṣil) of his jāgir was fixed at 12 months; or 250 sihaspa troopers, 500 du-aspa troopers, and 250 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men with 2,000 horses], provided the income of his jāgir was fixed at 11 months; or 800 du-aspa troopers, and 200 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 1,000 men and 1,800 horses], if the income of his jāgir was fixed at 10 months; or 600 du-aspa troopers and 400 yak-aspa, if at 9 months; or 450 du-aspa and 550 yak-aspa troopers, if at 8 months; or 250 du-aspa and 750 yak-aspa troopers, if at 7 months; or 100 du-aspa and 900 yak-aspa troopers, if at 6 months; or 1,000 yak-aspa, if at 5 months.

But if the troopers to a mansab had all been fixed as si-aspa du-aspa [in other words, if the commander was not a Panj hazār, panj hazār suwar, but a Panj hazār panj hazār suwar-i du-aspa si-aspa] he musters, as his proportion of du-aspa and sihaspa troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mansab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a Panj hazār panj hazār tumām du-aspa si-aspa (a commander of 5,000; contingent, only du-aspa and si-aspa; would muster 600 troopers with three horses, 1,200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [i.e., 2,000 men with 4,400 horses], provided the income of his jāgir 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 Manṣābdār, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shābjahān. Thus if a commander of 1,000 troopers had the title of Ḥazār hazār suwar, the strength of his contingent was \( \frac{1,000}{4} = 250 \) men with 650 horses, viz., 75 si-aspa, 150 du-aspa, and 25 yak-aspa; and if his title was Ḥazār hazār suwar-i du-aspa si-aspa, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1,300 horses, viz., 150 si-aspa, 300 du-aspa, and 50 yak-aspa, if the income of his jāgir was drawn by him for every month of the year. The above passage also indicates that the proportions of si-aspa, and du-aspa, and yak-aspa troopers was for all mansabs as 300: 600: 100, or as 3: 6: 1.

As the author of the Pādiṣhāhuūma does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Manṣābdārs 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 jagirs.

From an incidental remark (Pādīshāhānāma, I, p. 113), we see that the pay of a commander of sīhaspa du-aspa troopers was double the pay allowed to a commander of yak-aspas. This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter.

The strength also of Awrangzeb’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, Abū ‘l-Faṣl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the A* in.

250 Commanders of 100 (Yūzbāshīs)

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 Mīrzā ʿAbdār-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Akbar’s Commander-in-Chief. Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry. The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery. In A* in 6, Abū ‘l-Faṣl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Aḥadīs, of which Shāhjahān had 7,000, 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. Bādā, onī mentions an Aḥadī of the name of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husayn as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Manṣabdārs, which under Shāhjahān amounted to 8,000, was also much less. Of the 415 Manṣabdārs whose names are given in A* in 30, about 150 were dead when Abū ‘l-Faṣl wrote it,1 so that there would be about

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1 The list of grandees in A* in 30 is quoted in Nīghān’s Tabaqāt which do not go beyond A.H. 1002, as the author died in October, 1504; but it may be still older, as Nīghān assigns to several Manṣabdārs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abū ‘l-Faṣl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 993, when the three princes (Bād. II, p. 342) were appointed Commanders of 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 respectively, whilst in Abū ‘l-Faṣl’s Last, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) is still put down as a Commander of 10,000, Murād as Commander of 8,000, and Dīnūrī as of 7,000.
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1 For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 185.
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250 higher Mansabdars, to which we have to add 1,388 lower Mansabdars, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1,600 Mansabdars.

But Akbar's Mansabdars, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mansabdars of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (zor) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Mansabdars had even to furnish men with four horses (chahar-aspa). A Dabbāshi, or Commander of ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses; but in later times (vide A* in 5) the Chahar-aspas were discontinued, and a Dabbāshi furnished 10 men with 18 horses. As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazāris would have had to bring 1,800 horses, whilst a Hazāri at the time of Shāhjāhān only furnished 650.

Of non-commissioned officers a Mirdaha is mentioned; vide note 1, p. 116. The pay of a Mirdaha 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, Abū l-Fazl has put them into the first book of this work (A* in 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 Mansabdars.
Badāoni, in the above extract, p. 258, speaks of a *libās-i sipāhī*, or soldier's uniform (armour?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Mangābdars consisted in certain flags (*vide* p. 52, l. 6, from below), and the ghargūl or gong (*vide* in the beginning of the fourth book, Ā’in-i Ghargūl).

Ā’in 4.

**THE AḤADĪS.**

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Mangāb, 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 Aḥadīs (from aḥad, 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 Aḥadīs, a separate Diwān 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 Aḥadīshīps. 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 Yūd-dāsh, the Taṣḥīqa, the descriptive roll, and accounts (*vide* Ā’in 10). The paymaster then takes security and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths. Many Aḥadīs have indeed more than 500 Rupees per mensem. He then gets the number nine as his brand (*vide* Ā’in 7). In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Aḥadīs mustered eight horses, but now the limit is five. On his sar-khāt (*vide* Ā’in 11) each receives a fārmāncha (rank and pay certificate), on which after year the treasurer makes payments.

Aḥadīs are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Diwān and the Bakšish, which is called nowadays Taṣhlīha, the

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1 Or, as we would say, by 75 or even 92\% 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 Aḥadī was promoted to a Taṣhlīshīp as the next step. *Vide* p. 20, note 1.
3 The Taṣhlīha corresponds, therefore, to a "life certificate." Arabic Infinitives II take in modern Persian a final ā: thus taṣhlīha (*vide* below, Ā’in 10), taṣhlīfe (*vide* p. 101, note 1), etc.
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 Aḥādi generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called Saqātnāma,¹ 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 Saqātnāma 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 ʿirmās money,² and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or if the Aḥādi be in debt, in eight instalments.

As I have said something about the Mansābdārs and the Aḥādis, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers.

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 Yūk-aspa trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his horse be an ʿIrāqi, he gets 30 R., per mensum; if mujannas, 25 R.; if Tūkū̄, 20 R.; if a Yābū, 18 R.; if a Tūzī, 15 R.; if a Jungla, 12 R.

The revenue collectors of domain lands get 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.

1 From saqqās, he fell.
2 Or armanāz money. The word ʿirmās may be Inf. IV, or plural of rumās, a grave. Badā,eni evidently reads ʿirmās, because in II, p. 292, he explains ʿirmās by ʿarmāl-i dashma, the burying or destruction of the toes, which word the grandees used instead of jubāb-i ajdāz, requesting stores, etc. Hence ʿirmās, a request made for military supplies or for salary.
Every Dah-bāshī had to muster 2 chahār-aspa, 3 si-aspa, 3 du-aspa, and 2 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Mansābādārs in the same proportion. But now a Dah-bāshī's contingent consists of 3 si-aspa, 4 du-aspa, and 3 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses].

THE INFANTRY.

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers. They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

The writer of these . . . is the Avāra-nāvis. Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry. There are several classes of them. The first class gets 500 dāms; the second, 400 d.; the third, 300 d.; the fourth, 240 d.

The Bandūq-chīs, or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced Bātikchī, an honest treasurer, and an active Daroga. A few Bandūq-chīs 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.

Common Bandūq-chīs 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 Darbāns, or Porters.

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace. The pay of the Mirdakus is fivefold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 d. Common Darbāns have from 100 to 120 d.

The Khidmatiyas.

The Khidmatiyas also belong to the infantry. They guard the environs of the palace, and see that certain orders are carried out. Panjāhīs

1 The text has a word which does not suit.
to Biśtā have 200 d.; and a Dah-bāshī 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 Māvīs. Their chief has received the title of Khidmat Rāšt. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khidmatīyyas.4

The Mewārs.5

They are natives of Mewāt, 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 Shamskherbāz, or Gladiators.

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they show 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 Lākrāšt. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called yāk-bāšt. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call chīrva. Those who come from the southern districts make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call tīlēc.

Another class goes by the name of Pharāhīs. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a gaz broad.

Some again are called Banāśās. They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a gaz long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of Banakūs is 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

4 They are called in the Turāk-i Jahāngīrī Payāshās yā Khidmatīyya. The name of their chief under Jahāngīr was Rāšt Mān. He once picked up the young Shāh Shu'āś who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. Turāk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 303.
5 Among the innovations made by Akbar are the Dah-Mewārs, of whom some were stationed at every place." Khāfi Khān, I. p. 243. Hence the Mewārs were chiefly postmen.
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 Ḡaddi (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ḥaddi, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 dinars.

The Pahlava, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Türk wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindustān, clever Muls from Gujarāt, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 dinars. 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—Mirzā Khān of Ghilān; Muḥammad Quli of Tabriz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of Sher-hamla, or Lion-attacker; Šādiq of Buḥārā; Āli of Tabriz; Murād of Turkistān; Muḥammad Āli of Türkān; Fālād of Tabriz; Qāsim of Tabriz; Mirzā Kūma-suwar of Tabriz; Shāh Quli of Kurdistān; Hīlāl of Abyssinia; Sadhū Dayāl; Āli; Sri Rām; Kanhyā; Mangol; Ganesh; Ānbā; Nānkā; Balbhādr; Bajrānāth.

The Chelas, or Slaves.¹

His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name bānda, or slave; for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God. He therefore calls this class of men Chelas, which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple.² Through His Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness.³

Various meanings attach to the term slave.⁴ 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

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¹ Chela, H., disciple, etc.—P.
² The word Chela is the same as the Arāb. šarīd, a disciple who places implicit belief in his šarīd or pir, the head of the sect. "And many of His Majesty's special disciples, in 901, called themselves chelas in imitation of the use of this term among Jōgs."—Bakhtiyār II, p. 322.
³ The author of the pretty Tarkīra, entitled Kalīmat-e Šaḵarā, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called Chela. His real name is Mirzā Muḥammad Aftāl; as a poet he is known as Sariḵašā.
⁴ By joining the Divine Faith.
⁵ Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his pir.
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 Chelas 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, honours 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 Kuhârs*, or *Pâlî* 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 *pâlîs*, *singhâsana*, *chauflôs*, and *dûlîs*, 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 Dakhin and Bengal. At Court, several thousand of them are kept. The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 d. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 d.

*Dâkhîli* troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Manṣâbdârs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nîme suvîrûn*, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dâkhîli 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 Mirdahas of the archers get from 120 to 180 d.; common archers from 100 to 120 d.

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.
REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS.

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright Bāškhis 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 Dārogha 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 Taqīqa [rāde Ā‘ in 10].

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the Manṣābdārs.

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 Dārogha. He takes them in the manner described above [rāde Ā‘ in 4] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay. He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge'.

When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the Wāqf Naqīs (Ā‘ in 10), the Mīr ʻArz, and the officer commanding the guards. On the strength of this certificate, the Dārogha of the dāgh (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter sīn (i.e. like this, ᵗ), and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse. For some time, it was made in shape of two nilfs intersecting at right angles, the heads of the nilf being made heavy as in this figure 的性格, and put on the right thigh. For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off. At last, numerals were introduced, which plan 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 Manşabdârs, 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 (rule
next A•in), brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand
his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhis
commenced to count from the day he was 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
Bakshis, 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.

A•in 8.

ON THE REPLICATION OF THE MARK.

The servants (Manşabdârs) 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 Manşabdâr delays bringing his men to the muster, one-tenth of his
jâgir (ajâtân) 1 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 had a particular mark, the mark is merely repeated
at the 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 jâgirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and

1 Properly  işletme, Inf. IV, of ajâta; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as
ajâta. The king is therefore called ajâtâ, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr.
n. ajâtâ, the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Mogul historians accuse Sher
Shâh. Vide end of A•in 10, third book. Maya, past part., one on whom lands have been
conferred; so often in the Tarikh e Furât Shâh. From the times of Akbar the words
ajâta, and jâgir are used as synonyms; before his time we only find ajâta used; but
jâgir occurs, or jâgir, in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word ajâta is but
rarely met with.
muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jāgers 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 Manṣabdār has been promoted to a higher Manṣah, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (ذائت) 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.

Ẫ* in 9.

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD.

Mounting guard is called in Hindi chaukt. 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 Manṣabdār. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mīrs Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mīrs 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. 116) 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.

† in 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WĀQĪA-NAWĪS. 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 ⁴ which he imposes on himself; appointments to mansabs; contingents of troops; salaries; jāgirs; Ḫīrās money (vide above, p. 260, note 2); sayyāḏghals (rent-free land); the increase or decrease of

¹ From ṭālīqa an event and nawīs a writer. Instead of ṭālīqa-nawīs we also find wāqīa-nawīs.

² There was a ṭālīqa-nawīs, or recorder, in each Sāla. From several places in the Tazak-i-Jahāngīr, we see that the Bahshahs of the Sābas often held the posts of wāqīa-nawīs at the same time. Vīde Tazuk, p. 121, l. 2; p. 137, l. 1; p. 171, l. 5.

³ 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.

⁴ Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals. Vīde above, p. 200, l. 9.

⁵ Especially fasts.
taxes; contracts; sales, money transfers; pakkaah (tribute receipts);
dispatch; the issue of orders; the papers which are signed by His
Majesty; the arrival of reports; the minutes thereon; the arrivals of
courtiers; their departures; the fixing of periods; the inspection
of the guards; battles, victories, and peace; obituarIES of well-known
persons; animal-fights and the bettings on them; the dying of horses;
capital punishments; pardons granted by His Majesty; the proceedings
of the general assemblies; marriages, births; chauqān games (vide
Ā*īn 29); chaupar nārd, chess, card games, etc.; 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 Parwānčē, by the
Mīr Ār, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report
in this state is called yād-dāah, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid
style. They receive yād-dāah when completed, keep it with themselves,
and make a proper abridgement of it. After signing it, they return
this instead of the yād-dāah, when the abridgement is signed and sealed
by the Wāqīnā-nawīs, and the Risāāla-dār, the Mīr Ār, and the Dāroghā.
The abridgement, thus completed, is called Taṣīqa, and the writer
is called Taṣīqa-nawīs.

The Taṣīqa is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers
of state.

His Majesty's object is, that every duty be properly performed;
that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department; that
dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem;
and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and
forgetful men be held in check.

Ā*īn 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

3 Taṣīqa means the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. to taṣīqa sanads to come
at times not appointed beforehand, unexpectedly.
4 The text has riśīla, which stands for rišīla-dār, as, in later times, Sāba for
Sāba-dār.

For Mīr Ār, we find in the early historians ārā.
statement in legible handwriting. Every written statement of accounts is called a sanad. All classes of men adopt such a practice.

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 Arbàb 't-mây' 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, etc.).

2. The Arbàb 't-tahâsîl.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, etc., for things bought or sold.

3. The Taqîyâ.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 Fârâmân-i qâtí.

Fârâmân-i qâtí are issued for three purposes:—

1. For appointments to a Manşâb ; to the Vakilship; to the post of Sipâh-sâlâr (governor of a province and Commander-in-Chief): to the

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 in all Eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word daftar is the Greek bòbè, a tanned hide, parchment,加快发展 daftar, Minister of Finance, the same as Dîwân and Vizir. Daftar means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, etc.

² Or, the giving of vaqî (pay) to the army: hence taqîyâ, military accounts. For taqîyâ, some MSS. read taqîyabab.
tutorship of the princes; to the rank of Amīr *l-umārā (vide p. 250); to a Nāḥiyāt, or districtship; to the post of Vazīr, or Finance Minister; to the Bakhhishīp (Paymaster and Adjutant-General); to the post of a pādr, or a judge.

2. For appointments to jāgīr, without military service; 1 for taking charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes.

3. For conferring Sayārkhās (vide Ā* in 19); for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the Tašīqa has been made out, the Diwān-i Jāgīr (who keeps the Jāgīr accounts) pays the stipulated grant. If the jāgīr is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the Bakkhishīs for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—khāṣa, o mardum barāwārd numāyand; kānpāvin-i in shughil ehkhra-nawisī 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 Bakkhishī general takes the Tašīqa, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the Bakkhishī grants instead of the Tašīqa, is called Sarkhat.

The Sarkhats are entered in the daftars of all Sub-Bakkhishī, and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwān 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 jāgīr on the person specified in the Sarkhat, the following words are entered on the top of the report: Tašīqa-yi tan galami numāyand (they are to write out a Tašīqa-yi tan (certificate of salary)). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwān, who verifies it by writing on it the words sabt numāyand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the daftar, and the seal of the Diwān, the Bakkhishī, and the Accountant the Diwān, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is

1 Jāgīr, to which no military service attaches, appear to be called badūḥā w mahāltī, i.e., the bolder had nothing to do with the army and the muster, at which the Mānsābārs drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of the taxes of the several Māşalls or Parganas. Thā Fāźīd Šah of Shirāz (vide p. 200) received Bakkwarr as his jāgīr, badūḥā w mahāltī, Badkūsī, p. 315. Badkūsī also had a jāgīr of 1,000 Bighas at which he often grumbled, calling himself by way of joke Hāfizī, or Commander of One Thousand.

2 The text has jād (sometimes) be ṣamāz-i ma’d (milk) dādam—which I do not understand.
written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwān.

The Šāhāb-i Tawīrī, or military accountant, keeps the former Taṣlīqa with himself, writes its details on the Farmān, and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the Mustaʿfī, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nāzīr and the Bakhshīs do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwān, his accountant, and the Vakil 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 barāt (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the Nāzīr, the Diwān-i Buyūtāt signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs 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 barāts. The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two barāts, one for the six months from Farvardīn (February–March) to Shahrīvar, and the other from Mīr (September) to Isfandiyārīmān. He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, etc., both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement. The Diwān-i Buyūtāt inspects them, passes the order for payment, inquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin az tabāsim-i farātī barāt nawīnand, ‘Let a barāt be made out showing the amount to be deposited with such and such a Mushrif.’ The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it. In all cash payments, one-fourth is deducted, as another smaad is given for this amount. The Diwān-i Buyūtāt then gives the order to have it entered. The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the barāt and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the military accountant, the Nāzīr, the Diwān-i Buyūtāt, the Diwān-i Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Diwān, and the Vakil, 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 Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several daftars. The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz., one-fourth is to be paid in gold (āshrafīs), one-half in silver (rupās), and one part in copper (dāms), according to the fixed values of the coins.
The Farmāns in favour of Mansābdārs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of Sayārīghāls (vide A* in 19), the farmāns, after having been signed by the Mustawfi, are entered in the daftars of the Divān-i Saṣādat (vide A* in 19); they are then signed and sealed by the Ṣadr, and the Divān-i Kul.

Farmāns are sometimes written in Tughrā character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmān is called a Pārvāncha.

Pārvānchas are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the Divān-i Saṣādat (vide A* in 19); the salaries of the Ahadis, Chełas, and of some officers in the workshops, and for the allowances on account of the food of Būrghū horses (vide p. 147, A* in 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new sawad, 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 Divān for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustawfī, the Nāẓīr-i buyūtāt, the Divān-i kul, the Khān-Sānān, the Mushrif of the Divān. In the Pārvānchas given to Ahadis, the signature, seal, and orders of the Ahadībāshī, or Commander of the Ahadīs, are required after those of the Mustawfi, the Divān, and the Baghāshī, because His Majesty from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Pārvānchas need not be laid before him.

Nor does His Majesty sign sawāhs, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, sarḵnāmehs (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains), qalār-nāmehs (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the suqāsā (statements of account which Tahsvīdārs take from the Mustawfī, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

A* in 12.

THE ORDER OF THE SEALS.

Farmāns, Pārvānchas, and Barāts, 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 Vakīl puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Divān 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 Ṣadr. But when Shaykh
*Abdun Nabi and Sultan Khwaja were Sadrs (vide note to A* in 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakil. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atka Khan did at the time of Munisim Khan and Adham Khan. The Mir Mal, the Khan Saman, the Parwanchi, etc., 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 Divan, and the Bakhshii do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Divan-i juz, the Bakhshi-yi juz, and the Divan-i bayutat put their seals on the third fold. The Mustawfi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Sahib-i Tawil on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tuqra lines on the top of the Farman, where the princes also put their seals in Taqliyas.


THE FARMAN-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 Farman-i bayazi.1 The farman 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 a manner that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum 2 of the Kunar, 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 farman 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 farmans are carried by Mansabdars, 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 sujud, 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 Farman-i bayazi, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

1 That is, a blank farman.

2 Lakh. The author probably means “ sap.” It is from the exudations from saps made overnight in the bark of the bar seal, the pipal tree that the best bird-line is made.—P.]
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 samad without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in dāms; but at the time of making out the estimate he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight dāms each. Half of the remainder is paid in mukhars at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in dāms for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty dāms, the soldiers, through His Majesty's kindness, received dāms at the same rate. Every year one month's pay is subtracted on account of the horse, the value of which is raised fifty per cent. above prime cost, and for accoutrements; but, as much care is shown 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 (Tahinbānh) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

MUSĀ-KADAT, 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 Mīrs, 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.

1 The MSS. have forty-eight.
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.

A^5 in 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 Bakhshi 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^5 in 17.

ON ALMS.

His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries, winning the hearts of all in public or private. Many enjoy daily, monthly, or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting. It is impossible for me to detail the sums which some people receive in consequence of representations having been made of their circumstances by such as stand near the throne; and it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars, or the eating houses which have been established for the poor.

There is a treasurer always waiting* at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees is sure to find relief.

A^5 in 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.

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1 It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law. But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters.

* Vide p. 210, l. 10.

* Vide p. 15, l. 1.
On the first day of the month of Aban [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, ruk-i tula, drugs, ghī, 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, against eight articles, viz., silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables. On both occasions the festival of Sālgirih (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 The lunar birthday of the emperor. As this was the Mahamandes birthday, the articles were, of course, fewer and less valuable.

2 According to the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri (p. 163) and Padshahnama (I., p. 243), the weighing of the Royal person was introduced by Akbar. It is an old Hindu custom. At first the weighing took place once a year, on the birthday of the Emperor; but with the introduction of Akbar’s Divin (solar) Era, we find in the history of every year the record of a sar-i shamsi, or solar weighing, and a sar-i pasari, or lunar weighing. There was of course, a jashan, or festival on such occasions, and courtiers on the same day were promoted to high offices, or presented their padshah. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (vide Padshahnama, p. 243) that the articles against which the royal person was weighed were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor, Jahangir, according to several remarks in the Tuzuk (pp. 69, 70, 276, etc.), was even weighed in the palace of his aunt mother, to whom the Tuzuk gives the title of Marqaus Zambai, the Mary of the age, as Akbar’s mother had been styled Marqaus Mahtab (vide p. 49, note 7). The solar feast was even retained by Aurangzeb: vide A’lamgirnama, p. 220.

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 salgirih (or salgirih, as the word is pronounced all over India) is the year’s kind, or birthday. Tying knots, or bits of string, curribum, to the tombs of saints is considered by baram women as a means of obtaining a son; and the tomb of Salim-i Chishti in Pathar Sihdi, in whose house Jahangir was born, is even nowadays visited by Hindu and Muslim woman, who tie bits of strong in the marble trellis surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar’s tomb in Sihada, near Agra.

Akbar’s regulation, as given in the above text, appears to have been continued under Jahangir. Shahjahan made some alterations, as for 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
ON SUYURGHALS

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 inquirers 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 inquiry; fourthly, on honourable 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 Waṣfa; lands conferred are called Mīlkh, or Madad-i maṣāṣih. In this way krośrs are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be inquired 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 Ṣadr. The Qā⪠ and and the Mīr 5 Adil are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled Diwān-i  Saṣadat.

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such

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 Tācuk, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (Tācuk, p. 163), Jahāngīr was found to weigh 6,514 solas. Taking the sole as 186 grains (Urmey's useful Tables, by R. Thomas, p. 111), Jahāngīr at the age of forty-seven would have weighed 210 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 Nagāmabhād, a town belonging to the Sīkhlī of Jaunpur, for according to established custom the emperor is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, against gold, silver, etc., which is given as a present to the Brahmins of India, and others. Poets used, and still use, such opportunities for presenting nice poems," Budāwānt, ii, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahāngīr had once his Court doctor Ḥāfeẓ ʿīsā weighed in silver (Tācuk, p. 283), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as ḥājīr.

1 Vide the note at the end of this 4th in.
as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire.

When His Majesty commenced to inquire into this department, it was discovered that the former Sādes had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿu-Nabi to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afgāns and Chaudris were taken away, and became domain lands (khulsa), whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaykh who inquired 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 khālsa lands or near the jāgīrs of Mansābdārs, 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 Sādr ʿAbd al-ʿu-Nabi came to the ears of His Majesty. An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred bighas 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 bighas, 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 Sadrahīp of Sultān Khwāja. The Irānī and Tūrānī

1 This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian ʿAbāsīs.
women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred bighas held by them should be inquired into, whether it was correctly held or not.

During the Sadrship of Šāhverdībōhādīr Safīd-qâla, [Mir Fath] & Ilāh of Shirāz, the following order was given:—If any one held a Suyūrgal together with a partner, and the farman contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the Sadr should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further inquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner being to the Crown, and remaining domain land till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty. The new Sadr was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen bighas.

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 Suyūrgal-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 bighas and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Šadr Jahan should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Sadr with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants. The rule now followed is this, that all Suyūrgal 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 bigha 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 Sadr of districts and Sadr of the realm.

Note by the Translator on the Sadr of Akbar’s reign.

In this A’in—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chaghātāi word sūyūrgal is translated by the Arabic mudād-i ma[fāš, in Persian mudād-i ma[fāš, for which we often find in MSS. mudād o ma[fāš. The latter term signifies “assistance of livelihood,” and, like its equivalent milk, or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes, as specified by Abū l-Fażl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for
this reason from jāgūr or tayjūl lands, which were conferred for a specified time on Mangshodārs in lieu of salaries.

This Ārin proves that Akbar considerably interfered with sugūrgūl lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or ūbhāsh, lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghan) family. He also completely broke the power of the Ṣadr, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the Ṣadr, or as he was generally styled, Šadr-i Juhān, whose edict legalized the jūlūs, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (vide end of Ārin 30). Their power was immense. They were the highest law-officers, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in 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 ʿAbdūn-Nabi, during his Šadreip, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (vide p. 186, l. 7, from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms ʿdrarūt, waqūf, milk, inšām-i dehkū, inšām-i zamīnhā, etc., occur for the word sugūrgūl (or sugūrgūl, or sughurghūl, as some dictionaries spell it).

Among the former kings, ʿAlāsh ʿd-Dīn-i Khilji is notorious for the disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers. He resumed the greater part of the madod-i mašūsh tenures, and made them domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Šadr by appointing his keybearer to this high office (Ṭārikh-i Firūzshāhī, p. 333). Quṭbīn ʿd-Dīn Mubārakshāh, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom ʿAlāsh ʿd-Dīn had deprived (T. F., p. 382). Firūz Shah 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 showed such an unexpected severity towards the grant-holders of his time.

Each Šāh had a Šadr-i jaw, or provincial Šadr, who was under the orders of the Chief Šadr (Ṣadr-i Juhān, or Šadr-i Juhān, or Šadr-i Juhān, or Šadr-i Šudūr).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the Šadres. The land specified in the formūn of a holder

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2 Regarding the turning out of Allatini and Madad-i mašūsh holders, vide Elliot's Glossary, under Alatini, p. 18.
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 *Qāīyā* and provincial *Sādars*. Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated inquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers. The religious views of the emperor (*vide* p. 176) and the hatred which he showed to the *Ulamā*, most of whom held lands, furnished him with a personal, and therefore stronger, reason to resume their grants, and drive them away to *Bhakkar* in Sindh, or to Bengal, the climate of which in those days was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gumbeson. After the fall of *Abdu'l-'n-Nabī—a man whom Akbar used once to honour by holding the slippers before his feet—Sultān Khwāja, a *member of the Divine Faith* (*vide* p. 214), was appointed as *Sadr*; and the *Sādars* after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Badā,oni to indulge in sarcastical remarks. The following were Akbar's *Sādars*:

1. Shaykh Gādā*ī*, a Shi'ah, appointed at the recommendation of Bayrām Khān, till 968.

2. Khwāja Muhammad Šālih, till 971.


4. Sultān Khwāja, till his death in 983.

5. Amir Fath ul-Ilāh of Shirāz; till 997.

6. *Sadr* Jahān, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abū'l-Fazl also mentions a *Sadr* Mawlānā *Abdu'l-Bāqī*; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Badā,oni.

*Page 29.* Shaykh Gādā*ī* cancelled the *Mudōd* & *maS̱ish* lands, and took away the legacies 1 of the Khānādas (Afghānīs) and gave a Suyārghāl 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 *jarāb* of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaykh an *Ālambakhsh* (one who gives away a world).

*Page 52.* After Shaykh Gādā*ī*, Khājafig Muhammad Šālih was, in 968, appointed *Sadr*; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as *mudōd* & *maS̱ish*, because he was dependent on the Diwāns.

*Page 71.* In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaykh *Abdu'l-'n-Nabī* was made *Sadr*. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muṣaffar Khān, at that time Vazir and Vakil. But soon after, the Shaykh acquired

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1. *Asqaf*. The text of Badā,oni has wrongly *aṣqāf*. For *bār* read *bārah*.
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 Hindustan in one scale, and those of the Shaykh 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 Aginas of the whole empire should not be let off by the krois of each Pergana, unless they brought the farmans in which their grants, subsistence allowances and pensions were described, to the Sadr for inspection and verification. For this reason, a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts 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 'Abd al-Rasul, the Shaykh's head man, or make presents to his farraishes, darbans (porters), syces (groom), and mittars (swappers), "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 Aginas, 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 Shaykh, in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his massad (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaykh 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 Hadis (a book on law) and other college books 100 Bighas, more or less; and though such a man might have been for a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaykh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he gave primitive lands as marks of personal favour. Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation. At no time had a Sadr for so long a time exercised more tyrannical powers.

The fate of 'Abd al-Nabi 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 982.

1 Badauni says that even in the State hall when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spurt water on the grandees standing near him.

2 For sana'il in the text (p. 308) one MS. of Badauni reads jamil with the prefix as maqul midid.
The next Sadr was Sultān Khwāja. Matters relating to suyārghāls now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Išām, and the new Sadr, who had just returned from Makkah, 1 became a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty inquired personally into all grants (vide p. 199, second para.). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Bādā, oni, who had managed to get 1,000 bighas, at first to the great disgust of ʿAbd al-Ḥād, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fath al-Ḥād of Shīrāz (vide p. 34) was appointed Sadr. As the Suyārghāl duties, and with them the dignity of the Sadr, had dwindled down to nothing, Fath al-Ḥād, though Sadr, could be spared for missions to the Dakhin, Bad., p. 343.

His Shiraz servent Kanāl officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Ayima-dārs, 2 who had a few spots here and there; for the dignity of the Sadr had approached its Kanāl (perfection). Fath al-Ḥād had not even the power of conferring five bighas; in fact he was an imaginary Sadr, 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 Ayima-dārs, nor to farmers. However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the Sadr, though of the office of the Sadr the name only is left.

Page 368. Fath al-Ḥād [the Sadr 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 Ayima-dār was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Pargana of Basāwar [which was his jagir] and said "My collectors have this much collected from the Ayima-dārs as a kisākut (i.e., because the collectors thought the Suyārghāl holders had more than sufficient to live upon)."

But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next Sadr, Sadr Jahan, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed Sadr immediately after the death of Fath al-Ḥād, Bādā, oni continues calling him Mustū-yi manālīk-i mahrūsa, the Mufti of

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1. The same happened afterwards to Mirza Ghez Koka. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned as disappointed and "ferreted" from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Išām. There is a proverb current in the East, Ash shaykh fi l-karamayn, "The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madinah."

2. Mustāqir: a pun reminding of masgūt (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and masgūt (past act. IV), one who confers lands. Observe that Bādā, oni uses the word as not only in the plural sense of Ayima-dārs, but as an equivalent of those who hold a Suyārghāl.

Regarding the punishments which grouping Sadras were subject to, vide Elliot’s Index, p. 253, note, of which, however, the first para. ought to be expunged as unhistorical.
the empire, which had been his title before. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the Sadrsip. Sadr Jahân continued to serve under Jahângîr.

A great portion of the Suyûrgal lands is specified by Abû 'l-Faḍîl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

ON THE CARRIAGES, ETC., 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 ;² 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.

THE TEN SER TAX (DĀHŠERĪ).

His Majesty takes from each bighâ of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty. Store-houses have been constructed in every district. They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bâsîns. 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.³

¹ This was, according to Nicknâm's Taḥṣîl, an invention of Fathâ'īb of Shirâz (vide p. 38, note). Nicknâm 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 cleared at once twelve barrels." The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abû 'l-Faḍîl to Akbar; vide Book I. A*în in 38, p. 122.

² Regarding English carriages (roll-ci angrez) brought to India under Jahângîr, vide Tunâk, pp. 167, 168.

³ Vide pp. 210 and 211.
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 Dārotaks and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

A* in 22.

ON FEASTS.

His Majesty inquires 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 Jamaheds, and the festivals of the Pārsī priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. 1. The New Year’s Day feast. It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month (Farvardin). 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 Farvardin, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the Shoraf. Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pārsīs, 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 Urdibihist; 6th Khurdad; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdad; 4th Shahrivar; 10th Mehr; 10th Aban; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Dav; 2nd Bahman; 5th Esfandormuz. 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 dawr the naghāras (vide p. 51, 1, 1) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights; on the second for one night, and the joy is general.

I have given a few particulars in the first book (A* in 18).

A* in 23.

THE KHUSHROZ OR DAY OF FANCY BAZĀRS.

On the third feast-day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assembly for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things

1 Badāī,mt generally calls this day Navaš-i Jašīli; vide p. 183, note 2.
2 Thus Aba was the name of the eighth month (October-November); but the tenth day also of every month had the same name.
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 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 Khwâshrûz, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.

After the fancy bâzârs for women, bâzârs 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. Bâzâr 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 bâzâr 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

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.

1 Regarding these fancy bâzârs, vide above Badjouh's remarks on p. 213, l. 4.
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 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 inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of Tāj-i begi, or masters of marriages. In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer. His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mansabdārs commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Maḥrz; do. from one thousand to five hundred, 4 M.; do. to Commanders of one hundred, 2 M.; do. to Commanders of forty, 1 M.; do. to Commanders of ten, 4 R. The latter fee is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 R., and common people 1 dām.3 In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

 Regulations Regarding Education.

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may

1 [The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwal, and were stared at by the kotwal’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 kotwal, and the khānaqi kadī (†), and their other low assistants outside." Bad. II, p. 361. Vide also Third Book, A*n in 8.]

2 Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copies (qānas).]
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 that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to 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, phycography, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the tābīnī, riṣīqī, and ilākī, sciences and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bāyākāran, Nīvālī, Bēdana, and Pātanjali. 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 luster over Madrasa.

**Ain 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

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3 This is the three-fold division of sciences. Ilākī, or divine, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. Rājī sciences treat of quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy; music; mechanics, Tābī-nī sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences tabī-ī, instead of tabīnī.
Majesty's empire ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and Thathah (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 the coasts of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Hâhâbâ and Fâtor, 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 Malibâr (Malabar).

Boatmen also bring men and their things from one side of the river to the other.

The number of sailors in a ship varies according to the size of the vessel. In large ships there are twelve classes. 1. The Nâkhudâ, or owner of the ship. This word is evidently a short form of Nâkhudâ. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The Mu'âllim, or Captain. He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers. 3. The Tamâdil,1 or chief of the khalâsî, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen's language, are called khalâsî or kharwas. 4. The Nâkhudâ-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'âllim. 6. The Bhawdârî has the charge of the stores. 7. The Karrânî2 is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The Sukkânjî, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the Mu'âllim. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The Panjâri looks out from

1 Tamâdil or tamâdil, H.—P.]  
2 This word is nowadays pronounced Kirânî, and is applied to any clerk. The word is often used contemptuously.

3 There is a modern Anglo-Indian word used in Calcutta, "sea-cunny," derived from sukânjî.—P.}
the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land or a ship, or a coming storm, etc. 10. The Gomī belongs to the class of khudā. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The Top-emīz, or gunner, is required in naval fights; the number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The Khārez, or common sailors. They set and fur the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set free the anchor when it sticks fast. The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or kūsh, as seamen call it. In the harbour of Sālgāc (Hāgil) a Nākhudā gets 400 R.; besides he is allowed four malīkh, 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 malīkh. The Mūcālim gets 200 R. and two malīkh; the Tandū, 120 R.; the Karrūnī, 50 R. and one malīkh; the Nākhudā Khushāb, 30 R.; the Sūrāng, 25 R.; the Sūkkaṅūr, Panjarī, and Bhandārī, each 15 R.; each Khārez or common sailor, 40 R., and his daily food in addition; the Degandūz, or gunner, 12 R.

In Kambhāgāt (Cambay), a Nākhudā gets 800 R., and the other men in the same proportion.

In Lāhārī, a nākhudā gets 300 R., and the rest in proportion.

In Ačānī, 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 Daulūsārī, 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 memsām.

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 ferds, 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 gratuit. 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 lock 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 1,000 same, 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 ¼ d., which includes the toll due by the river. 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.

*Am 27.*

ON HUNTING.

Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance strive about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep inquirers 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 inquire, 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 Sayyedhâl lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shows himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active Qurânsâl [men employed by the Mîr Shikâr,1 or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting

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1. *Mîr Shikâr* in India is now applied to any assistant falconer, bird-catcher, etc., etc.—P.
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 Tāniāk stands ready for service, and about a kos and one-half behind them stand some of the Khidmatīyya (p. 252) and other servants of His Majesty. The Khidmatīyya 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 shee[p the ground small blades of grass covered with glue.¹ 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

¹ *Shiltim,* probably bird-line made from the exsultations from slits made in the bark of the *kay* (banyan) or the *pīpāl* tree.—P.
stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him. Or they take 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 catch the tiger on its horns, and toss it violently upwards, so that it dies. It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger. One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo.

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bāri. His Majesty got on the elephant Nāhīr Khān, and went into the jungle. The brute was stirred up; and striking its claws into the forehead of the huge animal, it pulled its head close down 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 Toda. 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 qamartha chase, a large tiger was stirred up. The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head and killed it.

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man. All who witnessed it despaired of his life. His Majesty shot the tiger through the body and released the unfortunate man.

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mathurā. Shujā'at Khān (vide Āśīn 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 Hindustānī, 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.  

1. Qamartha is a chase for which drivers are employed. [The game is apparently enclosed in a living ring.—P.]
2. This is one of Akbar’s miracles.
3. Sākr, tiger.—P.)
4. These two verses are taken from Fāyūl’s Nat Dāmasa; vide p. 113, note 1.
2. Elephant-catching.

There are several modes of hunting elephants.

1. *Kheda.* 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 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 barks 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 tamed. One-fourth of the value of an elephant thus caught is given to the hunters as wages.

2. *Chor kheda.* 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 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. *Bār.* 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

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1 *Hence our elephant kheddas.*

2 *For gād or gādi k, a pit!* —P.
admits of remarkable finesse. In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty. A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open. At it several female elephants are stationed. From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females. The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow. They are now caught as shown above. 3

3. Leopard 2 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 the trunk. Round about the tree they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindi åkhar.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called sit. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet or legs, 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 yards deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

3. "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 [Jahàngír], 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 voices, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the shariyāb caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gujarat] 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." iptáshána, p. 113.

2. Tā, the chilli or hunting leopard.—P.
Another method is to fasten nooses to the foot of the above mentioned tree. When the animal comes to scratch itself, it gets entangled.

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty kos from Agra, especially in the districts of Bārī, Simāwāli, Alāpūr, Sunnām, Bhāṭīṇḍā, Bhāṭīṇ, Paṭan in the Panjāb, Pāthpūr Jhunjhūnū, Nāgar, Mīrāth, Jodhpūr, Jaisalmīr, Amṛsārnāyīn; 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 oftentravel 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 hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser.

In former times people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained in an excellent manner in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.1

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the ḏōḥa leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

Ā in 28.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.

First class leopards get 5 s. of meat every day; second class, 4 s.; third class, 4 s.; fourth class, 3 s.; fifth class, 3 s.; sixth class, 3 s.1

1 Two more miracles of Akbar's.
seventh class, 3 s.; eighth class, 2½ s. The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed,1 double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four sets of butter and one-tenth of a scr of brimstone are given as nutriment, 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 doodies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 R. to 5 R. per messem; 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 satin clothes,2 chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and Gushkān3 carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a Misl or Tārūf (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows. One thousand 4 leopards are kept in His Majesty’s park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are khāṣa; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (mihāfhi) 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 doodies. The best leopard which His Majesty has goes by the name of Samund-mānik; he is carried on a chau-fal, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants,

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1 According to the other mentioned on p. 209, 2nd para.
2 [Jul, a covering for any animal.—P.]
3 In my text edition, p. 208, 1, 8. This should perhaps be جنگلی or خانقاً. Gushkān (in Arabic Gushqīā), being a town in Irān, famous for its carpets.
4 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 0,000 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.”—Ispahānī, p. 70.
fully equipped, run at his side; the naggõra (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 chau-dol 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 along 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. Čarpaghī. 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. Righai. The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer from a distance. The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer. 3. Muhārī. The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language 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 chatrmandal. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place as if it was a qamarpha hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shown by His Majesty, a deer made friendship

[1] The translation of this passage is doubtful.—P.
[2] Aha, gazelle.—P.
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 blindfolded, except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But nowadays they are kept without covers for their heads. The grandee of the court are allowed to bet on forty khaasa leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his Doriya gets five rupees from his equals. The grandee in charge of the khaasa leopards, Sayyid Ahmad of Bāṛha, gets one muhr 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 Tajzfārs and Quānawals bet; in fact every 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 hide to what hunting ground the deer belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays.

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1. Āhā, gazelle.—P. 1
2. i.e. hooded.—P. 1
3. The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.
4. He was a Dabawāl; vide A. L. in 30, No. 91.
5. Ahmar required the horns of deer.
6. "In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Āgra to Ajmīr. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (dargah) of Mūn-cell Chiṣti at Ajmīr; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every 500 a tower (missible), 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 āllat-al-shālā contain the Tāriḥ (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and amures for travellers instead." Bīdū, vol. ii, p. 172. Vide also Ellicott's Index, p. 243; note.
7. Tajzfārs, the men in charge of a tārafi, which word Abū'l-Faiz above used in the same sense as said, i.e. set. Tajzfārs mean also a Zaminīār. A Quānawal is a driver.
8. "It was at this time (1627 A. H. or A. D. 1618) that Shāhzāda Shujā, son of Shāhjahān, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the inanition in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a favour. During the prayer, it occurred to me that 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
The Siyâh-yosh.

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 Kâbul, especially from the Hazâra district [north of Rawâl 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. Khâsa dogs get daily 2 s. of meat; others get 1½ s. There is one keeper for every two Tâzi (hunting) dogs; their wages are 100 d. per mensem.

Hunting Deer with Deer.

This timid animal also may be tamed and trained. They put a net over its 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 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 horn 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 quack as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father [Akbâr]. In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view to 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." *Târzâ-i Jahânâgîr.* p. 240.

Jahânâgîr's self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahânâgîr was fifty years of age.

1 Or mark er, the Persian translation of the Turkish qara-qolub, whence our Polis control.

2 [The Red Lynx of India, Persia, and Arabia. It is trained to take, besides the quarry mentioned, partridges, pigeons, cats, and Egyptian vultures, etc.—P.]

3 [Akh, sipâh, a wrong term.—P.]

4 This would not strike us as something worth mentioning. But as dogs are considered unclean animals by Muhammadans, they are not looked upon as domestic. Nowadays we hear occasionally names, as bâlâ, bâkhâ; or English names as fenn (Fanny), bального (bull dog), etc.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahânâgîr once said to Râc: "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 dogs as hunt in your land." Regarding European dogs in India, see also *Târzâ, p. 198, l. 5, from below.*

5 Tâzi is the Arab greyhound.—P.

6 For a note on hunting Dogs and Cheetah vide *Jl. and Pro. As. Soc. Beng., 1907.—P.*

7 Akh, gaulle.—P.

8 Dim, probably a noose of thick gut.—P.
passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net \(^1\) should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net \(^1\) on it, or sends out a fresh deer.\(^2\)

Sultān Firuz-i Khilji 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 nowadays 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 Hāhābād, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjāb, 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 nowadays 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.\(^1\) Both were brought together from Gujrat, as mentioned above (?).

_Ghawdāhēra_ is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The

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\(^{1}\_Dūm,\) probably a noose of thick gut.—_P._

\(^{2}\_Ābū,\) gazelle.—_P._
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.

Thāngī. The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer; and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes. The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him. At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it.

Baukāra. 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.

Dadārāmar. 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.

Ajāra. 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 show 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.

Thāngī. The hunter walks about bareheaded as if mad; his clothes are stained all over with pān juice, and the man himself acts as if he were wounded. Wild animals and others will soon gather round him, waiting for his death; but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction.

[1] Wāzāgūn. The concave side towards him?—P.]  
[2] The text has der ǔmā-ų ǔṅ, in the hollow of a saddle (?)
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 in their jungle 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 bāz, shāhīn, shangür, and burkot falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the bāsha, 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 inquirers 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 mouling is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the khīsa falcons (bāz) which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of jurras is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the bāshas, the shāhīnas, the khelas, the chuppak bāshas, the bahris, the young bahris, the shikaras,
the chappak shikarus, the turmattv, the velz, the bestras, the dhotois, the chargis, the charghela, the loqars, and the jhagars, (which His Majesty calls the chappak kind of the lagar). The Molehin also are inspected—the molehin is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the shahin; 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. Odhopars also are brought from Kashmir. This bird has a bluish (sala) 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 bodna, and the saru 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 Manzandars, Ayadis, and other soldiers are employed. The footmen are mostly Kashmiris or Hindustanis. 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 (Hindustani), 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 baz falcon.

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v Turnatt or vulg. turnatì, is the Red-headed Merlin.—P.
vi Regi, the common English Merlin.—P.
vi The Bessa Sparrow-hawk male and female, sexes transposed in the dictionaries.—P.
vi Charagh or charagh is the male, and chargaisr the male of V. Saker of Jermén.—P.
vi Lagar is the female, and jagoje the male of V. Jugger.—P.
vi See n. 7, p. 304.
vi Molehin, obviously the Falconet. Apparently it was occasionally trained to alight on a crane’s head, the startled quarry being then gathered by hand.—P.
vi Kulang, the common Crane (in the Panjshir), the cekom of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.
vi Kulang na el pho ardha. “brings down a crane.”—P.
vi The name of this bird is doubtful. It is not to be found among the names of Kashmiri birds given in the Iyubinian, p. 159.
vi Probably the Green Jay, Sires Serratæ, No. 673, of Jordan, vol. ii.—P.
vi Bodna for bodina, the common Quail, which is used for fighting.—P.
vi Saru, the common Mains.—P.
vi Qish-adam, means for hawks.—P.
gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 dāms; the jurring, 6 d.; the bāhri, lāchīn, and khelā, 5 d.; the bāsha, 3 d.; the chappak bāsha, shikara, chappak shikara, besra, dhosi, etc., 2 d. Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the bāz, jurring, and bāhri, get each seven; the lāchīn, five; the bāsha, three; others, two. Charghs and lagars get at the same time meat. Shangārs, shāhbāzī, burkats, get one sar. 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, khāna-karch birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, chāz birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, Tarūnak birds; they have moulted before they were captured. First class, a superior bāz costs 12 mūran; 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.

Jurras. First class, 8, 5, 2, 1 M. Second class, 6, 4, 1 1/2, 1 M., 5 R.
Bāshas. First class, 3, 2, 1 1/2 M., 4 R. Second class, 2, 1 M., 5 R.
Shāhins of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 M.
Bahirás, 2, 1 1/2, 1 M. Young Bahris 2 a little less.
Khelās, 1 1/2, 1 1/4 M.
Chargs, 2 1/2 R., 2, 1 1/4 R.
Khappak bāshas, 1 R.; 1/4, 1 R.
Shikaras, 1 1/4 R., 1, 1/4 R.
Besras, 2 R., 1 1/4, 1 R.
Chappak shikaraas, lagars, jhagars, turmaṭis, rekśis, 1 R., 1/4, 1 1/4 R. Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the Mīr Shikārs (superintendents 4 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 down the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited and to the size of the quarry. The man who keeps the falcon gets one-half of the allowance. If His Majesty hunts himself, fifty-

[¹ Lāchīn is the Turki-name of the Shāhīn.—P.]
[² Bahri barcha, peregrine hirsel.—P.]
[³ Mīr shikār is a term applied to any bird-catcher, assistant falconer, etc.—P.]
per cent. of the donation is stopped. If birds are received by the Imperial aviary as peshkash (tribute), the Quashbegi (Superintendent of the Aviary) gets for every bāz ½ R., and the accountant ½ R. For jurras, the Quashbegi gets 1 R.; the accountant, ¼ R.; for bāshas, the former receives ¼ R.; the latter, 1 R.; for every lāchin, chargh, charyhela, kheiti, bahri-bachcha, the former gets ½ R.; the latter ½ R.; for every chhoppak, bāsha, dhoti, etc., the former receives ¼ , the other ¼ R. (sūki).

The minimum number of bāz and shāhin falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of jurras, thirty; of bāshas, one hundred; of bahris, charghs, twenty; of logars, and shikuras, ten.

Waterfowl.

Hunting waterfowl affords much amusement. A rather curious way of catching them is the following. They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning and fly away.

In Kashmir they teach bāz falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter. Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes].

Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds.

Durrūj catching. 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.

Bodnās. The hunter makes a claypot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl’s cry. The bodnās, 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.

Logars. They resemble charghs; in body they are as large jurras. They hang nets (about the body of a trained logar) and put birds'
feathers into its claws. It is then allowed to fly up. The birds think that it has got hold of prey, and when they get entangled in the nets, they commence to fight, and fall to the ground.

*Ghoughūr*. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a ghoughūr, 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 ghoughūrs 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 enemy.

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.

**Art. 29.**

**ON AMUSEMENTS.**

His Majesty devises means of amusement, and makes his pleasures a means of testing the character of men.

There are several kinds of amusements, of which I shall give a few details.

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[1] Dīrım, a noose. The nooses are attached to the claws. A hawk so prepared is called in the Panjāb, a birāh (venerable). For Plate and description, vide *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iii. 1867.—*P.*

[2] *Ghoughūr*, is probably the Large Grey Babbler or *sis bāłī*, 435 of Jordan.—*P.*

[3] *Bāshtūr*: *Cinnabūr dil sabād* means "catch their prey".—*P.*

[4] The Historian may thank Ābu 'l-Faqīr for having preserved this little trait of Akbar's character. In several places of the *Ātīn*, Ābu 'l-Faqīr tries hard to ascribe to His Majesty higher motives in order to bring the emperor's passion for hunting in harmony with his character as the spiritual guide of the nation. But as "higher motives" were insufficient to explain the fancy which Akbar took in frog and spider fights, Ābu 'l-Faqīr 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.
The game of Chaugān (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 mayādān (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 show 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 gharī (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 chaugān stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the ādī.\(^2\) This manner is called in Hindi rol. The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the chaugān stick out of the middle; the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others, and throws the ball back. This mode is called bela, 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 the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body; or the rider may spit\(^3\) it when the ball is in front of the horse; or he may lift himself upon the back leather\(^4\) of the horse, and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal.

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shows in the various

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\(^1\) There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game. Bābur says it is played all over Tibet. In the East of India the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey players. Fide Vigne’s Travels in Cashmir, i, p. 298.

\(^2\) Sayyid Ẓal Late Khan, son of Mir Khwāinda, was Akbar’s chowatoor, or Superintendent of the game of chaugān; vide Bod. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, after 1570, Charwāl, which lies a journey from Agra, was the favourite spot for chaugān playing. Bod. II, p. 76. (Chaugān, polo.—P.)

\(^3\) The pillars which mark the end of the playground.

\(^4\) Meaning not clear.—P.
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 bāl, they beat the naqqāş, 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 bāl 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 buril (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 chaugāns 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, palās 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 chaugān 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.

¹Issqabāz (pigeon-flying).

His Majesty calls pigeon-flying ḳissqabāz  (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 one 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 Turān; but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers.

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 Khān-i

¹ "In the beginning of 974 (July, 1566), the emperor returned (from Jumapor) to Āgra, and passed his time in amusements. He went to Nagarkā, a new town which he had built near Āgra, and enjoyed the chaugāns game, dog-hunting, and pigeon-flying. He also invented a fire ball with which he could play at chaugāns during dark nights." Bod. II, p. 48.

The town of Nagarkā was subsequently deserted.
Asam Kokaltâsh (Aziz, 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 Mohsan. From it descended several excellent pigeons as Azik (the weeper), Parizâd (the fairy), Amsâ (the diamond), and Shâh 6âdî (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of 6mar Shaykh Mirzâ (father of Bâhar), Sultan Husayn Mirzâ (vide p. 107, note 6) into oblivion. Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Iran and Turan, 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 Mîhrmîk (September–October), and separate in Farwardîn (February–March). A hen lays two eggs, but sometimes only one. The cock will sit upon the eggs by day-time, 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 falah, 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 humâs (air), i.e., forty flights. At this period the trainers pay no regard to what is called charbak and bâz (vide below). Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (chwilbasndan). 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 bāsī and the charakh, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. Charakh 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 kitf (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. Bāsī is the same as musallaq zadān (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. kalā). Some thought that the two wings (kitf) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a musallaq; but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the bāsī and charakh, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called galāla, 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 khāsa pigeon cots will perform fifteen charakhs and seventy bāsīs, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but nowadays 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 of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (kabār). 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 khāsa. 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 the 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 marks 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

[^1] Bu-kōfīn-i pi. Can this mean the angle made by the feet?—P.
[^2] Da chūkān kōlā u pōxīn.—P.]
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 Mohana first pass in review, then the young ones of Asili. Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four zirihi pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Haji 5 Ali, of Samarkand, which coupled with an Udi basin, 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 brought.

The Colours of Khaja Pigeons.

Magasi (flea-bitten); zirihi (steelblue); amir (5½); zirihi (a colour between zirihi and amir); chin (porcelain blue); sofii (grey like naptha); shafahi (violet); surma (dark grey, like powder of antimony); kish (dark brown, like currants); halwai (light-brown, like halwa sweet); sandali (light-brown, like sandalwood); jagari (brown); nabati (grey); white; daghi (bluish-white, like sour milk); wuski (of the same colour as the gum called wuski); julani (a new earthen pot); nilafari (bluish-white); azraq (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); alanhi (black brown); shafati (peach coloured); gul-i gaz coloured (?); yellow; kaghazi (yellowish, like native paper); saik (grey like a crow); aqr (a colour between white and brown); muburazi (a dirty black); kharji (a colour between greenish and 5 asi); albi (water coloured); surmay (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between surma and magasi).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names. as gulvar (whose head resembles a flower); damrohura (stumptail); yakrang (of one colour); halun-safid (white throat); parasafid (white wing); katta (big head); ghazahak (wild chick); magh (name of an aquatic bird); bahari (1); alpar (red wing); katta par (short wing); mahdum (moontail);

1. Kifah, Sultana raisina. — P. 1
2. Magh, a cormorant? — P. 1
3. Ab, blue. — P.
4. Mahdum, with white on the tail. — P.
Samyāṭā (ring-bearer); marwārīd-sar (pearl head); mushqāla-dum (torch-tail); etc.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours. His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as būshur (1), qarapik (with black eyes), abyāri; palangnigāri; rektā pilik.

There are also many pigeons which do not perform charkās and bātīs, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the Kokaḥ (2) pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The Bagha, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning to wake up people. 3. The Leqaqan, (3) which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The Lootan. (4) 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 Khernī. 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 down instantly to join her. This is very remarkable. Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one, some close the other, or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying.

6. Rajē pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The Nishāwarī 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 parādī (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (1) 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 shirāzi, shūṣṭari, kūshāni, jōgīya, rezā-dahan, mūqāsī, and qumri. (4) Wild pigeons are called gola. 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.

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[1] Can this be for būhka, a species of green pigeon which has a call like the human voice, scey Jordon No. 778.—P.
[2] Leqaq, ban; etc., the fantail pigeon.—P.
[3] Loota, the ground-tumbler.—P.
[4] Qumri, a white dove.—P.
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, dál¹-i munjad (gram), māng dál² (millet), karar, ladhara, juvār (ude p. 66). 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 Quli Ali of Bukhārā, Masti of Samarqand, Mullāzāda, Pūr-i Mullā Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khān Chela, Khwāja Sāndal Chela, Māmin of Harāt, Ṣāḥib-i Latif of Bukhārā, Hājjī Qasim of Balkh, Ṣāhib of Shamsabad, Sikandar Chela, Mālī, Maqṣūd of Samarqand, Khwāja Phūl, Chela Hirānand.

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 R. to 48 R. per mensem.

The game of Chowpar.

From times of old, the people of Hindūstān 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 shown in Pl. XVII, Fig. 17. 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 pukhta (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 rasīda, or arrived.

When a player is pukhta or rasīda, he may commence to play from

¹ Pulse of māng. — P.]
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 forwards should he prefer doing so. A similar rule holds for double fives, etc. A throw consisting of a six, a five, and a one, is called kham (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 . . . 4 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 qyjma, or standing. Formerly he did not allow such equal throws. If the four pieces of an opponent are pukht, 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 mahur 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

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1 The MSS. have as khameti haddum phusa shanda, hanyim-kham shanda madda gardad, which words are not clear to me.
round a centre. Each parallelogram is divided into twenty-four fields, every eight of which form a row; vide Pl. XVII, Fig. 18. The number of pieces is sixty-four, and four dice are used, of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively. The number of players is sixteen. Each gets four pieces, which are placed in the middle. As in Chaupar, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle. The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players; the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on. The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most; the other players both lose and win. His Majesty plays this game in several ways; one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played. I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game.

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself. Second way, single pieces may be thrown out. Each player whose piece has 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 side of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who throw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points to 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-d-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 pukhta, 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.

Cards.

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, Ashucapati, the lord of horses. The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Delhi, with the umbrella (chatr), the standard (salam), 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 Orisah. The other eleven cards represent, as before, the vazir, and elephants from ten to one. 3rd, Narpati, a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bijapur. The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour; the vazir sits on a footstool (sandali), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, Gajkpati. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazir sits on a sandali over a fort; and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before. 5th, Dhanpati, the lord of treasures. The first card of this suit shows a
man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps; the vazir sits upon a sandali, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards show jars full of gold and silver, from one to ten. 6th, Dalpati, the hero of battle. The first card of this suit shows a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors on coats of mail. The vazir sits on a sandali and wears a jaq faith (breast armour); the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour. 7th, Nasapatia, the lord of the fleet. The card shows a man sitting on a throne in a ship; the vazir sits as usual, on a sandali, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten. 8th, Tipati, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids. The second card shows a woman as vazir on a sandali, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten. 9th, Surapat, the king of the divinities (deq) also called Islar, on a throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10th, Asrapati, the lord of genii (deq). The card represents Subayman, son of Dai, on the throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the other ten cards have genii. 11th, Banapat, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (sher) with some other animals. The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (polang) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12th, Ahrapati, the king of snakes. The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazir is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind. The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten.

The first six of these twelve suits are called bishbar (powerful), and the six last, kambar (weak).

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards. Thus the Dhanapatia, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money. The vazir sits on a sandali, 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 meharter, the piece-cutter (mutallas-sax), the weighman, the corner, the muhr counter, the buikhi (writer) of dhan pieces (vide p. 31, No. 17), the buikhi of mon pieces (vide p. 31, No. 20), the dealer, the gurqar (vide p. 24, No. 15). His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects farmans, grants, and the leaves of the daftar (vide p. 270); the vazir sits on a sandali with the daftar before him; the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the mistar maker (vide p. 55, note 1), the clerk who makes the entries in the daftar, the illuminator (muqawir), the saqqash (who ornaments the pages), the jadual-kash (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the farman,
writer, the aqallul (bookbinder), the rangrez \(^1\) (who stains the paper with different colours). The Padishah-i qimah also, or king of manufacturers, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs. The vazir sits near him on a sandali, inquiring into former proceedings. The other ten cards represent beasts of burden. Again, the Padishah-i Chang, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music; the vazir sits before him, inquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards. Next, the Padishah-i zur-i safar, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins; the vazir sits on a sandal, and makes inquiries regarding donations. On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint. Then comes the Padishah-i Shamshar, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword. The vazir sits upon a sandal, and inspects the arsenal; the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, etc. After him comes the Padishah-i Taj,\(^2\) or king of the diadem. He confers royal insignia, and the sandal on which the vazir sits, is the last of the insignia. The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, etc. Lastly, the Padishah-i Ghulamun, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazir on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, etc.

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.

\(^3\) Pun. 30.

THE GRANDEEES OF THE EMPIRE.\(^3\)

At first I intended, in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions, to describe their

\(^1\) This is the Hindustani corruption of the Persian rang-riz. \(^2\) Rang-riz is the common word in modern Persian.—P.\(^3\)

\(^2\) Taj is often translated by a crown; but Taj is a cup worn by oriental kings instead of the crown of occidental kings. Hence the word diadem does not express the meaning of Taj either. \(^3\) It apparently is also used of a crown as well as the cup worn by dervishes.—P.

\(^3\) From the fact that Abu l-Fadl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khusraw (note No. 4) who was born in 968, but not Prince Parviz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 226, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993, and Abu l-Fadl may have afterward added Khusraw's name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parviz and Shahjasan, both of whom were born before the A.D. was completed.

Again, Mirzâ Shahrukh (No. 7) and Mirzâ Musaffar Husayn (No. 8) are mentioned as
qualities; and to say something of their experience. But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise; in fact, it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy, and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of. I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.
1. Shâhzâda Sultan Salim, eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.
2. Shâhzâda Sultan Murâd, second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.
3. Shâhzâda Sultan Dânyâl, third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had five sons:
1. Hasan (twins, born 3rd Rabî‘ I, 972: They only lived one month.)
2. Husayn
3. Sultan Salim [Jâhângîr].
4. Sultan Mirâd.
5. Sultan Dânyâl.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(a) Shâhzâda Khânum, born three months after Salim, in 977. (b) Shukr-i-Nisâ Begum, who in 1003 was married to Mirzâ Shâhrûkh (No. 7, below, p. 326); and (c) Arân Bânû Begum; both born after Sultan Dânyâl. Regarding the death of the last Begum, vide Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar’s wives the following are mentioned: 1—1. Sultan Rukayyâ Begum (a daughter of Mirzâ Hindâl), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumâda I, 1035 (Tuzuk, p. 401). She was Akbar’s first wife (zam-i kalân), but had no child by him. She tended Shâhjahân. Nûr Jahan (Jâhângîr’s wife), also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afsân. 2. Sultan Salima Begum. She was a daughter of Guîrûkh (1) Begum 2 (a daughter of Bâbâr).

Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, i.e., a short time before the A’in was completed.

The biographical notices which I have given after the names of the more illustrious generals are chiefly taken from a MS. copy of the Mâda‘ir-i-Umarî (No. 77 of the MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal), the Tuzuk-i-Jâhângîr, the Tuzuk-i-Akbar, Bâdshahî, and the Akbarshahî. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a genealogical table of the House of Timur, and would refer the reader to a more detailed article on the Chronology of Timur and his Descendants published by me in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for August, 1869.

1 Vide Additional notes.
2 Regarding her, vide Jour. As. Soc. Bengal for 1869, p. 136, note.
and Mirzā Nuruddin Muhammad Humayun had destined her for Bayram Khan, who married her in the beginning of Akbar’s reign. After the death of Bayram, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zil-Qa‘da, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name Makhfi (concealed) and must not be confounded with Zeib*v* ’Nisa‘ (a daughter of Awrangzeh’s) who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Raja Bihari Mal and sister of Raja Bhagawan Das. Akbar married her in 968, at Sambhar. 4. The beautiful wife of Abdu-l-Wasit, married in 970 vide Bad. II, 61. 5. Bibi Dawlat Shad, mother of (b) and (c). vide Tuzuk, p. 16. 6. A daughter of Abdu Ilah Khan Mughul (964). 7. A daughter of Mirza Mubarak Shah of Khandes vide p. 13; note 1.

Sulṭān Salām. Title as Emperor, Jahangir. Title after death, Jannatmakānī. Born at Pathpur Sikri, on Wednesday, 17th Rabī’ I, 997, or 18th Shahrīvar of the 13th year of Akbar’s Era. He was called Salām because he was born in the house of Shāykh Salim-i Chishti. Akbar used to call him Shāykh Bābā (vide Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, vide below. No. 4. Jahangir died on the 28th Safar 1037 (38th October, 1627) near Rajor on the Kashmir frontier. Vide my article on Jahangir in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Sulṭān Murad. Akbar’s fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006, at Jalalpur in Bahr (Tuzuk, p. 15; Akbariama II, p. 443; Khāfi Khan, p. 212). He was nicknamed Pahārī (Bad. II, 378). He was sābrang (of a livid* complexion), thin, and tall (Tuzuk). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parviz, Jahangir’s son (Tuzuk, p. 33).

Sulṭān Dānyal was born at Ajmir, on the 10th Jumāda I, 979, and died of delirium tremens, a.h. 1013. Khafi Khan, I, p. 232; says the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dānyal in remembrance of Shāykh Dānyal, a follower of Mus‘in-i Chishti, to whose tomb at Ajmir Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dānyal married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Quli Khān (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jānān Begum, a daughter of Mirzā Abdu-l-Rahim Khān Khānān (Khafi Khan, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibrahim Adilshah of Bijapur; but he died before the marriage was consummated. He had three sons:—1. Tahmūras, who was married to Sulṭān Bahār Begum, a daughter of Jahangir, 2. Bāyasanghar (بابیسگر). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand

* Her charming Dewān was lithographed at Lucknow, a.h. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Awrangzeh, and was born in a.h. 1048.

** Sallow 1—P.
Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusrav. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mīrzā Wāli (Tuz., p. 272). Tāhmūras and Hooshang were killed by Āsaf Khān after the death of Janāngir (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, for August, 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Rāyasanghar. Vide Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindustānī poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. Sultan Khusrav, eldest son of Prince Salim [Jahāṅgīr].

Jahāṅgīr’s wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sultānā n-Nisā Begum [Khāft Khān, Sultan Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusrav. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusrav and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāft Khān, p. 227). 2. A daughter of Rāy Rāy Singh, son of Rāy Kalyan Mal of Bikanīr, married 19th Rajab 994, Bad. II, p. 353. She is not mentioned in the Tuzuk among Jahāṅgīr’s wives. 3. A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Māldeo, married in 994. The Tuzuk (p. 5) calls her Jāgat Gosāvīni. She is the mother of Shāhjahan, and died in 1028 (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka. She is the mother of Prince Parviz. She died 15th Tir, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rāja Keshā Dās Rāthor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīwar 998). 6 and 7. The mothers of Jahāndar and Shahrīyar. 8. A daughter of Ali Rāy, ruler of little Thibet (Bad., II, 376), married in 999. 9. A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh (Tuzuk, p. 68). 10. Mihrān n-Nisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afkan. On her marriage with Jahāṅgīr she received the title of Nūr Mahall, and was later called Nūr Jahan (Tuz., p. 156). Jahāṅgīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahan.

Jahāṅgīr’s children. 1. Sultan Khusrav. 2. Sultan Parviz. 3. Sultan Khurram (Shāhjahān). 4. Sultan-Jahāndar. 5. Sultan Shakhrīyar. Two daughters are mentioned: — (a) Sultan n-Nisā Begum; (b) Sultan Bahār Bānū Begum. There were “several children” after Parviz; but the Tuzuk (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sultān Khusrav was born on the 24th Amurdīd 995 (Tuzuk, Preface); but Khāft Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of Azam Khān
Koka. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, Tuzuk, p. 73. 2. Dawar Baksh (also called Bulqī), whose daughter, Hoshammad Bānī Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshasp.

Khusraw died on the 18th Isandiyārmuz, 1081. He lies buried in the Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad. Dawar Baksh was proclaimed Emperor by Āsaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr; but at an order of Shāhjahan, he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Āsaf Khān.

Sultān Parwīz, born 19th Abān, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mirzā Rustam-i Šafawī (No. 9) and had a son who died when young (Tuz., p. 282). A daughter of Parwīz was married to Dārā Shikoh. Parwīz died of delirium tremens in 1036.

Sultān Khurrām (Shāhjahan) was born at Lāhor on the 30th Rabī‘ I, 1000 A.H. Regarding his family, vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal for August, 1869, p. 219. He was Akbar’s favourite.

Sultān Jahāndār had no children. He and Sultān Shahryār were born about the same time, a few months before Akbar’s death (Tuz., Preface, p. 17). Shahryār was married, in the 16th year of Jahāngīr, to Mihr-un-Nisā, the daughter of Nur Jahān by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (Tuzuk, p. 370). The Iqbal-nāma (p. 306) calls her لزدي بسم. From his want of abilities, he got the nickname Nāshudani (fit for nothing). Khusraw, Parwīz, and Jahāndār died before their father.

Shahryār, at the instigation of Nur Jahān, proclaimed himself Emperor of Lāhor a few days after the death of Jahāngīr. He was killed either at the order of Dawar Baksh or of Āsaf Khān; vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal for August, 1869, p. 218.

5. Mirzā Sulaymān, son of Khān Mirzā, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Abū Saʿīd.

6. Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of Mirzā Sulaymān (No. 5).

Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, and died at Lāhor in 997. He is generally called Wāli-yi Badakhshān. As grandson of Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, he is the sixth descendant from Timūr. Abū Saʿīd killed Sultān Muḥammad of Badakhshān, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshān, which after his death fell to his son, Sultān Maḥmūd, who had three sons, Bāyasanghar Mirzā, Ali Mirzā, Khān Mirzā. When Maḥmūd died, Amir Khusraw

1 The MSS. spell this name جت and دت.
2 The M&C#. 1-Umar calls the second son, Mirzā Maṣʿūd.
Khān, one of his nobles, blinded Bāyasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Bābar in 910. When Bābar took Qandahār, in 912, from Shāh Beg Arghān, he sent Khān Mirzā as governor to Badakhshān. Mirzā Sulaymān is the son of this Khān Mirzā.1

After the death of Khān Mirzā, Badakhshān was governed for Bābar by Prince Humāyūn, Sultan Uways (Mirzā Sulaymān’s father-in-law), Prince Hindāl, and lastly, by Mirzā Sulaymān, who held Badakhshān till 17 Jumāda H. 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, to Prince Kāmrān. They were released by Humāyūn in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshān. When Humāyūn had taken Kābul, he made war upon and defeated Mirzā Sulaymān who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kāmrān from Sindh obliged Humāyūn to go to Kābul, he reinstated the Mirzā, who held Badakhshān till 953. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, was killed in battle.2

In the eighth year when Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm’s (Akbar’s brother) mother had been killed by Shāh Abū ’l-Maṣāni Mirzā S. went to Kābul, and Abū ’l-Maṣāli hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Ḥakīm, and appointed Umed Ṣāli, a Badakhshān noble, M. M. Ḥakīm’s Vakil (970). But M. M. Ḥakīm did not go on well with Mirzā Sulaymān, who returned next year to Kābul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Ḥakīm fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirzā S., though he had taken Jalālābād, had to return to Badakhshān. He returned to Kābul in 973, when Akbar’s troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mirzā Sulaymān’s wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchāk tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muḥtaram Khānum, the widow of Prince Kāmrān. M. Sulaymān wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mirzā Ibrāhīm, by whom she had a son, Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7). When Mirzā Ibrāhīm fell in the war with Balkh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khānum to her father, Shāh Muḥammad of Kāshgar; but she refused to go. As soon as Shāhrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshān nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulaymān. This he did,

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1 The Maḥbūr says Khān Mirzā died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mirzā Sulaymān was born in 920, the Tārīkh of his birth being the word "ب", meaning "son".

2 Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar’s Court, and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette.
alternately rebelling and again making peace. Khurram Begum then died. Shâhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshân which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaymân, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshân for Kâbul, and crossing the Nilâb went to India (983). Khân Jahân, governor of the Panjâb, received orders to invade Badakhshân, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Mûsâ Khân had died and Mirzâ Sulaymân did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him.

M. Sulaymân then went to Ismâ'il II of Persia. When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Mu'azzâm Harâm Mirzâ (No. 8) at Qandahâr, and then to M. M. Hâkim at Kâbul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kâbul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshân, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between Tâqân and the Hindû Kush. Soon after Muhtaram Khânum died. Being again pressed by Shâhrukh, M. Sulaymân applied for help to 'Abd'âllah Khân Uzbak, king of Tûrân, who had long wished to annex Badakhshân. He invaded and took the country in 992; Shâhrukh fled to Hundusân, and M. Sulaymân to Kâbul. As he could not recover Badakhshân, and being rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Hâkim, 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 Lâhor, at the age of seventy-seven.

7. Mirzâ Shâhrukh, son of Mirzâ Ibrahim.

Vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukrân b. Nisâ Begum, and made him governor of Mâlwa, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dakhin. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his Mansab by Jahângîr.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Kâbulî Begum, was a daughter of Mirzâ Muhammad Hâkim. She wanted to take his body to Madinah, but was robbed by the Badawis; and after handing over the body to some 'scoundrels' she went to Basra, and then to Shiráz. In 1022, Shâh 'Abbâs married her to Mirzâ Sultan 'Ali, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Shâhrukh's Children.—1. Hasan and Husayn, twins. Hasan fled with Khusraw and was imprisoned by Jahângîr. 2. Badî'ûz-Zamân (or Mirzâ Fathhpûrî), "a bundle of wicked bones," murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrât). 3. Mirzâ Shujâyûs rose to honours under Shâhjahân, who called him Najâbat Khân. 4. Mirzâ Muhammad Zamân. He held
a town in Badakhshan, and fell against the Uzbaks. 5. Mirza Sultan, a favourite 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 into disgrace, and was appointed governor of Ghazipur, where he died. 6. Mirza Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either. The Tazuk (p. 65) says that after the death of Shahrukh, Jahangir took charge of four of his sons and three of his daughters, "whom Akbar had not known." "Shahrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindi."

8. Mirza Mu'azzar Husayn, son of Bahram Mirza, son of Shah Isma'il-i-Safawi.

In 965, Shah Tahmasp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahar, which was given, together with Dauwar and Garmsir as far as the river Hirmand, to Sultan Husayn Mirza, his nephew. Sultan Husayn M. died in 984, when Shah Isma'il II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husayn Mirza, Mu'azzar Husayn Mirza, Rustam Mirza, Abu Sa'id Mirza, and Sanjar Mirza. The first was killed by Shah Isma'il Iran. The other four in Qandahar had also been doomed, but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shah saved their lives. The new Shah Khudabanda, gave Qandahar to Mu'azzar Husayn Mirza, and Dauwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mirza, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakil being Hamza Beg 'Abdullah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Mu'azzar Husayn Mirza to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Mu'azzar had the Vakil murdered. This led to fights between Mu'azzar and Mirza Rustam who, however, returned to Dauwar.

Not long after the invasion of Khurasan by the Uzbaks under Din Muhammad Sultan and Bagh Sultan (a sister's son of 'Abdul ilah Khan of Turan) took place, and the Qandahar territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most of the Qizilbash grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shah of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none: Mirza Rustam who had gone to Hindustan, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lohor, and kept Qandahar in anxiety; and Mu'azzar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahar to Akbar, though 'Abdul ilah Khan of Turan advised him not to join the Chaghatay kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qara Beg (an old servant of Mu'azzar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Farrashbegi

[1 Son of Bahram Mirza. side 93.—P.]
by Akbar) returned to Qandahār, and prevailed upon Muغاflar’s mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahār to India.

Akbar sent Shāh Beg Khàn Arghūn, Governor of Bangash, to take prompt possession of Qandahār, and though, as in all his undertakings, Muغاflar wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery, he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khàn in 1003, to go to Akbar. He received the title of Farzand (son), was made a Commander of five thousand, and received Sambhal as Jāgīr, "which is worth more than all Qandahār."

But the ryots of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Muغاflar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muغاflar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Muغاflar 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.

Muغاflar found everything in India bad, and sometimes resolved to go to Persia, and sometimes to Makkah. From grief and disappointment, and a bodily hurt, he died in 1008.

His daughter, called Qandahār Mahall, was in 1018 married to Shāhjahān, and gave birth, in 1020, to Nawāb Parhez Bānū Begum.

Three sons of his remained in India, Bāhrām Mīrzā, Haydar Mīrzā (who rose to dignity under Shāhjahān, and died in 1041), and Ismā’īl Mīrzā. The Mā’āṣir mentions two other sons, Alqās Mīrzā and Tāhmās Mīrzā.

Muغاflar’s younger brothers, Mīrzā Abū Saʿīd, and Mīrzā Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Fide Nos. 271 and 272.)

9. Mīrzā Rustam.—He is the younger, but more talented brother of the preceding. As the revenue of Dāwar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers, he made war on Malik Mahmūd, ruler of Sīstān. Muغاflar Ḥusayn assisted him at first, but having married Malik Mahmūd’s daughter, he turned against Rustam. This caused a rupture between the brothers. Assisted by Lalla (guardian) Hamza Beg, M. Rustam invaded Qandahār, but without result. During the invasion of the Unbaks into Khurāsān, he conquered the town of Farāh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Mahmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him and killed him, when Jalālū ’l-Dīn, Mahmūd’s son, took up arms. Rustam was defeated, and hearing that
his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dāwar, he quickly took the town of Qalāṭ. 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, Sānjīr Mīrzā, and his four sons Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan, and Ḫīrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a Panjkazarī, and gave him Multān as jagir, “which is more than Qandahār.” His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chittor, but recalled him from Sardind, gave him Pathān as ṭuyūl, and sent him, together with Āṣaf Khān against Rāja Bāsū. But as they did not get on well together, Akbar called M. Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh, in his stead. In 1006, M. Rustam got Rāysīn as jagir. He then served under Prince Dānyāl in the Dakhin. In 1021, Jahānghir appointed him Governor of Thatbāh, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghūns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahānghir made him Shashkazarī, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against ʿAbduʾllah Khān, whom Shāhjāhān, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced ʿAbduʾllah to retire to Jhosi. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjāhān at 120,000 Rs., per annum, and retired to Āgra. In the sixth year, M. Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dārā Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Āgra, 72 years old.

As a poet he is known under the takhallus of Fīdāʾī. 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 Murād got from Jahānghir the title of Ḥāṣfī Khān. He was married to a daughter of ʿAbduʾl-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. Murād’s son, Mīrzā Mūkarram Khān, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son Mīrzā Ḥasan-i Safawī, a Ḥazār-i pānpādī under Jahānghir, was Governor of Kāch; died 1059. Ḥasan’s son, Mīrzā Ṣafshikān, was Fawjdar of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Ṣafshikān’s son, Ṣayf-i Ḥasan, accepted the title of Khān under Awrangzeb.

Bayrām Khān, the fifth in descent from Mīr ʿAlī Shukr Beg Bahārū, is the name of a principal clan of the Qaraqūlū Turks. During the time of their ascendancy under Qara Yūsuf, and his sons Qara Sīkandar and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh, rulers of ʿIrāq-i Ṣarāb and Āzarbāyjān, ʿAlī Shukr Beg held Daynūr, Hamadān, and Kūrdistan, which tracts are still called
the territory of 'Ali Shukr." His son Pir 'Ali Beg stayed some time with Sultan Mahmūd Mirzâ, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shirâz; but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amirs of Sultan Husayn Mirzâ. Pir 'Ali Beg's son, in the reign of Shâh Isä'il-i Safawî, left 'Irâq, settled in Badakhshân, and entered the service of Amir Khusraw Shâh (vide p. 324, last line) at Quunduz. He then joined, with his son Sayf 'Ali Beg, Babar's army, as Amir Khusraw had been deposed. Sayf 'Ali Beg is Bayrâm's father.

Bayrâm 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 Qânavij (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Râja of Lakhnor (Sambhal). Sher Shâh met Bayrâm in Mâlwa, and tried to win him over. But Bayrâm fled from Barhâmâr with Abû 'l-Qâsim, governor of Gwâliyâr, to Gujrat. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Shâh who had just returned from Gujrat. Abû 'l-Qâsim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bayrâm, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, "I am Bayrâm." "No," said Abû 'l-Qâsim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off." Abû 'l-Qâsim was then killed, and Bayrâm escaped to Sultan Mahmûd of Gujrat. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bayrâm embarked at Sûrat for Sindh. He joined Humâyûn on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Râja Maldeo, was pressed by the Arghânâ at Jûn. 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, Bayrâm was sent on a mission to Prince Kâmrân. When Humâyûn marched to Kabul, he took Qandahâr by force and treachery from the Qizilbashâshes, and making Bayrâm governor of the district, he informed the Shâh that he had done so as Bayrâm was "a faithful servant of both." Subsequently rumours regarding Bayrâm'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 Bayrâm. He gained the battle of Mâchhiwârâ, and received Sambhal as jagîr. In 963, he was appointed astâhîg (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjâb against Sikandar Khân. On Akbar's accession (2nd Rabî 'al-Âdhar, 963) at Kûlanûr, he was appointed Wâkû and Khân Khânân, and received the title of Khân Bâbâ. On the second of Shawwâl, 964, shortly after the surrender of Mânkot, when Akbar returned to Lâhor, an imperial elephant ran against Bayrâm's tent, and Bayrâm blamed Atgah Khân
(No. 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Lahir, went with his whole family to Bayram, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qur'an. In 965, Bayram married Salima Sultán Begum (p. 331; note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Badshahi (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bayram to the ill-treatment of Pir Muhammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khan and his mother Muhumun Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Shibli Muhammad Khan, Shahabuddin Din Ahmad, etc., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jagirs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bayram Khan's friends lived in affluence. The Tabaqat-i Akbari says that no less than twenty-five of Bayram's friends reached the dignity of Panjhaazarat rather a proof of Bayram's gift of selecting proper men. Bayram's fall is known from the Histories. "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sultán Abu Sa'id-i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amir Chauhan." (Bad.)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigne of the government, Bayram left Agra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court. He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewat and Nàgor, from where he returned his insignia, which reached Akbar at Jinijhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjab, which Bayram, as it was said, wished to invade. The insignia were conferred on Pir Muhammad Khan, Bayram's old protegé; and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah. Bayram felt much irritated at this; and finding the road to Gujrat occupied by Raja Muledeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bikanir to his friend Kalyan Mal.

1 So Bad. II, 18. The story in Elphinstone (fifth edition), p. 497, does not agree with the sources. The Akbarnama says, Bayram was on board a ship on the Jamma, when one of Akbar's elephants ran into the water and nearly upset the boat. Abu 'l-Fazl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the Samā'ī-i Akbari has a fine critical note on Abu 'l-Fazl's account. I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the Samā'ī-i Akbari the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Haydar of Belagum from the Akbarnama, the Tabaqat, Badshahi, Firahshah, the Akbarnama by Shibli, 'Abd Allah of Surkind (poetically called Fugti, see Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1888, p. 10) and Abu 'l-Fazl's letters, of which the compiler had four books. These sources in almost 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.

Belgarm was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the librair of the town see the Taṣkira by 'Abd Allah of 'Ala, entitled Samā'ī and Ahd. The author of the Samā'ī-i Akbari states that Abu 'l-Fazl did not show much friendship to Bayram, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone, p. 405, note) ascribes "Bayram's warm pusnagrit."
(No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son ʿAbd al-Rahim (No. 29) to Sher Muhammad Divāna, his adopted son and jāgīr holder of Tabarhinda, and broke out in open rebellion. At Dipalpur, on his way to the Panjab, he heard that Divāna had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muṣṭafā ʿAli (whom Bayrām had dispatched to Divāna to settle matters) to Court a prisoner. Mortified at this, Bayrām resolved to take Jālindhar. Akbar now moved against him; but before he reached him, he heard that Bayrām had been defeated by Atgah Khān (No. 15). Bayrām fled to Fort Tilwāra on the banks of the Biyāh, followed by Akbar. Fighting ensued. In the very beginning, Sultan Husayn Jalāir was killed; and when his head was brought to Bayrām, he was so sorry that he sent to Akbar and asked forgiveness. This was granted, and Bayrām, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned. After staying for two days longer with Munṣīm Khān, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah. The whole camp made a collection (chandoq), Hāji Muhammad of Sīstān (No. 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nägor to Pātan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrat, where he was hospitably received by Mīsā Khān Fūlādī, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumādā I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayrām was stabbed by a Lohānī Afghan of the name of Mubārak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māchhiwara. "With an Allāh ʿAlī on his lips, he died." The motive of Mubārak Khān is said to have merely been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kashmiri wife of Salīm Shāh with her daughter had attached herself to Bayrām's suite, in order to go to Hijāz, and it had been settled that Bayrām's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afghāns. Some beggars lifted up Bayrām's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaykh Husām al-Dīn. Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mashhad.

Akbar took charge of ʿAbd al-Rahim, Bayrām's son (vide No. 29), and married soon after Salīma Sultan Begum, Bayrām's widow.

For ʿAbd al-Rahim, we often find the spelling ʿAbd al-Rahim. Firishta generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkman. Bayrām was a Shīʿah, and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Badāʾiʿ-III, p. 190).

1 Near Kurukshetra in the Pargana of Kurukshetra [Bad. : मकर देव : मकर का संस्कृत] near Jīlī. 2 Vide, Bad. (II, 40) has ुंदरेग. Firishta says (Lucknow ed.), p. 249. 3 The notice outside of Māchhiwāra.

4 The是一 the present fact without giving the source.
11. Munṣim Khān, son of Bayrām Beg.

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father. Munṣim Khān was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court, as was also his brother Faṣil Beg. When Humāyūn, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mīrzā Shāh Husayn of Thathah, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Faṣil Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humāyūn made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles. M. did not, however, accompany Humāyūn to Persia. He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity. He rejected the governorship of Qandahār, which was given to Bayrām Khān. In 961, he was appointed atāīq of Prince Akbar; and when Humāyūn invaded India, M. was left as governor of Kābul in charge of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, then about a year old. In Kābul M. remained till Bayrām fell into disgrace. He joined Akbar, in Zī Hijja, 967, at Lādhiyānā, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bayrām. M. was then appointed Khān Khānān and Vakīl.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khān (No. 19) killed Atgah Khān (No. 15), Munṣim who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkār of Qanawī) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Muḥammad Khān of Bārha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honours.

Munṣim Khān's son, Ghānī Khān, whom his father had left in charge of Kābul, caused disturbances from want of tact. Māḥ Jūjak Begum, Prince M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother, advised by Faṣil Beg and his son ʿAbdāl Ḥ-Fath, who hated Ghānī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghānī Khān was once temporarily absent at Fālīz. Ghānī Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Māḥ Jūjak Begum then appointed Faṣil Beg as Vakīl and ʿAbdāl Ḥ-Fath as Nāṣib; but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both, at the advice of Shāh Wali, one of her nobles. On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M. to Kābul. Thinking he could rely on the Kābulīs, M. left before his contingent was quite ready. He was attacked near Jalālābād by Māḥ Jūjak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Shāh Wali and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Ḥaydar Qāsim Koh-bar, whom she had made Fākīl) and defeated. M. fled to the Ghakhars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Agra.

1 Some MSS. read Mīrans; but Bayrām is the preferable reading.
In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khân Zamân (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jâgîr in Jaunpûr (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymân Kararûnî of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutba and strike coins in Akhâr’s name.

In 982, Akhâr, at M.’s request, went with a flotilla from Āgra to Bihâr, and took Hajîpûr and Patna from Dâsûd, Sulaymân’s son. M. was then appointed Governor of Bihâr, and was ordered to follow Dâsûd into Bengal. M. moved to Tânda (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammâd Quli Khân Barlâs (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Tadâr Mal, left Tânda, and followed up Dâsûd, who after his defeat at Kh methods submitted at Katak. In Sa’far 983, M. returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M. soon after died of fever.

The great bridge of Jaunpûr was built by Munîm Khân in 981. Its târîkh is مغدف. M.’s son Ghâni Khân went to Ādilshâh of Bijâpûr, where he died.

12. Târdi Beg Khân, of Turkistân.

A noble of Humâyûn’s Court. After the conquest of Gûrût, he was made Governor of Champanîr (Fâwângâth). On Mirzâ ʻAskârî’s defeat by Sultan Bahâdur, Târdi Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humâyûn. During the emperor’s flight from India, Târdi Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless companions. When passing through the territory of Râja Mâlîde, he even refused Humâyûn a horse; and at Amarkut, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of the wealth he had collected while at court. Hence Rây Parsâd 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 Qandahâr, Târdi Beg left the emperor and joined Mirzâ ʻAskârî. But Mirzâ ʻAskârî put most of them on the rack, and forced also Târdi Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humâyûn’s return from Irân, Târdi Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mirzâ Ulugh Beg, son of Mirzâ Sultan, to Dâwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewât as

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4 Elphinstone, p. 462, note, says Târdi Beg was one of the most faithful followers of Humâyûn, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.
jāgīr. In 963, when Humāyūn died (7th Rabi‘ I), T. read the khwāba in Akbar’s name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abū ’l-Qāsim, son of Prince Kāmīrān, to Akbar in the Panjab. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dīhlī. T. drove away Ḥājī Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, from Narnaul. On Hemū’s approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dīhlī, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bayrām Khān, who did not like T. from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar “a sort of permission” (Bad. II, 11) had him murdered (end of 963). Akbar was displeased. Bayram’s hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghatā’i nobles looked upon him.

Tardi Beg was a Sunnī.


His father Ḥaydar Sultān Uzbek-i Shaybānī had been made an Āmīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbashīs. When Humāyūn returned from Persia, Haydar joined him, together with his two sons Āli Quli Khān [Khān Zamān] and Bahādur Khān (No. 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahār. On the march to Kābul, an epidemic broke out in Humāyūn’s camp, during which Haydar Sultān died.

Āli Quli Khān distinguished himself in Kābul and in the conquest of Hindūstān, was made Āmīr and sent to the Dūāb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns. At the time of Akbar’s accession, Āli Quli Khān fought with Shādi Khān, an Afghān noble; but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dīhlī, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before Āli Quli arrived at Dīhlī, Tardi Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. Āli Quli was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemū near Pānīpat and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bayrām were near, they took no part in this battle. Āli Quli received the title of Khān Zamān. Next to Bayrām, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khān Zamān then got Sambhal again as jāgīr, cleared the whole north of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghāns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder. In 964, he held Jaunpūr as Qārīn naqās for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mānket. In the third year of Akbar’s reign, Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zamān’s tayyāfs, which led him to rebel. Bayram from generosity did not interfere; but when Pīr Muḥammad, Khān Zamān’s enemy, had been appointed Vakil, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his
mahalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afghans who threatened the Jaunpur District. Pir Muhammad had also Burj Alí thrown from the walls of Firuzabad, whom Khan Zaman had sent to him to settle matters. Khan Zaman now thought it was high time to send away Shāham Beg, went to Jaunpur, and drove away the Afghans. Upon the fall of Bayrūm, they appeared again under Sher Shāh, son of Adil, with a large army and 500 elephants. Khan Zaman, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpur, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Zī Qaḍa of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Karah (on the Ganges) Khan Zaman and his brother Bahādur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpur. Soon after, he defeated the Afghans, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Khan Zaman rebelled again in concert with the Uzbek, and attacked the Tuyūldars of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghāzinūr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpur sent Munṣīm Khan against him. Being a friend of Khan Zaman, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Muṣīz al-Mulk and Rāja Ṭūdar Mal, having been defeated by Bahādur and Ikṣandar Uzbek (No. 48), the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation. Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khan Zaman was left in possession of his jagirs, and Akbar returned to Agra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumāda I, 974, marched against M. Muḥammad Ḥakim, Khan Zaman rebelled again, read the Khutba at Jaunpur in M. Muḥammad Ḥakim’s name, and marched against Shergarh (Qansawj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjab, 12th Ramāzan 974, and Agra on the 26th Shawwāl. At Sākīt, east of Agra, Akbar heard that Khan Zaman had fled from Shergarh to Mānīkpūr where Bahādur was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had bridged the river near the frontier of Singor (Nawābganj, between Mānīkpūr and Allahābād). Akbar sent a detachment of 6,000 troopers under Muḥammad Quli Khan Baliās and Ṭūdar Mal to Aundh to oppose Ikṣandar Khan Uzbek, and marched over Rāy Bareli to Mānīkpūr; crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Khan Zaman’s camp, who must have gone from Nawābganj back again on the right side of the river to Karah. Next morning, 1st Zī

[^1: Muḥāsin Khan Ṣādīq.—B.]
Hijra, 974. Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khan Zamân. Bahâdur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been dispatched, when Khan Zamân’s head was brought in. He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Samnât, when a soldier cut off his head; for Akbar had promised a muhr for every Mughul’s head. But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar. The fight took place dar 5arqa-yi Sakrâal (in Badă, onl, Mongârâal), ‘which place has since been called Fathpûr.’ The Trig. S. maps show a small village Fathpûr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Kârah, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Allahâbâd.

Khan Zamân as a poet styled himself Sultan (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society, September, 1868). Zamânîyâ (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbek, Khan Zamân, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shi’ah. Khan Zamân must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. 5Abdâ’  Ilah Khan Uzbek.

A noble of Humâyûn’s Court. After the defeat of Hâmû, he received the title of Shujâ‘at Khan, got Kâlpî as tuyûl, and served under Adham Khan (No. 19) in Gujûrât. When Bâz Bahâdur, after the death of Pir Muhammed, had taken possession of Mâlwa, 5Abdû’ lIlah was made a Pâmâhâsirî, and was sent to Mâlwa with almost unlimited authority. He re-conquered the province, and “reigned in Mandû like a king”. Akbar found it necessary to move against him. 5Abdû’ lIlah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujûrât, pursued by Qâsim Khan of Nishâpûr (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khan, an officer of Sultan Mahmûd of Gujûrût. Hakim 5Ayn 1Mulk was dispatched to Changiz with the request to deliver up 5Abdû’ lIlah, or to dismiss him. Changiz Khan did the latter. 5Abdû’ lIlah again appeared in Mâlwa, and was hotly pursued by Shahâb 1d-Din Ahmad Khan (No. 26), who nearly captured him. With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpûr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khan Zamân (No. 13).

15. Shams 2  d-Din Muhammed Atga Khan.

Son of Mir Yâr Muhammed of Ghâzni, a simple farmer. Shams 2  d-Din, 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. Shams 2  d-Din entered
Prince Kâmrân’s service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanawî (10th Muḥarram, 947). Humâyûn, 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 Shamsu’d-Dîn. Humâyûn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anga) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Ji Ji Amaga. Shamsu’d-Dîn remained with the young prince whilst Humâyûn was in Persia, and received after the emperor’s restoration the title of Atga (foster father) Khân. Humâyûn sent him to Hisâr, which Sîrkâr had been set aside for Prince Akbar’s maintenance.

After Akbar’s accession, Atga Khân was dispatched to Kâbul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums. Soon after, on the march from Mankot to Lâhor, the elephant affair took place, which has been related under Bayrâm Khân, p. 331. He held Khushâb in the Panjâb as jagir, and received, after Bayrâm’s fall, the insignia of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjâb. He defeated Bayrâm Khân near Jâlimdar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of Aszam Khân. In the sixth year, he came from Lâhor to the Court, and acted as Vakil either in supersession of Munsim Khân or by “usurpation”, at which Akbar connived. Munsim Khân and Shahâb Khân (No. 20) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (vide No. 19) to kill Atga Khân,1 12th Ramaqân, 969.

For Atga Khân’s brothers vide Nos. 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos. 18 and 21. The family is often called in Histories Atga Khâyl2 “the foster father battalion.”


He served under Kâmrân and Humâyûn, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. Whilst Governor of the Panjâb, where most of the Atgas (Atga Khâyl) had jagirs, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghâkkars, the extirpation of Sultân Âdam, and in keeping down Kamál Khân. In the ninth year he assisted Mirzâ Muhammad Hakim against Mirzâ Sulaymân (No. 5), restored him to the throne of Kâbul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under

1 He stabbed at the Atga, and ordered one of his own servants, an Ubalak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. Rashiduloni (p. 32) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1) say that Adham himself killed Atga.

2 Khâyl, troop, tribe, etc. — P.}
his brother Qutb-ud-Din (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter Atīlig of the Prince. But Khân-i Kalân did not get on well with M. M. Hakim, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhr-un-Nisâ Begum (a daughter of Humâyûn by Jâjak Begum, and widow of Mir Shâh 'Abd-ull-Ma'in) to Khwâja Hasan Naṣirbandi in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khân-i Kalân left Kâbul one night and returned to Lâhor.

In the 13th year (976) the Atiq Khayât was removed from the Panjâb, and ordered to repair to Ágra. Khân-i Kalân received Sambhal as jâgir, whilst Husayn Quli Khân (No. 21) was appointed to the Panjâb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat (Bud. II, 165). On the march, near Sareh (Ajmir), he was wounded by a Râjkâth, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nabirwâla). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of "Ghaznawi", in allusion to his birthplace. Badà,oni (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fâzîl Khân (No. 150), was a Hazir, and was killed when Mîrzâ 'Azîz Koka (No. 21) was shut up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khân (No. 232) was a Pansuri. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mîrzâ Sharaf-ud-Din Husayn, son of Khwâja Mu'in.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khâwja Mu'in, was the son of Khâwând Mahmûd, second son of Khwâja Kalân (known as Khwâja Khwâja), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwâja Naṣîr-ud-Din 'Ubayd ALLah Âhrâr. Hence Mîrzâ Sharaf-ud-Din Husayn is generally called Âhrâr.

His grandfather, Khâwând Mahmûd, went to India, was honorably received by Humâyûn, and died at Kâbul.

His father, Khwâja Mu'in, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land called "Rûdjâna-yi Nasheb", and served under 'Abd ALLah Khân, ruler of Kâshghar. He was married to Kijak Begum, daughter of Mr. Alâ-ud-Din Mulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahân Begum, daughter of Sultan Abû Sa'id Mîrzâ. "Hence the blood of Timûr also flowed in the veins of Mîrzâ Sharaf-ud-Din Husayn." As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar. Through the powerful influence of Mâhum, Akbar's nurse, and Adham Khân, her son (No. 19), Mîrzâ Sharaf was appointed Panjharârî. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakshâ Bânu Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmir and Nâgor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmir, Mîrzâ Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege
of Māṁtha, which was defended by Jagnal and Devidās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mirzā Sharaf's father came to Āgra, and was received with great honours by Akbar. In the same year, Mirzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Āgra over the frontier, pursued by Ḥusayn Qull Khān (No. 24), and other grandees. His father, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Hijāz, but died at Cambay. The ship on which was his body, foundered. Mirzā Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khān, a Gujrāt noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mirzās. When Gujrāt was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamīnār of the place, who after the conquest of Sūrat 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 Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bengal (No. 37), who was to give him a jagūr, should be find that the Mirzā showed signs of repentance; but if not, to send him to Makkah. Muẓaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off, when Mir Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī rebelled in Bihār. Joined by Bābā Khān Qāqahāl, the rebels besieged Muẓaffar Khān in Tānda and overpowered him. Mirzā Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muẓaffar. But subsequently he became Maṣṣūm's enemy. Each was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other. Maṣṣūm at last bribed a boy of the name of Maḥmūd, whom Mirzā Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned. Mirzā Sharaf's death took place in 988. He is wrongly called Siefuddīn in Stewart's History of Bengal (p. 168).

18. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, eldest son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was Akbar's foster brother (koka or kūkalāsh). When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bayrām (p. 332, l. 9), and was made Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān (No. 19) Akbar took care of him and his younger brother ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khān Zamān (No. 13).

He died from excessive drinking in 973. Bad. II, p. 84.

19. Adham Khān, son of Māhūm Anga.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.

1 Generally called in European histories Adam Khān; but his name is ʿAbd al Mīr. The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.
His mother Māhum was one of Akbar’s nurses (āngā), 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 Munṣīm Khān (No. 11), who after Bayrām’s fall had been appointed Vākil, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bayrām’s fall; *Bād.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khān was a Pānjihrārī, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mānkot. Bayrām Khān, in the third year, gave him Hatkānth, South-East of Āgra, as jāgīr, to check the rebels of the Bhadauriya clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble. Though he accused Bayrām of partiality in bestowing bad jāgīrs upon such as he did not like, Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadauriyas. After Bayrām’s fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pir Muḥammad Khān to Mālwah, defeated Bāz Bahādur near Sārangpūr, and took possession of Bahādur’s treasures and dancing girls. His sudden fortune made him refractory; he did not send the booty to Āgra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Māhum Āngā 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 Māhum’s orders. Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it. On his return to Āgra, however, he recalled Adham, and appointed Pir Muḥammad governor of Mālwah.

At Court, Adham met again Atga Khān, whom both he and Munṣīm Khān envied and hated. On the 12th Ramazān 969, when Munṣīm Khān, Atga Khān, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khān with some followers, suddenly

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1 This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghatal Dictionary. Missed by the printed editions of Baidā, Firista, Khāñ Khān, etc., I put on p. 223 of my text edition of the Aḵān, Māhun Āngā, as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* Khāñ Khān I, p. 132, l. 6 from below.

2 The Moṭaḏer gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbarnāma.

3 Hatkānth was held by Rājputs of the Bhadauriya clan. *Vide* Bām’s edition of Elliot’s Glossary, II, p. 36, and 1, 27, where the word Ṣal is doubtful, though it is certainly not Lakhōr; for the old spelling “Lahów” for “Lūhōr” had ceased when the author of the Akbarnāma, Afghān wrote. Besides, a place in Gwálīr is meant, not far from the Sindl river. For Ṣal the two editions of Baidā, out have Ṣal; Dorn has Ṣal. Behaër; Briggs has Lakhur; the Lucknow edition of Firista has Ṣal. There is a town and Pargana of the name of Ṣal in Sirkār Rantānlur.

The passage in the Akbarnāma regarding Adham Khān quoted by Elliot may be found among the events of the third year.

Another nest of cabbets was the eight villages, called Āṭghāh, near Sākit, in the Sirkār of Qanawī.
entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atga with his dagger, and told one of his companions (side p. 338) 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 (ayvon) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch!" (bacheha-ye jada), 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. "Why are you standing here gaping?" said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khân; "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's order Adham Khân was twice thrown down from the dais (suffa) of the Ayvon to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihli.

Máhum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihli to Ágra. 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 Dihli in a tomb which Akbar had built for them.

For Adham's brother, side No. 60.

20. Pir Muhammed Khân of Shirwân.¹

Nothing is known of his father. Pir Muhammed was a Mullá, and attached himself to Bayram in Qandahār. Through Bayram's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amīr on Akbar's accession. He distinguished himself in the war with Hemū, and received subsequently the title of Nāṣir al-Mulk. His pride offended the Chaharta'is nobles, and, at last, Bayram himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bayram subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaykh Gādā (side p. 232) to the Fort of Biyâna, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujrat, Pir Muhammed received letters from Adham Khân (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhūr; but being pursued by Bayram's men, he continued his journey to Gujrat. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bayram's fall. Whilst in Gujrat, P. M. heard of

¹ In my text edition, p. 223, No. 20, rule. Shirwân is also the birth-place of Khāqānī. The spelling Shereef given in the Muṣjam does not appear to be usual.
Bayrām’s disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Kān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Kān to conquer Mūlwh, of which he was made sole governor after Adham’s recall. In 969, he defeated Bāz Bahādur who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bijāgarh from Ktimād Kān, Bāz Bahādur’s general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, sacked the capital Burhānpūr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Bāz Bahādur and defeated. Arriving at night on his flight at the bank of the Narbardah, he insisted on crossing it, and perished in the river.


His mother was Jī Jī Anāgā (vide p. 338). 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 ʿAzīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.”

On the removal of the Atga Khāṭūl (p. 338) from the Panjāb, he retained Dīpālpūr, where he was visited by Akbar in the 16th year (978) on his pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Farūl-i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pāk Patan, or Patan-i Panjāb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmādābād, Mīrzā ʿAzīz was appointed governor of Gujrat as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Sūrāt. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, joined by Sher Khān Fūlādī, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mīrzā ʿAzīz and Quḥā ʿd-Dīn. ʿAzīz then returned to Ahmādābād. When Akbar, on the 2nd Safar 981, returned to Fathpūr Sikri, Iḫtiyārāʾ ʿl-Mulk, a Gujratī noble, occupied Idar, and then moved against ʿAzīz in Ahmādābād. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā also came from the Dakhin, and after attacking Kambhāyit (Cambay), they besieged Ahmādābād. ʿAzīz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels near Patan. During the fight Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Iḫtiyārāʾ ʿl-Mulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. ʿAzīz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Iḫtiyārāʾ ʿl-Mulk.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the Dāgh (Āʿ in 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amīrā. Mīrzā ʿAzīz especially

1 Akbar left Agra on the 4th Rabiʿ I, and attacked the Mīrzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Agra and Patan being 400 fars, Akbar’s forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241. [This differs from the Akbar nīma.—B.]
showed himself so disobedient that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank.

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M. ʿAzīz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (vide Muṣaffar Khān, No. 37). ʿAzīz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aṣ̄am Khān, and was dispatched with a large army to quell the rebellion. His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār. Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Fathpūr Sīkri. During ʿAzīz’s absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hājpūr, opposite Patna; and ʿAzīz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tūylūrs of Hāhābād, Audh, and Bihār, he occupied Garhī, the “key” of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Maʿṣūm-i Kābulī, and Mājūn Khān Qāqāhāl, ʿAzīz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maʿṣūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qutlū, a Lahāni Afghān, who during these disturbances had occupied Orīsā and a portion of Bengal. ʿAzīz, however, took this ill, and handing over the command to Shāhbaẓ Khān-i Kambū, returned to his lama in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Hāhābād, and was transferred to Garhā and Rāsīn. (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. ʿAzīz was appointed to the Dakhīn; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shāhābū ḍ-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) and other grandees, ʿAzīz withdrew, plundered Ilichipūr in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrāt, where the Khān Khānān was (Briggs, II, 297).

In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married a daughter of M. ʿAzīz. Towards the end of the 34th year, ʿAzīz was appointed Governor of Gujrāt in succession to the Khān Khānān. In the 36th year, he moved against Sultān Muṣaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamīndārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Sūmnāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgarh also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (5th Zī Qaṣda 999), and Miyān Khān and Tāj Khān, sons of Dawlat Khān ibn-i Amīn Khān-i Ghorā, joined the Mughuls. ʿAzīz gave both of them jagirs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultān Muṣaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamīndār of Dwārkā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muṣaffar fled to Kachh, followed by ʿAzīz. There also the Zamīndārs submitted, and soon after delivered Sultān Muṣaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought
to the Mirzā 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. ⁵Azīz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mirzā dreading the religious innovations at Court, marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it. He made, however, peace with the "Farangi" and embarked for Hijāz at Balāwal, a harbour town near Somnāt, accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, ⁶Abdul Ilah, ⁶Abdur 'I-Latif, Murtażā, ⁶Abdur 'I-Qādir), 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 Mirzā (M. Shamsī and M. Shādmān).

M. ⁵Azīz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so "fleeced", that his attachment to Islam was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balāwal, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003. He now became a member of the "Divine Faith" (vide p. 217, l. 33), was appointed Governor of Bihār, was made Vākil in 1004, and received Multān as Jāgīr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Āsīr. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzā, Bahādur Khan, ruler of Khandes, ceded Āsīr to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusraw married one of ⁵Azīz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mān Singh and M. ⁵Azīz were anxious to proclaim Khusraw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī and others had proclaimed Jahāngīr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mān Singh left the Fort of Āgra with Khusraw, in order to go to Bengal. ⁵Azīz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Rāja, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch. He countenanced Khusraw's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers, and of Salīma Sulṭān Begum and other princesses of Akbar's harem. Not long after, Khwāja Abū 'I-Hasan laid before Jahāngīr a letter written some years ago by ⁵Azīz to Rāja ⁶Ali Khān of Khandes, in which ⁵Azīz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahāngīr gave ⁵Azīz the letter and asked him to read it before

¹ M. ⁵Azīz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the "Divine Faith". He used to call Fayāl and Abū 'I-Faṣl, ⁶Usmān and ⁶Alī. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahāngīr, as related below.
the whole Court, which he did without the slightest hesitation, thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present. Jahāngīr deprived him of his honours and lands, and imprisoned him.

In the 3rd year of Jahāngīr’s reign (1017), M. ʻAzīz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrat, his eldest son, Jahāngīr Qāli Khān, being his ʻalā‘ī. In the 5th year, when matters did not go on well in the Dakhin, he was sent there with 10,000 men. In the 8th year (1022), Jahāngīr went to Ajmir, and appointed, at the request of ʻAzīz, Shāhjahān to the command of the Dakhin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shāhjahān did not like M. ʻAzīz on account of his partiality for Khurshid, and Mahābat Khān was dispatched from Court to accompany ʻAzīz from Udaipur to Agra. In the 9th year, ʻAzīz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Šāfī Khān in the Fort of Gwāliyār (Tuzuk, p. 127). He was set free a year later, and soon after restored to his rank. In the 18th year, he was appointed Atā‘ī to Prince Dāwar Baksh, who had been made Governor of Gujrat. M. ʻAzīz died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmādābād.

ʻAzīz 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 Khurāsānī woman, for his housework; a Hindu woman, for nursing his children; and a woman from Māwarānnahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three.” Vide Ibqā‘l-nāma, p. 230.

Koka means “foster-brother”, and is the same as the Turkish Kūkaldāsh or Kūkaltāsh.

Mīrzā ʻAzīz’s sons. 1. Mīrzā Shamsī (No. 183). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahāngīr Qāli Khān.

2. Mīrzā Shāhmān (No. 233). He received the title of Shāh Khān.

Tuzuk, p. 99.

3. Mīrzā Khurram (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jūnāghar in Gujrat, received the title of Kāmil Khān under Jahāngīr, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) to the Dakhin.

4. Mīrzā ʻAlī ʻIlāh (No. 257) received under Jahāngīr the title of Sardār Khān. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwāliyār.

5. Mīrzā Ansār (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commanderies of Five and Two Thousand. ʻAzīz’s other sons have been mentioned above.
A sister of M. ʿAziz, Māh Bānī, was married to ʿAbd al-Rahīm Khān Khānān. (No. 29).


His real name is Muhammad Saʿīd. Humayūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar. He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahār, which was commanded by Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qalāt (No. 95). The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humayūn to send him assistance. A party of Qizīl bāshās attacked Bahādur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mānkot, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khān, was pardoned, and received Multān as jagīr. In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Mālwa. After Bayrām's fall, through the influence of Māhum Anga (vide p. 340), he was made Fakūl, and was soon after appointed to Itāwa (Sirkār of Āgra).

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (vide p. 386). After his capture, Shāh bāz Khān i-Kambū (No. 80) killed him at Akbar's order.

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad. III, 239).


In some historical MSS. he is called Bihārī Mal. There were two kinds of Kachhwāha, Rājāwat and Shāykhāwat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Šūba of Ajmūr. Though not so extensive as Marwār, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājpūt that joined Akbar's Court. The flight 1 of Humayūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Háji Khān, a servant of Sher Khān, had attacked Nārnaul, the jagīr of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl (No. 50), who happened to be a friend of the Rāja's. Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement; and Majnūn Khān, after the defeat of Hemū (963), brought Bihārī Mal's services to the notice of the emperor. The Rāja 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 [mast] elephant.

1 The "flight" of Humayūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul historians. Abū I-Fazl generally uses euphemisms, as ʿināʾ-ʿaṣf, ʿaṣf maʿṣūf, "that unavoidable event," or ribāṭ (departure); or dozens-i Sher Khāna, the coming of Sher Khān (not Sher Shāh, etc.

2 Mast, in rut.; furious.—P.
and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihārī Mal’s Rājpūt 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'āmmār-i Chishti at Ajmir, and at Kalālī, Chaghtā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharaful-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17), Governor of Mālwa, had made war upon him, chiefly at the instigation of Sojā, son of Pūran Mal, elder brother of the Rāja. Sharaful-Dīn had also got hold of Jagnāth (No. 69), son of the Rāja, Rāj Singh (No. 174), son of Askaran, and Kangār, son of Jagmal (No. 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself. At Desoa, 40 miles east of Jaipur, Jaima, son of Rūspi (No. 118), Bihārī Mal’s brother, who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rūspi. At Sangānīr, at last, Bihārī Mal with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received. His request to enter Akbar’s service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance, was granted. On his return from Ajmir, Akbar received the Rāja’s daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Rāja himself, and his son Bhagawant Dās, and his grandson Kūwar Mān Singh. They accompanied Akbar to Ágra, where Bihārī Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after Bihārī Mal returned to Amber. He died at Ágra (Tabaqāt).

Amber is said to have been founded a.d. 967 by Dholā Rāy, son of Sorā, of whom Bihārī Mal was the 18th descendant. 1

The Akbernāma mentions the names of four brothers of Bihārī Mal, 1. Pūran Mal; 2. Rūspi (No. 118); 3. Askaran (vide No. 174); 4. Jagmal (No. 134). Bihārī Mal is said to have been younger than Pūran Mal, but older than the other three.

Three sons of Bihārī Mal were in Akbar’s service—1. Bhagwān Dās (No. 27); 2. Jagannāth (No. 69); and 3. Salhādī (No. 267).

24. Khān Jahān Ḥusayn Quli Khān, son of Wali Beg Zāl Qadr.

He is the son of Bayrām Khān’s sister. His father Wali Beg Zāl Qadr was much attached to Bayrām, and was captured in the fight in the Parmangan of Jālimdar (vide p. 332, I. 5), but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle. Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bayrām’s rebellion, and ordered his head to

1 The present Maharājā of Jaipur is the 34th descendant; vide Selectives Government of India, No. LXV, 1888. Amber was deserted in 1726, when Jai Singh II founded the modern Jaipur.

2 Husayn Quli Beg. Maqādīr.
be cut off, which was sent all over Hindustān. When it was brought to Itāwa, Bahādur Khān (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (tamāchā) that carried it. Khān Jahān had brought Bayrām’s insignia from Mewāt to Akbar, and as he was a near relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Āṣaf Khān ʿAbd ʿl-Majid, Commander of Dihli. When Bayrām had been pardoned, Khān Jahān was released. He attached himself henceforth to Akbar.

In the 8th year (end of 971) he was made a Khān and received orders to follow up Sharaf ʿd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17). Ajmir and Nāgor were given him as tujjūl. He took the Fort of Jodhpūr from Chandar Sen, son of Rāy Māldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udaí Singh during the siege of Chittor.

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjāb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rautanbūr.

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkot, which had belonged to Rāja Jai Chand. Baīda,oni says (II, p. 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Bāb with a jāgīr. Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budi Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khān Jahān, on his way, conquered Fort Kotla, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrahim Ḥusayn Mirzā and Masʿud Mirzā had invaded the Panjāb. Khān Jahān therefore accepted a payment of five masūs of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Majjūl in front of Jai Chand’s palace in the Fort, and to have read the Khaṣṣa in Akbar’s name (Friday, middle of Shawwāl 980).

Accompanied by Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān-i Rizawi (No. 35), Khān Jahān marched against the Mirzās, surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 kos from Mūltān, and defeated them. Ibrahim Ḥusayn Mirzā escaped to Mūltān, but Masʿud Ḥusayn and several other Mirzās of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Agra after the conquest of Gujrat, he invited his Amirs to meet him, and Khān Jahān also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelids sewn together. Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners. The victorious

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1 General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidki (Sansk. Vriddhi), not Bidl,vide Index.—B.}
general received the title of Khan Jahān, "a title in reputation next to that of Khan Khānān." About the same time Sulaymān, ruler of Badakhshan (p. 326) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Shahrulich (No.7), and Khan Jahān was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Mun'īm Khan Khānān died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khan Jahān was recalled from the Punjāb, before he had moved into Badakhshan, and was appointed to Bengal, Rāja Todar Mal being second in command. At Bhāgalpur, Khan Jahān was met by the Amir of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghtāi nobles, he had, as Qizilbash, to contend with the same difficulties as Bayram Khan had had. He repulsed the Afghāns who had come up as far as Garhi and Tānda; but he met with more decided opposition at Āg Mahāl, where Dā'ūd Khan had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghāns. Khan Jahān complained of the wilful neglect of his Amir; and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwaja Abdul Ilah Naqshbandi, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Bihār (No. 37) to collect his Jāgirdārs and join Khan Jahān (984). The fights near Āg Mahāl were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd-i Kararāni, Dā'ūd's uncle, which led to a general battle (15th Rabi' II, 984). The right wing of the Afghāns, commanded by Kālā Pahār, gave way when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Dā'ūd was defeated by Khan Jahān. Dā'ūd himself was captured and brought to Khan Jahān, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khan Jahān dispatched Todar Mal to Court, and moved to Sātgāw (Hūgil) where Dā'ūd's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dā'ūd's adherents under Jamshed and Mīrī, and reannexed Sātgāw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghākshān, to the Mughul empire. Dā'ūd's mother came to Khan Jahān as a suppliant.

Soon after Mākū Sājī, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khan Jahān dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dā'ūd, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bāṛt, where the Afghāns had

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9 The Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā,oni (II, 236) has by mistake 'uncle'. Badā,oni says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalīgāw).
10 This nickname of Sātgāw is evidently old. Even the word bulghāk (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the Tarikh-i Firuz Shāhī, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.
11 Bāl Gosht.-B.}
12 For Bāṛt, vide below under No. 32.
collected under Karim Dād, Ibrāhīm; and the rich Zamīndār ʻlaa (١لاا) With great difficulties Ḵān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghāns who had joined him together with Dād’s mother at Goās; and returned to Šīhpatpūr, a town which he had founded near Ṭanda. Soon after, he felt ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwāl, 996).

Abū Ḥāfīẓ remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Ḵān Jahān in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion. Ḵān Jahān’s son, Rizā Qulī (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, Rāhīm Qulī, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No. 333). For Ḵān Jahān’s brother, vide No. 46.

25. Saʿīd Khan, son of Yaʿsqūb Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Jābūq.
He is also called Saʿīd Khan-i Chaghtāī. His family had long been serving under the Timūrides. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Beg was an Amīr of Humāyūn’s, and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars. His son, Yūsuf Beg, was attacked near Jaumpūr by Jalāl Khān (i.e., Salīm Shāh), and killed. His other son also, Yaʿsqūb, Saʿīd’s father, distinguished himself under Humāyūn. According to the Ṭabaqāt, he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Qulī Beg, governor of Bengal under Humāyūn.

Saʿīd rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Multān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, atājang of Prince Dānyāl. Some time after, he was made Šāhshāh of the Panjāb, in succession to Shāh Qulī Muḥrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained. Saʿīd again was succeeded in the governorship by Rāja Bhagwaṇ Dās (No. 27), and received Sambhal as ṭuqūl. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Ḥājpūr (Patna) as successor to Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vāzīr 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 Panjāhāzāmī. 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 (1001), when Mīrzā Ghāzī rebelled in Thatha after the death of his father, Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), Saʿīd was appointed to Multān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of
the Panjáb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do. (Tāzuk, p. 6, 1, 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 Chetk Bhoj. Sa'īd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200. One of these Khwājasarāns, Hilāl, joined afterwards Jahāngīr's service; he built Hilālabād, six kos N.W. from Ágra, near Rānkāta, regarding which the Ma'āsar tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Iltīyār Khān, was his Vakīl, and another, Iṣṭībār Khān, the Fawjādār of his jagīr. For Sa'īd's brother, vide No. 70.

29. Shihāb Khān, a Sayyid of Nashāpūr.

His full name is Shihāb d. Din Ahmad Khān. He was a relation and friend of Māhum Anga (p. 341), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayrām's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dihlī. When Akbar, at the request of Māhum, turned from Sikan-darābād to Dihlī to see his sick mother, Shihāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayrām Khān, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bayrām's friends; and the Chaghtā'ī nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayrām's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 337, Shihāb served in Mālwhā against 'Abd-ullāh Khān. In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Mālwhā, and was ordered to drive the Mirzās from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muqaffar 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 Mālwhā; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrat, as Vazir Khān (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Iṣtimād 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 Muqaffar. The events of the Gujrat rebellion are known from the histories. When Mirzā Khān Khānān (No. 29) arrived, Shihāb was attached to Qulij

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1 If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Sīlahāt were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book: Sīla of Bengal, and Tāzuk-i Jahāngīrī, pp. 72, 328.

2 Sikan-dār (or Bihishtābād), where Akbar's tomb is, lies halfway between Ágra and Rānkāta.
Khān (Mālwa Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as tūyūl. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwa, in succession to M. 5Azīr Koka (No. 21).

Shihāb died in Mālwa (Ujain, Ṭabaqūt) in 999. His wife, Bābā Āghā, was related to Akbar’s mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dihlī, he repaired the canal which Frīzx Shāh had cut from the Parganah of Khizrābād to Safidūn; and called it Nahr-i Shihāb. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shahjahan, by the renowned Makramat-Khān, and called فَرِیْخ شیخ, Fuyz Nahr, (20th year of Shāhjahan). During the reign of Awrangzeb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (Āsār-e sanā‘īd.)

27. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, son of Rāja Bhīrī Mal.

In the histories we find the spellings Bhagwānt, Bhagwānt, and Bhagwān. He joined Akbar’s service with his father (No. 23). In 980, in the fight with Ibrahim Husayn Mirzā near Sarnāl (Briggs, Sartāl), he saved Akbar’s life. He also distinguished himself against the Rānā of Idar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwāhas had their tūyūls transferred to the Panjāb, Rāja Bh. D. was appointed Governor of the province. In the 29th year, Bh.’s daughter was married to Prince Salīm, of which marriage Prince Khustraw was the offspring. In the 30th year, Bh. D. was made a commander-of-Five Thousand and Governor of Zābulistān, as Mān Singh was sent against the Yāsūfzai. But Akbar, for some reason, detained him. In Khavrābād, 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 jāgirs of the Rāja and his family were transferred to Bhīrī, Mān Singh taking the command of the province.

Rāja Bh. D. died in the beginning of 998 at Lāhor, a short time after Rāja Tōdar Mal (No. 39). People say that on returning from Tōdar Mal’s funeral, he had an attack of strangury, of which he died. He had the title of Ṣanīs-ullāh Umārī.

The Jāmī-5Masjid of Lāhor was built by him.

Regarding his sons, vide Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. Ḍūn Khān, youngest brother of Atga Khān (15).

As he belonged to the Atga Khayl (vide p. 338), his tūyūl was in the Panjāb. He founded several mosques, etc., at Lāhor.

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kābul. During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghāznīn, his birth-place. On the transfer of the
Atga Khayl "from the Panjāb, Q. was appointed to Mālwa. After the conquest of Gujrat, he received as jāgir the Sirkār of Bahrōch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadābād, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddā near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a Commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed ṣāliḥī to Prince Salīm, received a dāygū,¹ and the title of Ḍaylār Ḍayī. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salīm on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahrōch "as far as Nazīrbār". In the 28th year (991), Mūzaffār of Gujrat tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity he was attacked and defeated by Mūzaffar near Baroda. Q.'s servants even joined Mūzaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Mūzaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamīndār, Mūzaffar went to Bahrōch, occupied the fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 krors of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Mūzaffar had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khān, served under Mirzā Khān Khānan (No. 29) in Gujrat (992), received a jāgir in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrat. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jīnāgarh.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a Haftādī (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. Aʿzam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a tuyūl in Gujrat.


His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.⁴ In 961, when Humāyūn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamīndārs of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, he asked Bayrām Khān to marry the younger one.

M. ʿAbdul-Rahim was born at Lāhor, 14th Safar 964. When Bayrām Khān was murdered at Patan in Gujrat (p. 332), his camp was plundered

¹ A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Timūrids.
² He was the nephew of Ḫasan Khān of Mewāt (Bod. 1, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the Aʿdn, ʿAbdul-Ḵaṭīr says that the Khānẓādas of Mewāt were chiefly converted Janāha Bājpūta.
by some Afghāns; but Muḥammad Amin Dīwānā and Bāhā Zambūr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder and bring them to Ahmadābād, fighting on the road with the Afghān robbers. From Ahmadābād, M. ʿAbd ʿAl-r-Rahim was taken to Akbar (969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers, took charge of him. He gave him the title of Mīrzā Khān, and married him subsequently to Mah Bānū, sister of M. ʿAziz Koka (No. 21).

In 981, M. ʿAbd ʿAl-r-Rahim accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 343). In 984 M. ʿA. was appointed to Gujrat, Vazīr Khān having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made Mīr ʿAliz, and three years later, utālīq to Prince Salīm. Soon after, he was sent against Sultān Muγaffar of Gujrat. Muγaffar, during the first Gujrat war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers. He was committed to the charge of Munṣim Khān (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Shāh Mansūr the Dīwān (No. 122). But Muγaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kāthis of Jānāghar, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers. But when Ištīmād Khān was sent to Gujrat to relieve Shihāb ʿAl-d-Dīn (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muγaffar, and the Gujrat rebellion commenced. Muγaffar took Ahmadābād, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (vide Qūṭb ʿAl-d-Dīn, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mīrzā ʿAbd ʿAl-r-Rahim had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulī Khān and the Mālwa contingent, Dawlat Khān Lodi (No. 309), M. ʿA.'s Mīr Shamshīr, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khān Khānānship. M. ʿA. then attacked Muγaffar, and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkīch, three kos from Ahmadābād. On the arrival of the Mālwa contingent, M. ʿA. defeated Muγaffar a second time near Nādūt. Muγaffar concealed himself in Rajpūpla.

For these two victories Akbar made M. ʿA. a Commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khān Khānān. For this reason historians generally call him Mīrzā Khān Khānān. When Gujrat was finally conquered, M. Khān Khānān gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkaistan, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrat being settled, Qulī Khān was left in the province, and M. ʿA. rejoined the Court.

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Bābār's Chaghtāī Memoirs (Wāqīāt-i Bābārī).1

1 Vide p. 106, last line.
Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed Vakil and received Jaumpur as tuyul; but in 699 his jagir was transferred to Multan, and he received orders to take Thatha (Sind). Passing by the Fort of Sahwan, he took the Fort of Lakh, “which was considered the key of the country, just as Gadhi is in Bengal and Barahmula in Kashmir.” After a great deal of fighting Mirza Jami Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M. 5A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwan was to be handed over to Akbar, Mirza Jami Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mirza Irich, M. 5A.’s eldest son, was to marry Jami Beg’s daughter. But as M. Jami Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M. 5A. moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jami Beg submitted and accompanied M. 5A. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sultan Murad assembled at Bahrech (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakhin, Akbar dispatched M. 5A. to his assistance, giving him Bhilsa as jagir. After delaying there for some time, M. 5A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M. 5A., wrote him that Raja Alf Khan, of Khandes was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M. 5A. at last joined headquarters at Fort Chandor, 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. Shahrack (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murad’s departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Mustamid 1 ’d-Dawla Suhayl Khan (Briggs II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murad, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. 5A., Raja Alf Khan, and M. Shahrack, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumada II, 1005, from Shahpur, M. 5A. met Suhayl near the town of Ashti, 12 kos from Pathri. The fight was unusually severe. Raja Alf Khan with five or six of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs IV, 324). The night put an end to the engagement, but each party, believing itself victorious, remained under arms. When next morning, M. 5A.’s troopers went to the river [near Sap, Firoda] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy’s horse. Dawlat Khan, who commanded

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1 Also called Siwatkan, on the right bank of the Indus. Lakh (Lukree) lies a little south of Sahwan.

2 The conquest of Sindhi forms the subject of a Masnavi by Mullai Shikohl, whom Abul Fazl mentions below among the poets of Akbar’s age.

3 Khafi Khan calls him Raji Alf Khan.
M. 5A.'s avanguard, 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. 5A. "If we keep up," replied Dawlat Khan, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihli; and if we die, matters rest with God." Qasim of Barha, and several other Sayyids were near; and on hearing M. 5A.'s resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindustanis, nothing is left but death; but ask the Khan Khanan what he means to do." Dawlat Khan returned, and said to M. 5A. "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. 5A. Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them. After this signal victory, M. 5A. distributed 75 lacs of rupees among his soldiers. At the request of the Prince, M. 5A. was soon after recalled (1006).

In the same year Mah Bani, M. 5A.'s wife, died.

In the 44th year Prince Danyal was appointed to the Dakhin, and M. 5A. 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. 5A. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahadir ibn-i-Ibrahim, who had been set up as Nizam Shah. Danyal was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dandes, and married to Jana Begum, M. 5A.'s daughter. The Khan Khanan was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shab Ali, uncle of Murtaza, Nizam Shah.

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dakhin did not improve. In the 3rd year of Jahangir (1017), M. 5A. promised to bring the war to a close in two years if he received a sufficient number of troops. Shahzada Parwiz, under the Attilo-ship of Asaf Khan, Man Singh, Khan Jahang Lodi, and others, were appointed to assist M. 5A. He took the Prince in the rains from Bubhampur to Balkaghdt; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amir, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M. 5A. was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonourable for Jahangir, who appointed

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1 The Sayyids of Barha considered it their privilege to fight in the Harisaal or van. Vide No. 72.
2 Abul Fazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishta call the sumnsh who murdered Chan Bibi or . Briggs has Hamid Khan. For Nizam Khuda, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akharnama and the Makhad have Akhun Khuda. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishta has Akhun Khuda. The differences, moreover, between Abul Fazl and Firishta in details are very remarkable.
3 A combination of the words Dande and Khades.
Khān Jahān Lodī as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M. ⁵A.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M. ⁵A. received Kālpī and Qanawī as tuyūl, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (vide p. 341, note). Some time afterwards, M. ⁵A. was again sent to the Dakhin, as matters there had not improved; but he did not gain any advantage either.

In the 11th year (1025) Jahāngīr, at last, dispatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Shāh.⁹ Jahāngīr himself fixed his residence at Māndū in Mālwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurram selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters. Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān, M. ⁵A.'s son. ⁵Ādīl Shāh and Qutb ¹⁰ Mulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngīr bestowed upon ⁵Ādīl Shāh the title of Firdaus (son); and ⁵Ambar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghāt, which he had conquered. Shāh Khurram then appointed M. ⁵A. Šībahār dār of Khandes, Barā, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shāhnawāz Khān was appointed to Bālāghāt. Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhin, Shāh Khurram joined his father at Māndū, where new honours awaited him.²

In the 15th year, Malik ⁵Ambar "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānādārs of the Mughuls. Dārāb Khān, M. ⁵A.'s second son, retreated from Bālāghāt to Bālpūr; and driven from there, he went to Burhānpūr, where he and his father were besieged. On Shāhjahān's approach, the besiegers dispersed.

In the 17th year (1031) Shāh ⁵Abbās of Persia attacked Qandahār, and Shāhjahān and ⁵Abd ¹²-Raḥīm were called to Court to take command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwīz, through Nūr Jahān's influence, had been appointed heir-apparent, and Mahābat Khān had been raised to the dignity of Khān Khānān. Shāhjahān rebelled, returned with M. ⁵A. to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāhjahān intercepted a letter which M. ⁵A. had secretly

¹⁰ "Since the time of Timūr no Prince had received this title." ⁵Abūr, Shāh Khurram received subsequently the title of Shākhjahān, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of Shāhī Qūrān-i Sānī and Allā Hazrat (怛迩 حضرت). The last title had also been used by Sulaymān-i Karrākī, King of Bengal. Arranging, in imitation of it, adopted the title of Allā Khānās.

² He received the title of Shākhjahān and was made a Shāhārī, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (or «dāl» or «īfā», i.e., his former contingent plus an increase in troops). He was also allowed a Sāndāl (vide p. 318), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Timūr. Jahāngīr even came down from the Ḥarākā (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Agra and Fathpūr Shīkhrī, and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahān's head, distributing the whole (as «īfā») among the Amir.
written to Mahābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dārāb Khān, and sent him to Fort Āsir, but released them soon after on parole. Parwīz and Mahābat Khān had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbadda to capture Shāhjahān. Bayrām Beg, an officer of Shāhjahān’s, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperials from crossing. At M. 5A.’s advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. 5A. swear upon the Qurʾān not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwīz. Mahābat Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M. 5A. forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwīz, and did not return to Shāhjahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingān to Orīsa and Bengal. Mahābat and M. 5A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptī. M. 5A. wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Daulatshāhī party, to tell Shāhjahān, that he (M. 5A.) would do everything in his power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him. Rāja Bhīm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M. 5A.’s sons should it come to a fight. Shāhjahān then moved into Bengal and Bihār, of which he made Dārāb Khān, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor. Mahābat Khān had in the meantime returned to Ḥāhābād to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M. 5A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahāngīr ordered Mahābat Khān to send M. 5A. to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours. He afterwards retired to his jāgīr at Lāhor, when Mahābat Khān followed him and sent him back to Dihlī. Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahāngīr’s person, and the return of the monarch from Kābul, Mahābat Khān had to fly. Nūr Jahān now appointed M. 5A. to follow up Mahābat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M. 5A. fell ill at Lāhor, and on his arrival at Dihlī, he died at the age of seventy-two, in the end of Jahāngīr’s 21st year (1036). The words Khān Sipahsālār Ḭū (where is the Khān Commander?) are the tāriḵ of his death.

M. 5A.’s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrat and Sind and the defeat of Sahayl Khān of Bījāpūr. During Jahāngīr’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 Dakhin.
Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dakhin, and 5 Abū 'l-Fażl, on one occasion, gave his father that M. 5 A. was a rebel. Under Jahāngīr, he was the open friend of Malik 5 Ambar; and Muḥammad Maṣṣūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik 5 Ambar’s correspondence in the possession of 5 Abū' r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M. 5 A. Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this; but 5 Abū' r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. 5 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 Māhū-i Raḥīm is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shows that he was the Mecenas of Akbar’s age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir 5 Ali Sher (vide p. 107, note 6). M. 5 A. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of Raḥīm.

Though his father had been a Shi’ah, M. 5 A. was a Sunni; but people said he was a Shi’ah, but practised taqiyya.1

M. 5 A.’s most faithful servant was Mirān Fāḥīm. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rājput. He grew up with M. 5 A.’s sons, and was as pious as he was courageous. He fell with his son Firūz Khān and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahābat Khān, who had imprisoned his master. M. 5 A. built him a tomb in Dihlī, which is now called Nīlā Barj, near Humāyūn’s tomb. (Asūr 8-r-ṣamsādīd.)

M. 5 A. outlived his four sons.

I. Mirzā Ichīr (or Irij), Shahnawāz Khān Bahādur (No. 255). When young he used to be called Khān Khānān-i jawān. 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 5 Ambar who got wounded, he received the title of Bahādur. During the reign of Jahāngīr he was called Shahnawāz Khān (vide Tuzuk, p. 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand. He died in 1028, from excessive drinking. (Vide Tuzuk, p. 270.)

1 Called Maḥū-i Raḥīmī in allusion to his name M. 5 Abū' r-Raḥīm. Vide Elliot’s Index (1st edition), p. 377.
2 Wherever Shi’ahs are in the minority, they practice, if necessary, taqiyya (i.e., fear, caution), i.e., they do as if they were Sunnis. A Shi’ah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.
3 Near Nānumer.—R.
Two of his sons are mentioned in the Pādishāhnama. 1. Mirzā Khān. He was Fawjdār of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabi‘ II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1053 (Pādishāhnama II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkarshīkān Khān. He got in 1047 a present of 4,000 R., and received an appointment in Bengal.

Historians call Shahnawāz Khān generally Shahnawāz Khān-i Jahāngīrī, to distinguish him from Shahnawāz Khān-i Safawi, a grandee of Shāhjahān.

2. Mirzā Dārāb Dārāb-Khān. He has been mentioned above (p. 337). When Shāhjahān made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawāz Khān as hostages (yarughanān). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Bénaras) had again to go to the Dakhin, he wrote to Dārāb Khān to move to Gadhi (N.W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dārāb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zaminārs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parviz and Mahābat Khān, and as Jahāngīr had "no objections", Mahābat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table-cloth, and sent it to his father M. 8A. as a present of a "melon". A short time before 8Abda‘ ʿllah Khān had killed Dārāb's son and a son of Shahnawāz Khān.

3. Mirzā Rohmān Dād. His mother belonged to the Sandahās of Anarkot. Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father. He died, at Bālpūr, 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 Ḥaẓrat 8Isā of Sindh to M. 8A. on a visit of condolence.


30. Rāja Mān Singh, son of Bhāgwān Dās.

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Rāja Bhāgwān Dās (No. 27). European historians say that he was the adopted son of Rāja Bh. D., but Mohammedan historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindūs make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of Mirzā Rāja, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Farrand (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihārī Mal (p. 329). In 984 he was appointed against Rānā Kīkā, and gained, in 985,1 the great battle near Goganda.2

1 Corrected in No. 100.—B.]  
2 The best account of this battle is to be found in Bardāwī, who was an eye-witness, Bard. II, 230 to 237. The whole is left out in Briggs.
Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwāliyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the mêlée was wounded by Mān Singh. Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M. S. did not follow up his victory, and so recalled him.

When Bhagwān Dās was appointed governor of the Panjāb, M. S. commanded the districts along the Indus. In the year 993, Prince Muḥammad Hakim died, and M. S. was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muḥammad Ḥakim's sons (M. Aḥrāṣāyāb and M. Kaşqoḵād) but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Rauṣhānis who, like other Afghān tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rāja Bīr Bār, in the war with the Yūsufzāis, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kābul, in succession of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34) and Ḥakim Abā 'l-Fath. He was also put in charge of Zābulistān, as Bhagwān Dās had a fit of madness (p. 358). In the 32nd year, M. S. was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rājpūts and M. S.'s indifference to the Kābulis, and was appointed Governor of Bihār, to which province the tāyūls of the Kachhwāhas had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwān Dās in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of Kūṭevar, received from Akbar the title of Rāja and a Command of Five Thousand. In Bihār he punished several refractory Zamindārs, as Pūrān Mal and Rāja Sangrām, and received their tribute.

The principal events in Mān 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 Orīsa by way of Jhārkand (Chuttiā Nāgpūr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūrī. In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja Usmaṇ attacked Pūrī, M. S. again invaded Orīsa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Dihli empire. In the 39th year, M. S. continued his conquests in Bāṭti (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbar-nagar, or Bājmaball, at a place which Sher Shāh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salīmnagar, the Fort of Sherpūr Murehā (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 Lachmi Narāṣīn, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, who had

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1 The name of "Sāyyār" Khān (سیف حاکم) which occurs several times in Stewart, i.e., should be corrected to Saṭṭī Khān (ساتحی خان), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 351). Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Orīsa should make use of the Akbarnāma, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart.
declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire. In the same year, M. S. fell dangerously ill at Ghorāghāt, when the Afghāns 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 Hijaz Khān into Kūch Bihār for the protection of Lachmī Narāquin. In the 44th year M. S., at Akbār's request, joined the Dakhin war. Thinking that the Afghāns, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich ʿĪsā of Ghorāghāt, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmēr. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahā Singh, a grandson of M. S. The Afghāns under ʿUsman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperialists near Bhadrak in Orīsa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Rahtās, and defeated the Afghāns near Sherpūr ʿAlāī, a town of the Sirkār of Sharīfābād, which extended from Bārdwān to Fath Singh, S. of Murshībābād. After this victory, which obliged ʿUsmān to retreat to Orīsa, 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 Akbār in raising M. S. to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Ḥindū above every Muḥammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shāhrukh (vide p. 326) and M. ʿĀḤīz Ḳoka (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 Akbār's death is known from the histories. Jahāṅgīr thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Rāja had made, and sent him to Bengal. But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rohtās (Bihār), after which he joined the Emperor. In the 3rd year of Jahāṅgīr's reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahīm (No. 29) in the Dakhin war.

M. S. died a natural death in the 9th year of J.'s reign, whilst in the Dakhin. Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile. At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive, Bhāo Singh, regarding whose succession to the title, vide Turuḳ-ī Jahāṅgīrī, p. 130.

The ground on which the Tāj at Āgra stands, belonged to Mān Singh.

1 He died in 1005.
31. Muhammad Quli Khan Barla, a descendant of the Barmaq dynasty. He served under Humayun, and held Multan as jagir. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, he conveyed, together with Shamseddin Atta (No. 15), the princesses from Kabul to India. His jagir was subsequently transferred to Nagor. For a short time he was also Governor of Malwa.

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khan Uzbek (vide No. 48) in Andh. After the death of Khan Zaman, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muhammad Quli Khan as jagir.

He subsequently served under Mumtaz Khan in Bihar and Bengal. In the 10th year when Dastud had withdrawn to Sategaw (Hugli), Mumtaz Khan dispatched M. Q. Kh. to follow up the Afghans, whilst he remained with Raja Todar Mal in Tanda to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khan arrived at Sategaw Dastud withdrew to Orissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khan nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sategaw M. Q. Khan invaded the district of Jessar (Jessore), where Sarmadi, a friend of Dastud’s, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success and returned to Sategaw. Mumtaz Khan at last ordered Todar Mal to join M. G. Khan, and subsequently both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier M. Q. Khan died at Mednapore (Midnapur), Ramazan, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play.

His son, Mirza Faridun Barla (No. 227). He served under M. Abdur Rahman (No. 29) in Sind, and accompanied, in 1001, Jami Beg (No. 47) to Court. He was a Commander of Five Hundred. Under Jahangir, he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rana Amr Singh. He died during the expedition.

His son Mihr Ali Barla was made by Jahangir a Commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson Khan, sister’s son of Shah Muhammad Sayf ul-Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muhammad Khan. Sayf ul-Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharjestan (a part of Khurasan); but he had to submit to Tahmasp (A.H. 940).

1 So in the MSS., but the name Barmaq is very doubtful. Being a “ Barla”, he belonged to that Chaghji tribe which traced its descent to Kerim Juma—see the MSS. have various forms for this name—who is the 8th ancestor of Timur. If not be the correct form, the substitution of another of a renowned name in Muhammadan history, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the Ma’bar have Barmaq (sub Latin). In the beginning of the Akbarnama, Abul Fazl says that this 8th ancestor of Timur was the first that held the title of Barla, which means the same as Khwarizm, brave. Another Barla had been mentioned above on p. 316. An Amir Chakkar Barla served with distinction under Timur.
Tarson Khân was in the service of Bayrâm Khân (No. 10), and joined Akbar when Bayrâm fell into disgrace. Akbar sent him, together with Hâji Muhammad Sutânî (No. 55), to see Bayrâm on his way to Makkah, as far as Nâgor, 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 (vide No. 107), and then of Patan in Gujrat. In the 21st year he served in Rajputâna, vide No. 44. In the 23rd year he was made Fawjdâr of Jaunpûr, at the same time that Mullâ Muhammad Yazdi (vide p. 198) was appointed Qâzy”1-Quzât and Sadr of the Sîrkûr. When the Jaunpûr Rebellion broke out, T. Kh. with other faithful Amirs moved to Bihâr against Bahâdur Khân and ‘Arab Khân, who were joined by Ma’sûm Khân Farnâkhûdî (No. 157). In the 27th year he served under M. ‘Azîz Koka in Bihâr. When the Qâqshâla (No. 50) left Ma’sûm Khân and joined the Imperialists, M. ‘Azîz sent T. Kh. to Ghorâghât, where most of the Qâqshâla had jagirs. T. Kh. stayed at Tâjpur (Dinagapore), settling matters, when Ma’sûm Khân came with a large army from Bhaṭî (2 H.3) and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tanda; he also sent a detachment against T. Kh., who was besieged in the fort of Tâjpur. The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shâhâbuz Khân-i Kambû (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shâhâbuz and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal. Ma’sûm fled again to Bhaṭî, and Shâhâbuz and T. Kh. planned an expedition against ‘Isâ, who had afforded Ma’sûm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrâpur, which stands on the frontier of Bhaṭî, took Sunnârgâw, plundered Baktârâpur (†), where ‘Isâ used to live, and nearly caught Ma’sûm. At this juncture, ‘Isâ returned from an expedition to Kuch Bihâr, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowâl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

1 Abû ’l-Fazl gives this spelling in the Akbarnâma, and says it means lowland (from the Hindiastani जैं down the river), and extends nearly 400 li from east to west, and 300 li from N.S., from Thilêt to the ocean. It would thus include the Sundarbans and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 299, note, defines Bhaṭî as comprising the Sundarbans and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hijûf, overlooked by the tide.

‘Isâ’s father, according to Abû ’l-Fazl, was a Râjpût of the Bala clan, if I read correctly my MSS. He came in contact with Salûm Khân and Tâj Khân of Bengal, was killed; and his two sons, ‘Isâ and ‘Amâkâtûl, were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Qutb-ud-Din Khân, ‘Isâ’s uncle, to Târân, and brought back. ‘Isâ soon became the chief of Bhaṭî, and had twelve great zamindârs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abû ’l-Fazl Ma’rûdâs-i Bhaṭî, ruler of Bhaṭî. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with ‘Isa, the Vakil of Qutb Khân of Oriâk, who aided Pûrî to Mûn Singh.
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 Maṣṣām Khān and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Maṣṣām (992). For a relation of his, vide No. 400.

33. Qiyā Khān Gung.

Qiyā is a Turkish word and means zeb, ornament. Gung, if it is the Persian word, means "dumb". He served under Humāyūn, and held Kol Jalālī. On the approach of Hemū, he joined Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, and retreated with him. After Hemū's defeat, Qiyā was sent to Ágra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand. Several parganas in Gwāliār having been given to him as tayūl, Qiyā Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwāliār, which was held by Bhił Khān, a general of Salīm Shāh, during whose reign Gwāliār had been the capital of the empire. Bhił Khān, thinking it impossible to hold the Fort for a long time, wished 1 to hand it over for a consideration to Rāja Rāmsāh, whose ancestors had held Gwāliār, when Qiyā Khān arrived, and after defeating the Rāja, prepared himself to besiege Bhił Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Ágra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyā, and Bhił Khān submitted.

He was a friend of Bayrām, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar.

A few years later, Qiyā Khān joined Khān Zamān's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Munṣīm Khān.

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q. Kh. was sent to Orīsa, to settle matters. He remained in Orīsa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutb Khān seized upon Orīsa, and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989). 2

1 So the Maṭ'ār. The Samsāsīb says that Rāja Rāmsāh with a large force of Rājpūts, had come to besiege Gwāliār. Firishta instead of Bhił Khān (Akbarnāma, Sawnī, Badā, and) has Subayil Khān (1), and Iqbal Khān (1) for Qiyā Khān, vide Briggs, II. p. 194. The change from 5 to 7 is not remarkable; but the alteration of 5 to 8 is more violent, as we have an additional 5 and 6.

How untrustworthy our printed editions are may be seen from Khāfi Khān's List of Commanders of Five Thousand under Akbar (Ed. Bibi, Indica I. p. 237), where the native editors have given three wrong names among twelve, viz.,—

P. 237, last line, for Asis Khān Kocks, read Zapa Khān Kocks (No. 34).

P. 238, 1. 1, for Sijaık Khān, read Sijaık Gāj Khān (No. 14).

P. 238, 1. 2, for Ram Khān, read Turān Khān (No. 32).

Moreover Khāfi Khān's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panjhbarāris given in the Tutaqīt.

2 Several copies of the Tutaqīt which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died in 984 (1).
Tardī Khān (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Dānīyl 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. Zayn Khān,1 son of Khwāja Maqṣūd of Harāt.

His father, Khwāja Maqṣūd ʿAllī, was a servant of Akbar’s mother. The name of his mother was Pīcha Jān Anaga; she was one of Akbar’s nurses. On Humāyūn’s flight to Persia, Maqṣūd was always near the howdah of Akbar’s mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwāja Ḥasan (Zayn Khān’s uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salīm. She is the mother of Prince Parviz.

In 993, Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zābulistān. Zayn Khān was at that time a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yūsufzāis. This tribe, says ʿAbū ʿl-Fazl, had formerly been in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kābul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Beg. The remainder settled at Lamghānāt, and subsequently at Ishtaghār. For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor,2 and were notorious robbers. In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sultānī, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sultān Sikandar. The Yūsufzāis deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sultānīdes, however, remained in Bajor from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muhammad Ḥakīm, the chiefs of the Yūsufzāis submitted, and one of them, Kālū, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsu ʿd-Dīn Khāfi (No. 159) near Atak; and was sent back; and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen.

Zayn Khān moved into the District of Bajor—(north of Pashāwar), and punished the Yūsufzāis. Several chiefs asked for pardon. After this he erected a fort in Jakdāra, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask

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1 As he was Akbar’s foster-brother; he is generally called in histories, Zayn Khān Koka.
2 Or Bijur (?)—P.
for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bir Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ with some troops. Zayn Khān asked them to attack the Afghāns whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district. But Bir Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fatḥ, who were no friends of Zayn Khān, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzāïs 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). 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 Afghāns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley. On passing the Girewa¹ Balandri (किरवा बालंद्र), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear (chandāwal), 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 Afghāns seeking death, when Jānīsh Bahādur (No. 235) 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 Afghāns dispersed the soldiers. In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghāns. Their enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe; but next day were all cut off. This was the occasion when Bir Bar with 500 officers fell (vide p. 214).

In the 31st year (994), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmāns and Ghōritis near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalālīd-Dīn Rawshānī had committed numerous predations. In the next year, Z. Kh. was made governor of Zābulistān vice Mān Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzāïs. 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 Pājkora² (पाजकर), where their district commences. During the festival of the ʿId-i Qurbān (Baqr ʿĪd, in Zī Hijjah), he surprised the Afghāns and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

¹ Girewa means a hill.
² Or Pājkora.
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 zamindars in the Himālayas. Most of them, as Râja Budî (Badhi) Chand of Nagarkot (vide p. 349), Rây Pârîbâ of Mânko, Râja Parisrâm of Mount Jamû, Râja Bâsu of Mau, Rây Baldhadr of Lakhinpûr, etc., submitted and accompanied Z. Kh. to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 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 salâm and a naqqara (vide p. 52), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindûkush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and governor of Kâbul, vice Qulîj Khân. In the same year, Prince Salîm fell in love with Z. Kh.'s daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (vide p. 288, l. 1, from below). With the death of Jalâl Khân Rawshâni the disturbances in Zâbulistân came to an end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Lâhor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhànpur, called him to Agra.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on several instruments, and composed poems. As Saîd Khân (No. 25) for his eunuchs, and Qulîj Khân (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous for his elephants.

A son of his, Shukrân 'Ullah (No. 373), vide below, was a Commander of Two Hundred. The Ma'âṣir mentions another son, Mughul Khân, who served under Jahângîr and Shâbjâhân (vide Pâdishâhîn. II, p. 641) and died 19th Ramsân, 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odîr in the Dakhân, where the author of the Ma'âṣir later found an inscription referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, vide p. 346.

For Zayn Khân's brother, vide No. 38.


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.

1 Such forts were called Thâsa, now the common word for a police station.

"Thâsa 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 Thâsa, and to dispatch provisions (rassaf) to the next Thâsa." Pâdishâhîn. I, p. 107.

How old the use of the word Thâsa is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribeni and Sâgîw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.
When Shāhbaz Khān left Bihār for Bengal, M. Yūsuf Khān was sent from Audh to keep Bihār. In the 32nd 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 to 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 Mararjāz and Kamrajā, i.e., the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahrat 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 Biqha, 1 Biswa (Ilāhī) of Akbar. Two and a half pattas and a little more are equal to 1 Kashmirī Bigha. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some khawārs of shāli. A khawār is equal to 3 mans, 8 sers of Akbar. The principal weight used in Kashmir is the task, which is equal to 8 sers of Akbar (vide p. 90, note 2). At the time of the Rabi' crop, they take 2 taks from each patta of wheat and vetches (māsh). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs khawārs, which was 2 lacs more than before, the khawār 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 Mutassaddis (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 per cent (dah-pāndah) higher, and the khawār should be valued at 29 dāms. M. Y. Kh. informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility; but Akbar sent Qāzi Nur'ullah and Qāzi 〈Āli to Kashmir to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Kh.'s people assumed a threatening attitude, Nur'ullah returned, and Akbar sent 〈 Ḥasan Beg Shaykh 〈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 Qāzi 〈Āli and 〈 Ḥasan Beg returned to Hindūstān; but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qāzi 〈Āli. 〈 Ḥasan Beg escaped, not without wounds. Yādgār then read the khutba 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 Abū l-Faḍl. Yādgār in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hirāpūr, 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 servant of the name of Yûsuf. His camp was plundered and M. Y. Kh.'s men got hold of Yûsuf, who had returned to get a horse for his master. They tortured him, till he confessed where Yâdgûr 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 khâliqa, and Shamsu 'd-Dîn Khâfî (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time after, at Prince Salîm's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dârogha of the Topkhâna, and received Jaumpûr as tuyûl, vice Qulî Khân (1002); but in the 41st year his jâgîr was transferred to Gujrât, to enable him to serve in the Dakhin. In the following year, when Sâdiq of Harât (No. 43) died, M. Y. Kh. was appointed atâ'îq to Prince Murâd, whom he joined in Bâlaspûr (Barâr). After the death of Prince Murâd (p. 322), M. Y. Kh. distinguished himself, together with Abû 'l-Fâzîl, in the Dakhin wars, and later, under Prince Dânyâl, in the conquest of Aḩmadâbâd, on which occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Bûrâinhûrâ, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh. went again to Prince Dânyâl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abû 'l-Fâzîl and the Khân-Khânân at Bâlâghût. But soon after, he died of an abscess at Jalnâpûr, in Jumâdâ II, of the same year. His body was taken to Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sulţânpur, which he looked upon as his Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohîlas, whose wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. Mirzâ Lashkârî Şaffâhî Khân (No. 375). He was under Akbar Thânâdâr of Bir (East of Aḩmadnagar), and got from Jahângîr the title of Şâdar Khân, and a tuyûl in Bihâr. In the 5th year (of Jahângîr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Şubâdâr of Kashmir. In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when Mahâbat Khân had fled, he was sent towards Dihlî to intercept Mahâbat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did. In the beginning of Shah Jâhân's reign, he was made a Commander of 2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Şaffâhî Khân, and was

1 My copy of the Tabâqât, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the following entry—"At the time he was appointed to operate against Bâjû, he died at Jumâthâbad in the Dakhân, which is generally called Jalnâpur." It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabâqât, which was finished in s.h. 1001, or nine years before M. Y. Khân's death.
again sent to Bīr, 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 Lāhore. He died in 1655.

He was frank to a fault. Once he invited the Manṣabdārs of Kābul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahānghīr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Mirzā Ísā (عيسى). He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled Chamān.

3. Mirzā Asfāḥān. "He lived with his brother." He was subsequently made Muttawalli of Sikandra (Akbar's tomb), where he died.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Mir ʿAbdullā ʿIlāh, was under Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharūr, E. of Bīr, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shāhjahān.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdī Qāsim Khān.

The Taṣāqūṭ mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served under M. ʿAskārī, Bābar's third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghāzanfar Koka.(غزنفر) Humāyūn, after the conquest of Gujrat, had appointed ʿAskārī to Aḥmadābād. One night, when half drunk, M. ʿAskārī said, "I am king and the shadow of God"; when Ghāzanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed. ʿAskārī got enraged, and imprisoned Ghāzanfar; but he escaped, went to Sultān Bahādur, king of Gujrat, who had retreated to Fort Dīu, and betrayed the plans of ʿAskārī. Bahādur thereupon collected an army, marched to Aḥmadābād and drove the Prince away (vide No. 12).

Mahdī Qāsim Khān joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, ʿAbduʾl-Majīd Āṣaf Khān (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Kūhīn Zamān (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jahālpūr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpur to Āgra, and was ordered to capture ʿAbduʾl-Majīd. When M. Q. Kh. arrived

at Garha, *Abd-ul-Majid fled to Khan Zamân; but the wretched state of the country displeased M. Q. Kh. so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Garha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahār, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantambhār (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 Lakhnu as tājīl.

"Nothing else is known of him." (Maṣāḥīr). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the Tabaqāt was completed. Husayn Khan Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lāhor, which was called Bāgh-i Mahdī Qāsim Khān, vide Badāoni II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahāngir's Death).

37. Muẓaffar Khān-i Turbarī.

Turbar is the name of a tribe (ulūs) in Khurāsān. His full name is Khwāja Muẓaffar ʿAli Khān-i Turbarī. He was Bayrām's Diwān. Bayrām delegated him from Dīpālpūr to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna (p. 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muẓaffar, he pardoned him, and made him ʿAmīl (Collector) of the Pargana of Parsarūr. Subsequently Akbar made him Diwān-i Buqūlā (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last Divān of the Empire, with the title of Muẓaffar Khān (971). Rāja Todar Mal was then under him. According to Badāoni, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rāja was a better financier than Muẓaffar, whose accession to office was honoured by the short tālīkh al-ʿām (=971), or "Tyrant".

In the 11th year he abolished the Jamā-i Raqmī. This is the name of the assessment of the Dīhil empire, which had existed since the time of Bayrām; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things: "for, on account of the number of men (kāyrat-i mardum, i.e. Jāgīr-holders) and the unsettled state (qalī-bi vilāyat) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (ba-nām asfūda) for the sake of mere show (barī-yi mardī-i stībār)." This Jamā-i Raqmī was now abolished (vide Third Book, Aʿṯān-i Dāhūla), and Muẓaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Qumāngos. The new rent roll was called Jamā-i Hasīl-i Hāl, or the roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352). As the Diqā law (pp. 265, 266, and p. 252) did not then exist, Muẓaffar Khān fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the Amīrs and the Mulāzīms (friends
of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three
classes. In the 12th year it was reported that Muṣaffar loved a boy of the
name of Quṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muṣaffar
assumed the garb of a Faqīr, 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. 315) had seized Akbar's
Court. Muṣaffar lost not only his gold mohurs, but also his temper, and
annoyed the Emperor so much that he was told to go to Makkah. But
he was recalled, and joined the Court at Surat, which Akbar then besieged.
In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in Sārangpūr
in Mālwa, he was appointed Vakīl of the Empire, with the title of Jumlat-
'ilm: Mulk. But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of,
and when the Emperor returned from Patna, from where he had
dispatched a corps to take Rahtās in South Bihār, he ordered Muṣaffar
to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects
(vide Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwāja Shamsī 'd-Dīn
Khāfī (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the
rebels on several occasions, and took Hājīpūr, of which the Afgāns
had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in
the 20th year, Governor of Bihār, from Chausā to Garhī. Soon after
the taking of Hājīpūr, M. was nearly caught by a party of Afgāns,
who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghandak.

In the 22nd year, M. returned to Court, where Shāh Mansūr (No. 122)
and Rājā Todar Mal continued, under his superintendence, their financial
reforms.

On the death of Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 986, he was made Governor
of Bengal.

In the 25th year (988), Shāh Mansūr subjected the Amirs of Bihār
and Bengal to strict inquiries, and called on them to refund sums
which they had spent without permission. When he insisted on his

1 The Ma'āser says, he allowed the first class 48,000 dāms; the second 32,000 d., and the
third 24,000 d. per annum. These numbers appear to be very large, when compared with
p. 241. But what was the value of a dām in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's
reign, the following pay regulation was introduced:

Mughal, Afgān, or Hindī
Siḥ-argar 1,000 d. per annum.
Du-argar 800 d. "
Yak-argar 600 d. "
1st Class Rājputs 800 d. "
2nd ditto ditto 600 d. "

(Akbarnāma). But at that time 40 dāms were equal to 1 Akbarshāhī Rupee, which
differed very little from our rupee.
demands, Maṣūm-i Kābulī and several other grandees that held jagirs in Bihār, rebelled. Muẓaffar imitated Shāh Maṇsūr’s policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstanding, Bābā Khan Qāqshāl and other Jāgīrdaars of Bengal rebelled likewise. M. defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace. At last the Bihār rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muẓaffar. Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Orīsā, had not Muẓaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tândā, which, according to Bādā,oni, 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, Sharaftā ‘d-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17) escaped from Muẓaffar’s custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M.’s miserable condition. They moved, therefore, against Tândā, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabi‘ I, 1888).

The Jāmi’ Masjid in Āgra was built by Muẓaffar. I am told the Masjid is now in ruins, which still go by the name of Nawāb Muẓaffar Khān kī Masjid or Kālī Masjid. The Maṣūr says it stood in the Katra Miyahn Raqīq, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jāmi’ Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1058, by Jahān Ārā Begum, Shāhjahan’s daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the Mir‘ at‘ l-Sā‘lm, his youngest daughter was married to Shāh Fath‘ Īlah of Shirāz.

38. Sayf Khān Koka, elder brother of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Sayf Khān, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter. She complained of this to Akbar’s mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so; “besides,” said he, “it shall be this time a fine boy.” The mother looked upon Prince Akbar’s words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Sayf Khān was born.

Akbar was very fond of Sayf Khān, 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 Sūrat, where he was wounded by a bullet. In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Āgra to Ahmadābād (p. 343), and was killed bravely fighting with Muhammad Husayn Mirzā.

According to Bādā,oni (II, p. 282), Muẓaffar capitulated, left the fort, and was then captured and slain.
How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Sayf Khan was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Agra, every debt due by him.

His two sons, Sher Afsan (355), and Amān-ī ‘Ilah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

39. Rāja Todār Mal, a Khatri.

He was born at Lāhor. The Ma‘āṣir ʿl-ʿUmarā does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar’s reign; but T. M. appears to have entered Akbar’s service at a very early period. In 971, he was employed under Muzaffar (Bad., II. 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (vide No. 61). He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrat he was left there to assess that province. In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an ʿalām and a naqqāra (Ā in 19), and was ordered to accompany Mnūsm Khan to Bengal. He was the soul of the expedition. In the battle with Dāʾūd Khān-i Kararānī, when Khān ʿĀlam (vide No. 58) had been killed, and Mnūsm Khan’s horse had run away, the Rāja held his ground bravely, and “not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory”. “What harm,” said Todār Mal, “if Khān ʿĀlam is dead; what fear, if the Khān Khānān has run away, the empire is ours!”. After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Orisā, Todār Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Todār Mal was ordered to accompany him. He distinguished himself, as before, in the defeat and capture of Dāʾūd. In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 300 to 400 elephants. In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrat, since Vazir Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Ahmadābād matters with Vazir Khān, Muzaffar Husayn, at the instigation of Mīhr ʿAli Kōlābī, rebelled. Vazir Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Todār Mal was ready to fight, and defeated Muzaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 kos from Ahmadābād. Vazir Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Todār Mal had not come to his assistance. Muzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jānāgarh.

In the same year Todār Mal was appointed Vazir. When Akbar left Ajnīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Rāja were lost, as mentioned on p. 33, note.

When the news of Muzaffar’s death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todār Mal, Šādiq Khān, Tarson Khān, etc., from Fathpur Sikri to Bihār. Muḥibb ʿAli (No. 107), Governor of Rahtūs and Muḥammad Maṣūm
Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) were appointed kumāks, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rāja with 8,000 well-equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion.  Ṭojar Mal managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Ḍaṣṣūm-i Kābulī, the Qāqshālī, and Mirzā Sharaṣ ʿD-Dīn Husayn, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungīr, and Ṭojar Mal, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself up in the Fort of Mungīr, instead of risking a general engagement. During the siege, two of his officers, Humāyūn Farkhī and Tarkhān Dīwāna, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Ṭodar Mal held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bāhā Khān Qāqshāl died, and Jabārī, son of Majūn Khān Qāqshāl desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; ḌaṢṣūm-i Kābulī went to South Bihār, and ṢArab Bahādur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial treasury, which Pāhār Khān (perhaps No. 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town. After sending ḌaṢṣūm-i Farankhūdī to Patna, to assist Pāhār Khān, Ṭodar Mal, and Ṣādiq Khān followed ḌaṢṣūm-i Kābulī to Bihār. ḌaṢṣūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Ṣādiq Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with Ṣīṣ Khān, Zamīn-dār of Oṛīṣā. Ṭodar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Gāṛhā, was re-annexed to the Dihlí empire.

In the 37th year (990) Ṭodar Mal was made Dīvān, or rather Vakīl. During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous. The third book of the Aʿīm contains his new rent-roll, or Ṣaḷ-ʿī Jamāṣ-ʿī Tūmār, which superseded Muzaffar's assessment (p. 373). His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above, and others may be found in the Akbarnāma.

The most important reform introduced by Ṭojar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindu Māḥarrīrī. Ṭojar Mal 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 compare to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Ṭojar Mal's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hinduś to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Mān Singh was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, first, that before

[1 Or Māhā Singh]
the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans: secondly, that a new dialect could arise in upper India, the Urdu, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Tojar Mal’s order or to Akbar’s policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honoured him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khatrī, from private hatred, wounded T. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bir Bah (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yusufzais, T. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmir, T. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go; but he recalled him from Hardwar, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. T. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 [vide No. 27, p. 333].

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Tojar Mal’s fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar’s grandees; together with Abu l-Fazl and Mān Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dhārū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name Tojar Mal is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi ᵀ, ṭ, and ṭ, which explains the spelling “Toor Mal”, which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjahan also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name “Tojar Mal”.

The Tafrih ʾl-ʿinārat says Tojar Mal’s father died when T. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. T. M., at an early
age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appoint-
ment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest
honours.

40. Muhammed Qāsim Khān, of Nishāpūr.
The Maʾṣūr calls him Qāsim Muhammad Khān, and has put his name
under the letter Q; but Abū ʿl-Faḍl, Badāʾoni, and the Ṭabaqāt give his
name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nishāpūr, and fled after the invasion of
the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bayrām Khān. He
distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as Ḥarāwal,
or leader of the van, under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the battle with Hennī.
Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign, he was
sent against Hāji Khān, who had defeated Rānā Udāi Sing of Maiwār,
and taken possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr. Hāji Khān was an old
servant of Sher Khān, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery.
On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Hāji Khān's army
disperssed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrat. M. Q. Kh. thus took
possession of Nāgor and Ajmīr, which for a long time remained the
south-western frontier of Akbar's empire.

In the 5th year, he left Bayrām's party, and joined the Chaghti{n}
obles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsud-Din Atga's corps in
the fight in which Bayrām was defeated (p. 332). After the victory,
he received Multān as jāgīr.

He was next sent to Sārangpūr in Mālwa, 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 ʿAbduʾllah Khān Uzbak (No. 14),
M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the Ṭabaqāt, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sārangpūr.

41. Vazir Khān, brother of ʿAbduʾl-Majīd-i Aṣaf Khān (I), of
Harāt (No. 49).

When Vazir Khān escaped with his brother (vide below, No. 49)
from Bahādur Khān (No. 21), he fled to Kara, and obtained subsequently,
through the mediation of Muzaffar Khān (No. 37), free pardon for himself
and Aṣaf Khān.

In the 21st year, when ʿAzīz Koka (p. 344) had incurred Akbar's
displeasure, V. Kh. was sent to Gujrat to govern in ʿAzīz's name, and
when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor
(sipahsālār) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and
Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent ʿudār Mal (No. 39) to Gujrat, to take
the administration out of V. Kh.'s hands. It happened that about the
same time, Mihr 'Alî Gulâbî, a friend of M. Íbrâhîm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muṣaffâr Ḥusayn Íbrâhîm’s young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhin. As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Toḥnard Mal’s bravery. When the Râja left, Mihr 'Alî appeared again, and V. Kh., most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Ahmadâbâd. In one of the assaults, Mihr 'Alî was killed by a bullet, and Muṣaffâr Ḥusayn Mirzâ, from timidity, raised the siege. Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrât 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 vasîr in the place of Shâh Mangîr of Shîhrîz (No. 123), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. ʿAzîz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihâr, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Maṣṣūm Khân sickness obliged ʿAzîz to return to Bihâr, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Şûbadâr should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlû Khân, ruler of Orîsâ, whom he defeated (vide p. 356). Qutlû, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orîsâ. V. Kh. returned to Tândha, and applied himself, with the assistance of Şâdiq Khân (No. 43) and Shâhbâz Khân-i Kambû (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each sūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amirs, and Vazar Khân was appointed Şûbadâr of Bengal, with Muhibb ʿAlî Khân (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shâhbâz Khân, who was Bakhshî of Bengal, allowed Mirzâ Muhammad Šâlih, V. Kh.’s son, to take command of his father’s contingent. But M. M. Šâlih showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mir Murâd (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court. On the route, at Fâtphûr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mir Murâd imprisoned him with the assistance of the jâgîrdârs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar. He was kept imprisoned for some time.

42. Qutlû Khân.

He is called Andajânî, from Andajân, a province of Farâkhâna, south of the Sayîhûn. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timûrides. His grandfather was a noble at Sulṭân Ḥusayn Mirzâ Bâyqra’s court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sûrât, the “iron fort”, which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abû ‘I-Faḡl
...that the Fort had been built in 947 (A.D. 1540-41), by Şafar-Âghâ, alias Khudâvand Khan, a Turkish slave of Sulţân Mahmûd of Gujrat. The tarîkh of its construction is characteristic (metre long Ramal).

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firingi."  

Quîlî Khan died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramaẓân 1022 (end of A.D. 1613), at Peshâwar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

The Ma'âsir and Badâ,oni (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of Jânî Qurbâni (!); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as Qurbâni, Farbûni, Farqâni, etc.

The Ma'âsir copies from the Zakhiyat al-khaswân the following story, which is said to have taken place in A.H. 1000, when Jaumpûr was Q.'s jâgîr. " Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one man. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Râm Chandr's avâtâr (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sitâ; whether Krishnâ's avâtâr had taken place at Mathurâ; and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia. On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed. This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out. Q. then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day. On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadan. In sleep and

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1 The numbers added give 947. The last yâ, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

2 So according to the Tâzbâ-i Jâhâspîr (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 122, 1. 1).

3 Misd by had MSS., I mentioned on p. 35, note the year 1035 as the year of his death.

4 Almorâ yâsîn al-hâfîl yîs al-hâfîl; "Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the Beloved:" but the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the Tazwâ.

5 For Husayn in the last line of the note on p. 35, which is given in inferior MSS., better copies have Chiis Quilî, which is to be substituted for it.

6 His faqāhîs "Ufsâtî" has been mentioned above. The Tâhâvât says that another poet of the same sâkhânâs was in the service of Zayn Khan Koka (No. 34), and Badâ,oni (III, 188, 189) mentions two other poets of the same sâkhânâs.

Quilî, properly qalîj, means in Turkish a sword, and "Quilî Khan" is the same as Shamsâhir Khân. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels and a final 'â.
eating he differed from other men: he spoke to no one, and died after six months."


43. Sādiq Khān, son of Bāqīr of Hurāt.

Other historians call him Sādiq Muḥammād Khān.1 His father, Muḥammad Bāqīr, had been zarfī to Qarā Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurāsān. Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Tādūnsp, and fled to India. Sādiq entered Bayrām's service as Rīkābdūr (spur-holder), and got soon after a mansāb, and was made, after Bayrām's death, an Amīr. Bādā'uni (II. 220) 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 Jaunpur. On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished through Ş.'s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jagūr, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Ghorā, or Bandā-Rewa), to get another elephant. After passing over "the heights and the low places" of fortune, Şādiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 100 elephants, and was restored to favour. He was made governor of Garha, vice Rāī Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), Ş., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rāja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, Ş. saw that kindness would not do: he therefore took the fort of Karharā (1275), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthārā, close to which Undchha lay, Madhukar's residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Rām Sāh. Another son of his, Ḥorāl Deo (Muʿāṣir, Ḥorāl Rāo), and about 200 Rājpūts were killed. Ş. remained encamped in the Rāja's territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Rām Chand (No. 248), a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahīra, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramaḍān, 986, Şādiq with the penitent Rāja arrived at Court.

Soon after Ş.'s aqīdā2 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 Ş. Azīz Kohn

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1 Akbar disliked the names Muḥammād and Ahmād; hence we find that Abī'ī-Farī leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Muḥsin Khān (No. 11), Mīrzā Ş. Azīz (No. 21), for Muḥammad Muḥsin and M. Muḥammad Ş. Azīz; or, Shāhūb Khān (No. 26), for Shāhūb-⅓-Dīn Ahmad Khān. More examples will be found below.

2 Rīkābdūr, "spur-holder, one that rests at the spur of a great man, retinue." The pointed corner of the plate that forms the foot-rest of the Indian spur is used as a spur. — P.}
(No. 21), Sàdîq and Muhîbb 'Alî Khân (No. 107), defeated Khabîta, one of Mâ'ûn’s officers, on the Ghandak near Hâjipûr, 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 Mirzâ Koka, who had again left for Bihâr.

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazîr Khân (No. 41), who at a place six kos from Bardiwân was treating with Qutlû. Through S.’s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlû in the possession of Orîsâ. S. then returned to his tugûl at Patna.

When Shâh-bâz Khân (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bhâtî, the tugûldârs of Bengal and Bihâr were ordered to move to him. S., however, was no friend of Shâh-bâz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once S.’s elephant ran against Shâh-bâz, who believed the accident premeditated: and Akbar sent Khwâja Sulaymân (No. 327) to Bengal to settle their differences. One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihâr; but S., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shâh-bâz went from Bihâr to Bengal, S. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multân.

When the Rawshânâs in the District of Mount Terâsh (جاری), "which lies west of Pashâwar, and is 32 kos long, and 12 kos broad," commenced disturbances, S., in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness. After the return of Zayn Khân (No. 34) from Bijûr, S. was sent there, to subjugate the Yûsafzâis.

In the 36th year, Prince Mûrad was sent from Mâlwa to Gûjût, and as Ismâ’il Qulî Khân (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as Vâkûl, S. was appointed atâ’iq to the Prince, whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakhin. Shâh-bâz Khân, being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Ahmâd-nâgâr had been raised, S. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barâr.

In the beginning of the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand. In the same year he defeated Sarâwar Khân, and made much

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1. Khabîta (خابیتا) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Mâ’ûn: Kâhûlû from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In Bâhûr (Ed. II. P. Indica, p. 310), he is called Khabîsa Bahâdur (خابیسا بادور) and Khânâ (خانه) in my MS. of the Tâbâqât, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

2. The spelling Qutlû is perhaps preferable to Qutlû if the name is a shortened form of Qutlûh.

3. From several passages in the Akbâr-nâmâ it is clear that âtâ’iq (pr. a tutor) means the same as Vâkûl or Vâzîr. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their Vâzîr, their Dîchâ, their Mîshâba, etc. The appointment of the Vâkûl, however, appears to have rested with the emperor.
beauty. He was then made governor of Shâhpûr, which town Prince Murâd had founded six kos from Balâpûr.

Şâhid died at Shâhpûr in the beginning of 1065. At Dhopûr, which "lies 20 kos from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river," Ş. 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. Zâhid Khân (No. 286), a Commander of Three Hundred and Fifty. In the 47th year, he was made a Khân, and, on the accession of Jahângîr, a Commander of Two Thousand.

2. Dost Muhammed (No. 287). 3. Yâr Muhammed (No. 288). "Neither of them was alive at the time of Shâbjahân." Muṣāṣûr.

44. Rây Râysîngh, son of Rây Kalyân Mal (No. 93).

Rây Singh belonged to the Râthors of Bikanûr, and is the fourth descendant from Rây Mâldeo. His father, Kalyân Mal, was a friend of Bayram (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmûr, when he together with his son entered the emperor's service. He also sent his brother's daughter to Akbar's harem. Kalyân Mal was in the 40th year a Commander of Two Thousand.

Rây Singh, in the 17th year, when Akbar made preparations to crush the rebellion in Gujûrât, occupied Jodhpûr, the old seat of Mâl Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dîhli territory; but Îbrâhîm, after his defeat at Sarnâl, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nâgor, which at that time was the tâqûl of Khân-i Kalân (No. 16), and was defended by his son. Farrukh Khân (p. 339). R. came to his relief, and the Mîrzâ 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 Muhammed Husayn Mîrzâ (p. 343).

In the 19th year, R. and Shâh Quft Mârûm (No. 45) were ordered to punish Chandr Sen, son of Râja Mâl Deo; but as they were unable to take Siwânâ, Chandr Sen's stronghold, notwithstanding the auxiliaries which Akbar had sent them at R.'s request, R., in the 21st year, was called to Court, and Shâhbâz Khân (No. 80) took the command. Before the end of the same year, however, R. and Tarsun Muhammed Khân (No. 32) were sent against the refractory zamindârs of Jâlor and Sarothi; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Hâshim of Bârcha (No. 143) garrisoned Nâdot to watch the Râna of Udaipûr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltân Deoda, the zamindâr of Sarothi, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarothi and besieged it. During the siege,
R. called his family to his camp; but Saltān Deoda fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abūgarh. R. in the meantime took Sarohī, and hastened to Abūgarh, which Saltān surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltān to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥākim, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murād. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Āgra, R. and several others were sent as tuyūldārs to the Panjāb. In the 28th year he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year R. and Ismā’īl Quli Khān (vide No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balūchīs. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.’s daughter was married to Prince Salīm. In the 35th year he went for some time to Bikānīr, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sindhi under M. ʿAbī ʿr-Rājīm (No. 29).

In the 38th year Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Rāja Rāmchand Baghelaa of Bāndhū died suddenly on his way to Bāndhū, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Rāja 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 Sūrat, with the order to assist in the Dakhin wars. R., however, delayed in Bikānīr, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Sūrat. 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 Abū ʿr-Fažl to Nāsik; but as his son Dalpat (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bikānīr

1 "Abūgarh is a fort near Sarohī, and not far from the frontier between Gujāt and Ajmīr." Abū ʿr-Fažl says in the Akbarnāma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abūgarh was Ārbaṭā. Ārbaṭā being the name of a spirit, who, disguised as a female, shows wanderers the way, and aṭā meaning nessless. The last 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 Sunhānā and the Akbarnāma have Salāḥī Daev (1610) for Saltān Deoda (1677) of the Mūsākīr.

2 For Dalpat, the Tuzuk-i akbarnāma (pp. 96, 98, and 126) has wrongly Dalpīn.

The Tuzuk and the second volume of the Pādshahānāma (Edt. Bibl. Indica, p. 633) have Sūrat Singh for Sūr Singh. But the Mūsākīr and the first volume of the Pādshahānāma have Sūr Singh (pp. 297, 302; at the end of the first decade.)
(vide p. 386), R. got leave to go home. In the following year, he went again to Court. In the 48th year he served under Prince Salim against the Rana of Udaipur.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahangir, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjab to pursue Khusrav, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bikanir. In the second year, when Jahangir returned from Kabul, R., at the advice of Sharif Khan, presented himself before the emperor with a futa 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. 252). He was a Commander of Five Hundred. In the 36th year, he served in the Sindh war, but was looked upon as a coward. In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dakthin, Muzaffar Husayn Mirza, in consequence of his differences with Khwajagi Fathul lah had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bikanir and created disturbances. In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses. D. asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court.

In the third year of Jahangir's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khan Jahan Lodi he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dakthin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of Ray, although his younger brother (by another mother), Sur Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Ray Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Sur Singh, however, disgusted Jahangir by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam-i Saifawi (No. 8), the governor of Sindh. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahangir that Sur Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hissar. Hashim, the Faujdar of the Sarkar, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat's son, Mahes Das, and grandson, Ratan, vide Padishahnama, pp. 635, 723; 634, 729.

2. Sur Singh. After the death of his brother he rose to favour. In Histories he is generally called Rano Sur Singh, a title which he received from Shajahan. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sali, the former of whom inherited the title of Rano (vide Padishahnama II, p. 727).
VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Shāh Quli Mahram-i Bahārū.

He was in Bayrām’s service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū. It was Shāh Quli that attacked Hemū’s elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemū, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle-field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar. Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh. Q. served with Muhammad Qāsim Khān (No. 40) against Ḫāji Khān in Nāgor and Ajmūr.

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 Ḫaqbūl Khān; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed, Sh. Q. dressed as a Jogi, and went into the forests. Bayrām traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Bābā Zambūr, he remained faithful to Bayrām to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwārā (p. 332).

After Bayrām’s death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amīr. In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān (No. 24) was sent from the Panjāb to Bengal, Sh. Q. was appointed Governor of the Panjāb, 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 (majoūbū). From the circumstances, he was everywhere called Mahram, i.e., one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zābulūstān, crossed the Bahat (Jhelum) near Rasūlpūr, and encamped at Hailān. During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a wust 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 Rājpūta of Shaykhāwāt, especially, plundered the districts from Mewāt to Rewārī; and in the

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1 Before the end of the first year, Pir Muhammad was dispatched against Ḫāji Khān in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Sarbār of Alwar as far as Deoli Sijārī (or Sīkārī), the birth-place of Hemū, and performed many brave deeds. They also sought 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 M. returned to Akbar.  See pp. 327-328.

2 For similar examples, see p. 333, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 374.

3 Or Mahram.
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 Tabaqāt says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years.

He died at Agra in 1010. At Narnaul, 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. Ismā'īl Quli Khān, brother of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jālindar (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 favourably received. In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balūchis (vide No. 44). On his arrival in Balūchistān the people soon submitted, and their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajhiya and Ibrāhīm Khān, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country. In the 31st year, when Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zābulistān, I. Q. was sent there instead. But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah. He begged hard to be forgiven; but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yusufzāis.

At that time epidemics were raging in Bijor, and the chiefs of the Yusufzāis came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zayn Khān (No. 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalāla Rawshāni, who had left Terāh and entered Bijor. Zayn Khān therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. The arrival of Śādiq Khān (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalāla, amoyed I. Q. still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Thānādar of the district. I. Q. forgot himself so far as to allow Jalāla to escape. He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct.

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrat. In the 36th year, when Prince Murād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I. Q. was appointed his Śādiq or Vakil; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Śādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead.
In the 39th year, he was sent to Kālpī, to look after his jāgīr. 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, etc. He kept 1,200 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. Ibrāhīm Quli (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Salīm Quli (No. 357), and 3. Khalīl Quli (No. 358), both commanders of Two Hundred. They do not appear to have distinguished themselves.

**VII. Commanders of Three Thousand.**

47. **Mīrzā Jānī Beg,** ruler of Thatha.

He belonged to the Ārghūn clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingis Khān. Ḍū′l-Faṣl in the Akbarnāma gives his tree as follows:

Chingis Khān

Tālī Khān.

Hulāgū Khān (the brother of Mangū [Qāān].

Abāgh (or, Abāghā) Khān, d. 663.

Ārghūn Khān, d. 690.

Four generations intervening.

Aṭkū Timūr

Shankal Beg Tarkhān

Several generations not [known.

<Abū'1-Khāliq Tarkhān]

Mīrzā 'Abū'1-'Ali [Tarkhān,

Of his ancestors Aṭkū Timūr had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khān, and the Emperor Timūr took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a Tarkhān (cide the note at the end of this biography).

Mīrzā 'Abū'1-'Ali, fourth ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sulṭān Mahmūd, son of M. Abū Sā'īd, and received the government of Bukhārā. He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaybānī Khān Uzbak; only his sixth son, M. Muḥaẓẓamad ʿIsā escaped. The Ārghūn clan in Bukhārā, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurāsān, where they attached themselves to Mr. Zāl-Nūn Beg Ārghūn, who was the Amīr ʿUmarā and Sipahsālar of Sulṭān Ḥusain Myrzā. He also was atāliq and father-in-law to Prince Badiṣ' z-Zamān Mīrzā, and held Qandahār as
M. Muḥammad ʿĪsā jāgīr. When the prince’s career ended, his
Tarkhān, d. 975. two sons, Badīʿ-ʿz-Zāmān and Muẓaffar Mirzā,
M. Muḥammad Bāqī proclaimed themselves kings of Khurāsān.
Tarkhān, d. 993. Anarchy prevailed; and matters grew worse,
Mirzā Pāyanda Muḥam-
mad Tarkhān. when Shayhān Khān invaded the country.
Mirzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān. Zuʾl-Nūn Beg fell in battle against him.
Mirzā Ghāzi Beg Tarkhān.
Beg, better known as Shāh Beg. Zuʾl-Nūn’s son, held Qandahār
Shujāʿ Beg during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government.
He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jam Nizāmān
ʿd-Dīn (generally called in Histories Jam Nandā), king of Sindh. He
continued to interfere, as related by Abū ʿl-Faḍl below in the Third Book,
(Šūba of Sindh), and managed, at last, in 929, to conquer the country,
thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahār, which had been
occupied by Bābar. A short time before his death, which took place in
930, he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the Langāhs.
Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mirzā Shāh Husayn
Arghūn, who took Multān from Sultān Husayn Langūh (vide Third Book,
Šūba of Multān). M. Shāh Husayn Arghūn 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 Bhaikar,
when some of the nobles deserted him, and elected Mirzā Muḥammad ʿĪsā,
third ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, as their chief. M. Shāh Husayn, assisted
by his foster brother, Sultān Muḥamūd, Governor of Bhakkar, opposed
him; but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sindh
to M. ʿĪsā. On Shāh Husayn’s death, in 963, the whole country
to fell to ʿĪsā.
In this manner the older branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of
Thatha.
ʿĪsā died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M. Muḥammad Bāqī,
who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M. Jān Bābā.
M. Bāqī, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity; and as
his son, M. Pāyanda Muḥammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the
government passed into the hands of M. Jānī Beg, the son of M. Pāyanda.

1 Shāh Beg was a learned man, like his renowned opponent Bābar. He wrote a
Commentary to the well-known Arabic grammar Kāfya, (شرح كفاية) and commentaries
to the Maqāṭū (شرح مقاتع) and the SāQAʿūd-j Nasafi (شرح غونود نصفي).
Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjáb, M. Jānī Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khán Khānān was ordered to invade Qandahār, 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. Multān and Bhakkar being the tāyūl of the Khán Khānān, he did not move into Qandahār by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his ājāgīr. In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khán Khānān set out at once for Sindh (vide p. 356, and Brigg's Firishta). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khán Khānān, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lāhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Sāba of Multān as tāyūl, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Shāhrūsh (No. 7). But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghūn clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M. J. B. to his new tāyūl, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M. J. B. was appointed to Sindh. Lāharī Bandar, however, became khāliṣa, and the Sarkār of Siwistān which had formerly paid pūshkash, 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. 218–9), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Abū l-Fazl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow. From his youth, M. J. B. had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses; his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (sardām), of which he died, in 1608, at Burhānpūr in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Āsīr.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Āsīr, 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 takhakkār of Halimī.

1. Here follows in the Maʿāṣir ʿUmar, a description of Shirāk taken from the Third Book of the Akbār, concluding with the following remark:—

"At present (when the author of the Maʿāṣir wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudā Yār Khān Latī (ṣ.). From a long time he had guarded Ṭīrīr Ṭirdī the Sāba of Thatha, and the Sarkār of Siwistān and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the district on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nādir Shah, Khudā Yār Khān administered them for Nādir Shah."
Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, son of M. Jānī 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 Mirzā ʿIsā Tarkhān; son of Mirzā Jān Bābā (brother of M. Muḥammad Bāqī, grandfather of M. Jānī Beg); but Khusraw Khān Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghūnūs and vakil to his father, espoused his cause, and M. ʿIsā Tarkhān fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghāzi Beg and Khusraw Khān had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly ʿAbdūr Raḥmān (No. 25) and his son ʿAṣūr ʿIlāh to Bharkar, and M. Ghāzi Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahāngir, M. Ghāzi Beg received Multān in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahār (Tuzuk, pp. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, the Persian Governor of Harāt. He also received the title of Farzānūd (son). Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several hikarat.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018, the word Ghāzi being the Tārīkh of his death. Suspicion attaches to Lūfī ʿIlāh, his vakil and son of Khusraw Khān Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghāzi does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the takhallus of Voqārī, which he had bought of a Qandahār poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Šāhriyār of Amul, Mullā Murshid-i Yazdijirdi, Mir Niʿmatūlāh Vacili, Mullā Asad Qisṣa-khwān, and especially Fugāfūrī of Gifān enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for daḵhl (vide p. 108, note 8). In his private life, M. Ghāzi 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

1 Saʿdū ʿIlāh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 351. He received the title of Nasirīkh Khān in 1020; vide Tuzuk, pp. 34, 90.
2 So the Maʻāṣir. The Tuzuk (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghāzi in the 7th year of Jahāngir’s reign, 1021.
After M. Ghāzi Beg’s death. Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhāns, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (vide p. 314).
Khusraw Chirgis tried to set up some Ġūrū Ġūrū Tarkhān, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahāngir bestowed his favours on Mirzā ʿIsā Tarkhān, son of M. Jān Bābā (uncle of M. Jānī Beg). He rose to the highest honours under Shāhjāhān, and died more than a hundred years old, in 1062, at Sāmbhar. He had four sons—1. Mirzā ʿInāyaṭbān, who died in the 21st year of Shāhjāhān; 2. Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāḥib, who played some part during Aḥrangreb’s war with Dārū Shikoh; 3. Fath ʿIlāh, 4. M. Ṣāḥib. Mirzā Bābur, M. Muḥammad Ṣāḥib’s son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Shāhjāhān.
women of the town of Thatha are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzā.

Note on the meaning of the title of "Tarkhān".

Abū 'l-Faḍl, in the Akbarnāma (38th year) has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chingiz Khān conferred it on Qishlīq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court taklīf-i bār). Chingiz Khān, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timūr, a Tarkhān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers; nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number nine.

Some say, a Tarkhān had seven distinctions and privileges—1. a tabī; 2. a tūmāntogh; 3. a naqqāra; 4. he can confer on two of his men a qishūn togh, or chār togh; 5. his Qur (p. 116) was carried (qūr-i ā nīz bardārand). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (qurrq) 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 belonged. In the state hall the Amirs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (kamānwūr).

When Tughrulq Timūr conferred this title upon an Amir, he put all financial matters (dād o sītad) as far as a Hazārī (?) in his charge; nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account; but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account. When a Tarkhān had to answer for blood shed by him (paddāsh-i khān), he was placed on a silver-white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Bartās clan (vide p. 364 note), and the

[1] Taklīf duty.—P.
[2] Nine was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls. Thus kings received nine presents, or the present consisted of nine pieces of the same article. Hence also the Chaghāš toqān (or tāqā in toqā), nine came to mean a present, in which sense it occurs in the Pālābkhānam and the Kālamāt-nama, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as khāt toqā pāča, "a present of seven pieces of cloth.'
sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkīwat (آركیوات) 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 Khwaja in making Mir Khudadad a Tarkhan, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (tīr), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the yaśūwat (chief mace-bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarkhan 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 Tarkhan from the left. 3. The Tarkhan’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.

Abū 'l-Fażl, 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 Khan, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humayun, who on his return to India made him a Khān. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Āgra. On Humayun’s approach, he left Āgra, and joined Tardi Beg at Dīhilī. Both opposed Humayun, Iskandar commanding the left wing (jūranāghār). His wing defeated the right wing (būranāghār) and the vanguard (hārānāghār) of Humayun, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists, when Humayun with his whole force broke upon Tardi Beg, and put him to flight. The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return. He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Humāyūn, and received after the battle for his bravery, the title of Khān ‘Ālam.

As Khizr Khwaja Khān, the Governor of the Panjāb, had retreated

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1 Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulstān; but according to the Tabaqat from the kings of Kāshāvar. He was a grandee of Humayun, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. Askari in Qandahār, when Humayun on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwaja threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humayun’s tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favour, was made Amir, then Vāzir, and married Gullbadan Begam, H.’s sister. When Akbar marched against Humayun, Khizr Khwaja was made Governor of the Panjāb and ordered to operate against Sikandar. Sūr, who during Humayun’s lifetime had retreated to the Sīvalikas, leaving Hājī Khān Sītānī in Lāhore, Khizr Khān moved against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. Jwāmī. Kh. selected two thousand horsemen to reconnoitre, but Sikandar was on the alert, fell upon the detachment, and defeated the Imperialists. Kh. without further fighting retreated to Lāhore. Sikandar used the respite, and collected a large army, till Akbar himself had to move against him. Finding Akbar’s army too strong, Sikandar shut himself up in Mānkot. After a siege of six months, Sikandar bribed ‘Alī Dīn Atgah (No. 15) and Pir Muhammad (No. 20) who prevailed.
before Sikandar Khan Sür, and fortified himself in Lāhor, leaving the country to the Afghāns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkot and assist Khizr Khwāja.

Afterwards he received Audh as tayūl. "From want of occupation," he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khan (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khān Zamān (No. 13). Together with Bahādur Khan (No. 22), he occupied Khāyrābād (Audh), and attacked Mir Muṣīzīs-ī-Mulk (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 Zamān and Bahādur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muḥammad Quli Khan Barlās (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khān Zamān 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 Gorakhpūr, which then belonged to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bāyazīd, Sulaymān's son, over Jhārkand to Ṭhūya. After Sulaymān's return from the conquest of Ṭhūya, I. Isk.'s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaymān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghāns waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Muṣīm Khan, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sārkār of Lakṣhnan as tayūl, and died there in the following year (980).

49. Āṣaf Khan ʿAbd al-Majīd (of Hirāt), a descendant of Shāykh Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī.

His brother Vazir Khān has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shāykh Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī was a saint (ṣāḥib kumāl) at the time of Timūr. When Timūr, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirāt, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiyās al-Dīn, he sent, on his arrival at
Tâybd, a messenger to the Shaykh, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world. "What have I," replied the Shaykh, "to do with Timūr?" Timūr, struck with this answer, went himself to the Shaykh, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik Ghiyās. "I have indeed done so," said the Shaykh, "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." Timūr afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes; every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shaykh Abū Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself.

Khwāja ʿAbdā l-Majīd was a Grandee of Humāyūn, whom he served as Diwān. On Akbar’s accession, he also performed military duties. When the Emperor moved to the Panjāb, to crush Bayrām’s rebellion, ʿAbdā l-Majīd received the title of Aṣaf Khān, regarding which see the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Aṣaf was appointed Governor of Dīhlī, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattū, a servant of ʿAdī, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanādī (Chunar), ʿĀ, in concert with Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kara-Mānīkpur on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghażī Khān Tannūrī, an Afghān noble who had for a time been in Akbar’s services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamindārs against Akbar. ʿĀ, in the 7th year, sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhath, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies. But the Rāja prepared for resistance. ʿĀ marched against the Rāja, defeated him, and executed Ghażī Khān. The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū, but obtained Abbar’s pardon by timely submission, chiefly through the influence of several Rāja’s at Court. ʿĀ then left the Rāja in peace; but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (vide p. 251, 1. 29), made him desirous of further warfare and he planned the famous expedition against Gaḍha-Katangāh, 2

1 Abū l-Fazl in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarmāna, says that ʿAlī ʿd. Din-i- Khilīj besieged Bāndhū in vain.
2 Gaḍha (Gurh, Gurhah, Gurraḥ) lies close to Jabalpūr in Central India. Katangāh is the name of two small places, one due south of Jabalpūr below lat. 22°, as on the map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, pl. lxi; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpūr and Gaḍha, about lat. 23° 30′, as on the map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm’s Malwa; but both are called on the maps Katangāh. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gaḍha-Katangāh. Abū l-Fazl says, ʿ it had an extent of 150 kās by 80 kās, and there were in ancient times 50,000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, he says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindūs as very low.
The Rājas of Gaḍha-Katangāh are generally called the Gaḍha-Mandī Rājas. Mandī lies S.E. of Jabalpūr, on the right side of the Narbadah.
or Gondwānah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgāwati, the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bir Sāh, at the conquest of Chaurāgadh (about 70 miles west of Jabalpūr) are well-known. The immense spoils which Ā. carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1,000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court. But when Khān Zamān (No. 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnūn Qāqshāl (No. 50) in Mānikpūr, Ā. came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khān Zamān, and handed over the remainder of the Gaqha spoils. He thereby regained Akbar’s confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture the imperial Mutaṣaddīs, whom Ā. before had handsomely bribed, reported, from envy, his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth. Hypocritical friends mentioned this to Ā.; and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gaqha (Safar, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) to Gaqha. Ā. then left Central India “with a sorrowful heart”, and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khān Zamān at Jaumpūr. But he soon saw that Khān Zamān only wanted his wealth and watched for a favourable moment to kill him. Ā. therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape. Khān Zamān had sent his brother Bahādur (No. 22) against the Afghāns, and Ā. was to accompany him. Vazīr Khān, whom Khān Zamān had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Mānikpūr, which Ā. had appointed as place of rendezvous. No sooner had Ā. escaped than Bahādur followed him up, defeated his men, and took Ā. prisoner. Bahādur’s men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazīr Khān fell over Bahādur. Bahādur made some one a sign to kill Ā., who was fettered on an elephant, and Ā. had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazīr in time saved his life, and carried him away. Both reached, in 973, Karah, and asked Muqaffar Khān (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muqaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjāb, he took Vazīr with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers. Ā. was ordered to join Majnūn Qāqshāl at Karah-Mānikpūr. His bravery in the last struggle with Khān Zamān induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyāg as tuyūl, vice Ḥāji Muḥammad Sistānī (No. 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against

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Rānā Udai Singh. A was sent in advance (mangalā). In the middle of Rabi‘ I, 975, Akbar left Āgra for Chitor. The Rānā had commissioned Jay Mal, who had formerly been in Mirtha, 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 Sha‘bān 975, the fort fell Ā. was made Governor of Chitor.

Neither the Mu‘āṣir, nor the Tabaqūt, mentions the year of his death. He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āṣaf Khān was bestowed upon another noble.¹

**Note on the Title of "Āṣaf Khān".**

Āṣaf was the name of the Vazir of Sulaymān (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title. Badā,uni, to avoid confusion, numbers them Āṣaf Khān I, II, and III. They are:—

- Ābd-‘l-Majīd, Āṣaf Khān I, d. before 981 (No. 49).
- Khwāja Mīrzā Ghiyāhs, d-Dīn ʿAli Āṣaf Khān II, d. 989 (No. 126).
- Mīrzā Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98).

The three Āṣafs were Diwāns or Mir Bakhshis. The third was nephew to the second, as the following tree will show:—

[Diagram showing the family tree of Āṣaf Khān II and III, with Ghiyāhs d-Dīn ʿAli, Mīrzā Badiʿu-z-Zamān, Mīrzā Ahmad Beg, Mīrzā Nūr u-d-Dīn, and A daughter Mīrzā Jaʿfar Beg as the branches]

Āghā Mulla Dawātdār.

**Muntaz Mahall, (Shāhjahān’s wife).**

Jahāngīr conferred the title of “Āṣaf Khān” (IV) on Abū ʿl-Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and father of Muntaz Mahall (or Tāj Bihīb, Shāhjahān’s wife), whose mother was a daughter of Āṣaf Khān II. During the reign of Shāhjahān when titles containing the word Dawla ² were

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¹ Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says ʿAbd-ʿl-Majīd Āṣaf Khān officiated in 1013 for Mān Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farid d-Dīn Bakhbār (No. 99) is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahāngīr.

² They had been in use among the Khalijas and the Ghaznavids. Thus Tamīr u-d-Dawla which title Shāhjahān bestowed on Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān IV, had also been the title of Mahmūd of Ghazni when prince. The kings of the Dakhin occasionally conferred titles
revived, Āsaf Khân was changed to Āsaf "d-Dawla, and this title was conferred on Āsaf "d-Dawla Jumlatu" l-Mulk Asadjang (Shāhjāhān-Awrang-zeb), a relation of Āsaf Khân IV. Under Ahmad Shāh, lastly, we find Āsaf "d-Dawla Amiru" l-Mamālik, whose name like that of his father, Niz̄ām "l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. Majnūn Khân-i Qaquşāl. 1

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and held Nārnāul as jāgīr. When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Ḥājī Khân besieged Nārnāul, but allowed Majnūn Khân to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rāja Bihārī Mal, who, at that time, was with Ḥājī Khân (vide p. 347). On Akbar's accession, he was made Jāgīrdār of Mānīkpur, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khân Zamān (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kālinjār. This fort was in the hands of Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Bhath, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bijīl Khân, the adopted son of Pahār Khân. When, during the siege, the Rāja heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantambhūr, he surrendered Kālinjār to M. (29th Safar, 997). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Munṣīm Khân (No. 11) on his expedition to Gora kişpūr. At the same time the Gujratī war had commenced, and as Bābā Khân Qaquşāl 2 had words with Shāh Bāz Khân (No. 80), the Mir Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Munṣīm's army that Bābā Khân Jabārī (Majnūn's son), Mirzā Muhammad, and other Qaquşāls, had killed Shāh Bāz Khân, and joined the rebellion of the Mirzās in Gujrat; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Munṣīm to imprison Majnūn. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Munṣīm, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours; but

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1 Name of a Turkish clan. Like the Uzbeks, they were disliked by Akbar, and rebelled. Majnūn Khân was certainly the best of them.
2 Bābā Khân Qaquşāl also was a grandee of Akbar, but Ahā l-Fažī has left him out in this list. Like Majnūn he distinguished himself in the war with Khân Zamān and the Mirzās. During Munṣīm's expedition to Bengal, the Qaquşāls received extensive jagīirs in Ghorāshkātā. Bābā Khân was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnūn's death. He rebelled with Munṣīm Khân-i Kābulī, partly in consequence of Muṣaffar Khân's (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khân Khānān. He died in the same year in which Muṣaffar died, of cancer in the face (Khān), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[Aksa]n chancere? — P.]
when M. soon after heard that Bābā Khān and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrāti war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Munṣim who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpūr.

M. accompanied Munṣim on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dāūd, retired to Orīsā, and Kālā Pahār, Sulaymān Mankli and Bābū Mankli had gone to Ghorāghāt, Munṣim sent M. against them. M. conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils. On the death of Sulaymān Mankli, the acknowledged ruler of Ghorāghāt, a great number of the principal Afgān nobles were caught, and M. with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulaymān Mankli to his son Jabārī. He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan. But Bābū Mankli and Kālā Pahār had taken refuge in Kūch Bihār, and when Munṣim was in Kaṭak, they were joined by the sons of Jalāl al-Dīn Sūr, and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tāndā, and waited for Munṣim, who, on his return from Orīsā, sent them with reinforcements to Ghorāghāt. The Qāqshāls re-occupied the district. Majnūn died soon after at Ghorāghāt.

The Tabaqāt says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand, and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers.

His son Jabārī, distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion. The enforcing of the Dagh law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabārī then assumed the title of Khān Jabān. When the Qāqshāls left Maṣṣūm (p. 344), Jabārī went to Court. Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year.

51. Shujā‘at Khān, Muqīm-i ʿArab.

He is the son of Tardi Beg’s sister (No. 12). Ḥumāyūn made Muqīm-ā Khān. On the emperor’s flight to Persia, he joined Mirzā ʿAskari. When Ḥumāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muqīm, like most old nobles, 

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5 The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Pūrī in S. Orīsā. Vide below Third Book; Sūhas of Bengal and Orīsā. A minute description of his conquest is given in the Makānak-i Afghānī and by Stirling in his Account of Orissa, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. But Stirling’s account, taken as it is from the Pūrī Vyasavali (a chronicle kept for the last six hundred years in the temple of Pūrī) differs considerably from the Akbarnāma. Kālā Pahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Maṣṣūm and Qutb al-Orīsā, and ʿAzīz Koka (vide p. 344) which, in 690, took place between Khulāsāw (Colgong) and Gāshī (near Rajmahal).

Bābū Mankli subsequently entered Akbar’s service (vide No. 202). European historians generally spell his name Bābū Munṣul, as if it came from the Hindī munṣul, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But manskī is perhaps preferable. Two of Timūr’s ancestors had the same name. The Turkish manskī means یاباد, ḏabhār, spotted.

2 The best MSS. of the Akbarnāma, Badā, and, and the Maṣṣūr have یاباد. Stewart (p. 109) calls him Jelānumdē (1).
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 Munṣim Khān (No. 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Munṣim to take Bayrām's place.

In the 9th year, Muqūm distinguished himself in the pursuit of ʻAbdul-ʻllāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14), "the king of Mandū," and received the title of Shuṣūkat Khān, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious ʻAbdul-ʻllāh.

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest for a day.

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Aḥmadābād (p. 343). Once he slandered Munṣim, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānak to do with him what he liked; but Munṣim 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 Mālwa.

In 988, when troubles in Bihār and Bengal had broken out, Shuṣūkat Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sārangpūr for Fathpūr (Bādāoni II, 284). At the first stage, Īwaz Beg Bārūs 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 Shuṣūkat's tent, and killed his son Qāwīm Khān.¹ Shuṣūkat himself was mortally wounded. Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh. on an elephant, and led him off to Sārangpūr. 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 Sārangpūr.

Akbar punished the rebels severely. According to p. 294, Akbar once saved Shuṣūkat's life in the jungles.

From Bādāoni (II, 284), we learn that Qāwīm Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents.

Muqūm Khān (No. 386) is Shuṣūkat Khān's second son. He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred.

Qāsim Khān was the son of Muqūm Khān. Qāsim's son, Abdur-Rahim, was under Jahāngīr a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made in the 5th year, Fawjdūr of Alwar. Qāsim's daughter, Sāliha Bānū, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngīr in his harem, and went by the title of Pādishāh Mahall. She adopted Miyan Joh, son of the above, Abdur-Rahim. Miyan Joh was

¹ So the Maṣʿūdī and the Akbarnama. Bādāoni (II, 284) has Qāsim Khān; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibil. Indica.
killed by Mahābat Khān when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngīr’s person.

No. 52. Shāh Budāgh Khān, a descendant of Uymāqṣ1 of Miyānkāl, Samarqand.

The Turkish Budāgh means "a branch of a tree". He distinguished himself under Humāyūn and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year he accompanied Mīr Mu‘izz al-Mulk (No. 61) against Bahādur (No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son ʿAbd al-Maṭlaḍ (No. 83) ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) against Mirzās in Mīlūwah, received Sārangpūr as tujūl, fought under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramazān 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandū, where he died. The Tabaqāt says, he had the title of Amīr ʿl-Umarā. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohini.

Inside Fort Mandū, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of Nīlkhāth, regarding the inscriptions on which the Mawāṣir gives a few interesting particulars.

53. Husayn Khān (Tukriya), sister’s son of Mandi Qāsim Khān (No. 36.)

"He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar’s reign." In his jihāds he was sans peur, and 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 so long to be with the saints that have gone before."

He was the patron of the historian Bādāoni,2 who served Husayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsābad and Pātyāl).

1 There were two tribes of the Qara Turks called Aymaq and Aymaq ʿqalā. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ʿAyāmq as the word is generally spelt by Moghul Historians, stands for the people of superior cavalry; vide Turk, p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may be seen from p. 57, l. 11 of the second volume of my Ahmān, where ʿAbd al-Fazl applies the word to Rājput cavalry of the Rāthor clan. The word is pronounced ʿwām in India.

The meaning of Mīyān Kālī is still unclear to me. To judge from ʿAbd al-Fazl’s phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective Mīyān Kālī occurs frequently. Two Miyān Khāla may be found below among the list of learned men (Qāri ʿAbd al-Samī) and the poets (Qāmil-i Kālī).

2 Vide my Essay on Bādāoni and his Works in J.A.S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 120.
Husayn Khān was not only sister’s son, but also son-in-law to Mahdi Qāsim Khān (No. 36). He was in Bayrām’s service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mānkot, Akbar made him Governor of Lāhor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar in Ṣafar 965, marched to Dīhil, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjāb. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sūfī. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindūs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. ṭukrā) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of Ṭukriyā "Patcher".

Like Shāh Quli Khān Maḥram (No. 45), he stuck to Bayrām to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhāljhar; but after Bayrām had been pardoned, he entered Akbar’s service. When Mahdī Qāsim Khān, from displeasure to Gadhā, went by way of the Dakhin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwās in Mālwah, when the rebellion of the Mīrzās broke out, and in concert with Muqarrib Khān, the Ṭuyūḥdūr of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwās. But Muqarrib lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrahim Husayn Mīrzā for an interview. Though urged to join the Mīrzā, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khān Zamin, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jāgīr was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Bādāmī had been for about a year, to Kāntō Gola.1 His exacting behaviour towards Hindūs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihār, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hājpūr, he confiscated H.’s jāgīr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jāgīr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His manaś, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpūr in Kāmāon, 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 Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Garh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mumūm Khān, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bārha, and was taken to Faṭhpūr Sikrī, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

1 Elliot (Index, p. 233, First Edition) has by mistake Lakhnau (on the Rāmpanga) instead of Lakhnau (in Audh), and he calls Husayn Khān a Khākārī. This must be an oversight.
The Tabaqat says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnama, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yusuf Khan, was a grandee of Jahangir. He served in the Dakhin in the corps of Aziz Koká (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwiz, the Khan Khanán, and Mán Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khan Khanán (Tuzuk p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (vide pp. 344 and 357). Yusuf's son, Izzat Khan, served under Sháhjáhán, (Pádosháhu. II, 121).

54. Murád Khan, son of Amír Khan Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muhammad Murád Khan. In the 9th year he served under Ásaf Khan (No. 48) in Gadha Katanga. In the 12th year, he got a jagir in Málwa, and fought under Shiháb' al-Dín Ahmad against the Mirzáš. After the Mirzáš had returned to Gujrat, M. got Ujjain as tayún.

In the 13th year, the Mirzáš invaded Málwa from Khondesh, and Murád Khan, together with Mir Azíz' illah, the Diwán of Málwah, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Quliq Khan (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mirzáš retreated to Mandú. Followed up by Quliq and Murád they retreated at last across the Narbaddah.

In the 17th year, the Mirzáš broke out in Gujrat, and the jāgírdárs of Málwah assembled under the command of M. Azíz Koká (No. 21). Murád held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramaţán, 380).

In 982, he was attached to Munšim's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fáštábád, Sarkár Boglá (S.E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jelasore) in Orísá, after Dá'ud had made peace with Munšim.

When in 983, after Munšim's death, Dá'ud fell upon Nágár Bahádur, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Orúsá), and treacherously killed him, Murád wisely retreated to Tánda. 1

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fáštábád, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murád at Fáštábád Qivá Khan in

1 As Munšim left Thánábdára in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dá'ud must have been restricted to Kátká proper. Munšim's invasion of Orísá was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Kant, I may here state that the name 'Aštak' (Attack, in the Panjáb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because it rhymes with Kátká. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. Akbarnáma.
Orjāsā, Mīrzā Najāt at Sātgāw, were almost the only officers of Akbar’s Bengal corps that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988. Qiāwā was killed by Qutī (p. 366), and Murād died at Fathābād immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988, “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 Muhammed Khān of Sīstān.

He was in the service of Bayrām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bayrām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humāyūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bayrām innocent, he went back, taking Hājī Muhammed with him, who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion. ¹

After the conquest of Hindūstān, H. M. at Bayrām’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 Khwāja’s (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tardī Beg’s (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor’s cause; and Mulla ‘Abdul-’llāh Makhdūm’s Mulk who, though in Akbar’s service, was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afghān’s, represented to Sikandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sawālīks. As related above Khizr Khwāja moved against Sikandar, leaving H. M. in charge at Lāhor. Being convinced of Makhdūm’s treason, H. M. tortured him, and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed.

In 966, Bayrām fell out with Pir Muhammed (No. 20), and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H. M. When Bayrām fell into disgrace, he sent H. M. with several other Amīrs to Dihlī 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 Bayrām. After Bayrām had been pardoned (p. 318) H. M. and Muḥammad Tarsū Khān (No. 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijāz as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the Empire. Once, on the road, Bayrām charged H. M. with faithlessness, when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master.

¹ Hājī Muhammed is the same to whom Erskine’s remark refers quoted by Elphinstone (Fifth Edition), p. 470 note.
H. M. was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of Sik-hazāri. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chitor, he sent H. M. and Shibā'ī d-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) from Gārūn against the sons of Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Mālwah. H. M. then received the Sarkār of Mandū as jāgir.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Munṣim Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Orīsā, and got wounded in the battle of Takaroī (20th Zī Qāṣda, 982). He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Gaur, where soon after Munṣim’s death he, too, died of malaria (983).

**Note on the Battle of Takaroī, or Mughulmārī, in Orīsā.**

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar’s generals. It crushed the Afghāns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Orīsā. The MSS. of the Akbarnāma and the Ma'īṣir have Takaroī, and: My copy of the Sawāniḥ has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnāma have Nakrohī. In Baddānī and the Tabaqāt the battle of Takaroī is called the battle of 3, which may be Bajhorah, Bachhorah, Bajhor, or Bachhorah. Stewart’s account of Munṣim’s Orīsā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnāma and the Tabaqāt. He places the battle in the environs of Kāṭak, which is impossible, and his “Bukhtore” is a blunder for ba-chittā, “in Chittāu,” the final alif having assumed the shape of a, and the that of The Lucknow lithograph of the Akbarnāma, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS., has ba-chītor, “in Chitor.”

The Akbarnāma, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details. Todar Mal moved from Bārdwān over Madārān1 into the Pargana of Chittuā ( ), where he was subsequently joined by Munṣim. Dāṣūḍ had taken up a strong position at, Harpūr or Haripūr, “which lies intermediate (barzakh) between Bengal and Orīsā.” The same phrase (barzakh), in other passages of the Akbarnāma, is applied to Chittuā itself. Dāṣūḍ’s object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orīsā into which led but few other roads; “but Ḫwās Khān Langāh

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1 Madārān lies in Jāhānābād, a Pargana of the Hūglī district, between Bārdwān and Medinipūr (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town, see my "Places of Historical Interest in the Hūglī District," in the April Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal for 1876.
showed the victorious army an easier road," and Munšim entered the country, and thus turned Dā*ūd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Zī Qa'da, 982, or A.D., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Tođar Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Munšim to come and join him, as Dā*ūd had collected his troops near Kațak, and the whole army moves to Kațak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dā*ūd in the possession of Kațak.

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuā, which lies a little E.E.N. of Midnapūr (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rāja Tođar Mal, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasore), and probably north of it, as Abū 'l-Fažl 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 Midnapūr to Jalesar the village of Mogũlnārī (Mughulmāri, i.e., Mughul's Fight) and about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmārī and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeska river, the village of Tookaroc.

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmārī is 22°, and that of Tookaroc, 21° 53 nearly.

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroc is the تکرائی, Takaroī, of the Akbarnāma.

The battle extended over a large ground. Badā, onī (II, p. 195, l. 3) speaks of three, four kos, i.e., about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroī from Mughulmārī is accounted for.

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name جپری, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqāt and Badā, onī (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word chaour which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Badā, onī (Edit. Bibli. Indica, p. 196) and the Ṭabaqāt, it is said that Tođar Mal in his pursuit reached كکلاگی Kalkalghārī (I), not Bhadrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orīsā, at Gaur, of malaria.


Another "Mughulmārī" lies in the Kardwān district between Bardwān and Jahānābād (Bāgli district) on the old high road from Bardwān over Madāran to Midnapūr.
4. Mirzā Quli Khān, his brother, 10. Ḥāshim Khān.
5. Ashraf Khān (No. 74), 11. Muḥsīn Khān.

56. Afsāl Khān, Khāwja Sultan ʾAlī1-ʾyi Turbātī.

Regarding Turbātī vide No. 37. He was Mushīf (accountant) of Humāyūn’s Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of Mushīf-i Bāyūlāt (store accountant). In 957, when Mirzā Kāmrān took Kābul, he imprisoned A. Kh., and forced him to pay large sums of money. On Humāyūn’s return to India, A. Kh. was made Mīr Bakhshī, and got an ʿadām. He was together with Tārdi Beg (No. 12) in Dīhil, when Humāyūn died. In the battle with Hemū, he held a command in the centre (qol), and his detachment gave way during Hemū’s charge. A. Kh., together with Pir Muḥammad (No. 20) and Ashraf Khān (No. 74), fled from the battlefield, partly from hatred towards Tārdi Beg—the old hatred of Khurāsānīs towards Uzbeks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrām. As related above, Tārdi Beg was executed by Bayrām for this retreat, and A. Kh. and Ashraf Khān were convicted of malice and imprisoned. But both escaped and went to Makkah. They returned in the 5th year, when Bayrām had lost his power, and were favourably received at Court. A. Kh. was made a Commander of three thousand.

1) “Nothing else is known of him.” Maṣāʿir.

57. Shāhbeq Khān, son of Ḥarbīm Beg Ḥarīk (†).2

He is sometimes called Beg Khān (p. 327). He was an Arghūn; hence his full name is Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn. Under Jahāngīr he got the title of Khān Daurān.

He was in the service of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul, Akbar’s brother, and was Governor of Peshāwar. When after the Prince’s death, Mān Singh, in 993, crossed the Nīlāb (p. 362) for Kābul, Shāh Beg took M. M. Ḥakīm’s two sons, Kay Qubāb and Afrāsiyāb, to Akbar, and received a munsūb. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yūsufzāis, and got Khushāb as jāgīr. He then served under the Khān Khānān in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2,500. In the 39th year Akbar sent him to Qandahār (p. 327), which,

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¹ The word ʾAlī has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.
² So the Maṣāʿir. My MSS. of the Aʾin have Ḥarbī, which may be Ḥarīk, Harmān, Ḥarbāk, etc. Some MSS. read clearly Harmān.
Muzaffar Husayn had ceded. During the time of his Governorship Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar ḡul tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghaznin was placed in his charge (vide No. 63).

Immediately after the accession of Jahāngir, Husayn Khān Sha’mīlū, the Persian Governor at Hirat, thinking Akbar’s death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh. B. and besieged Qandahār, 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 Husayn Khān 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, Husayn Shāh received a reprimand from Shāh 5Aḥbās for having besieged Qandahār “without orders”, and Husayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahāngir in 1016 (18th Safar) visited Kābul,1 Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of: 5,000, and received the title of Khān Dowrān. He was also made Governor of Kābul (in addition to Qandahār), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghanistān. After having held this office till the end of 1027 he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kābul, horse-travelling and the drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,2 paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (Tuz., p. 257), and was appointed Governor of Thattha.3 He resigned, however, in the same year (Tuz., p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of Khushāb assigned as pension (75,000 Rs.).

Before he went to Thatha, he called on Āṣaf to take leave and Āṣaf recommended to him the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad of Thatha, who had been a friend of Āṣaf. Shāhbeg had heard before that the Mullā’s brothers, in consequence of Āṣaf’s support, had never cared for the Governors of the province; hence he said to Āṣaf, “Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (sarḥisāb); but if not, I shall flay them.” Āṣaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

1 According to the Tuzuk (p. 33), Sh. B. then held the Pargana of Shor as jāgil, regarding which vide Elliot’s Index, first edition, p. 108.
2 The text has ḡub, which is mentioned as a peculiarity of Kābul. I do not know whether I have correctly translated the term.
3 Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (p. 266) makes him governor of Potna—a confusion of ḡul and ḡul.
Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an *ṣalam* and a *nagqāra* (p. 52); but on receiving the *insignia*, he said to Fārid (No. 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my *mansāb*, and a *jaqir*, to enable me to get better troopers for his service." On his return, in 1028, from Kābul, he paraded before Jahāngīr his contingent of 1,000 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 kākōrī, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients *Chār Bughrā* (p. 63, l. 2), which gave rise to his nickname *Chār Bughrā* Khur.


2. *Yaqūb Beg, son-in-law to Mirzā ʿAlī Fār ʿĀṣaf Khān (III), (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The Muʿāṣir says, he was a fatalist (azalparast), and died obscure.*

3. *Asad Beg (Tur., p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The Muʿāṣir does not mention him.*

The *Turuk*, p. 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khān, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shāhbeg Khān Arghān must not be confounded with No. 148.

58. *Khān ʿAlam Chalma Beg, son of Hamdam who was Mirzā Kāmrān's foster brother.*

Chalma Beg was Humāyūn's *safarchi*, or table attendant. Mirzā Kāmrān had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah. Before he left, Humāyūn, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince, after greeting his brother, quoted the verse—

"كلنا كوكبة درويش برَكَّك سايد كد سأيه هيجو نو نشام فقلك ديرس أو"

"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 *extempero*—

"للجمال أرى تو هريجة وس جاني منت است غر ناوك جفامس وكر خاجير سم"
"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of cruelty."

Humayun felt uncomfortable and tried to console him. He gave next day orders that any of Kamran's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah; but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg, though he knew that Humayun was much attached to him, replied that he thought he should accompany the Prince in the "gloomy days of need and the darkness of his solitude". The Emperor approved of his resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kamran and his companion.

After Kamran's death, Chalma Beg returned to India, and was favourably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3,000, bestowing upon him the title of Khan Alam. He served under the emperor against the Mirzas in Gujrat, and was present in the fight at Sarnâl (p. 353, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dâ'ûd in Patna, Khan Alam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats towards the mouth of the Gandak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies. Akbar praised him much for his daring. In the same year he was attached to Munsim's corps. In the battle of Takaroi (p. 406), he commanded the harawal (van). He charged the Afghans, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed and gave way, when Munsim sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gujar Khan, Dâ'ûd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line of elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black Yak tails (qutas) 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'da, 982).

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death, and begged of his friends, not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life.

Kh. 'A was a poet and wrote under the Takhallus of Hamdamî (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muizzaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for لح، in my Text edition, p. 229, read لح.
59. Qāsim Khān, Mīr Bāhr Chamanārāī (†) Khurāsān.¹

He is the son of Mīrzar Dost's sister, who was an old servant of the Timūrids. When Mīrzar Kāmrān was, in 954, besieged in Kābul, Humāyūn had occupied Mount Aqābīn, which lies opposite the Fort of Kābul. Whilst the siege was going on, Qāsim Khān and his younger brother, Khwājāgī Muḥammad Ḥusayn (No. 241) threw themselves down from a turret between the Āhanīn Darwāza and the Qāsim Barlās bastion, and went over to Humāyūn, who received them with distinction.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Q. Kh. was made a Commander of Three Thousand. He superintended the building of the Fort of Āgra, which he completed "after eight years at a cost of 7 kross of tankas, or 35 lacs of rupees. The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamna river, E. of the town of Āgra, 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 gar. 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 Āgra. In the beginning of Sha'bān 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmir, "a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dīhlī." 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 Yaṣqūb Khān, son of Yāhan Khān Chak. He had fortified a pass; but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Srinagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Yaṣqūb 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 guerrilla warfare;

¹ I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title chaman-ārāī Khurāsān. "Ruler of Khurāsān," The Maqāir, not knowing what to do with it, has left it out. Mīr Bāhr means "admiral." If chamanārāī Kā, be a genitive, the words mean, "Admiral of the ruler of Khurāsān," which from his biography does not appear to be correct. His brother (No. 241) is styled Mīr Bāhr, an adverb whose duties seem to have been confined to looking after arrangements during trips, hunting expeditions, etc.

² The old Fort of Āgra was called Badalgarh (Bad. I. 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Shārār), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 902.

The Fort Badalgarh Ārā, as Mīr, which Elliot (Index, First Ed., p. 299) identifies with the Fort of Āgra, cannot be the old Fort of Āgra, because Badāl, as I, 327, clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwāllār, "one of the Forts dependent on Gwāllār."

For Ulānegir, on the same page in Elliot, read Ītār (الІطئر). It was a Fort in the Sarāk of Mamlūk, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have Ootīr or Deogarh. * Called in the MSS. کلاطی. The word Ītal, means "a mountain" or "a mountain-pass." [Bad. II. 353]
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 Kābul. At that time a young man from Andajān (Farghāna) gave out that he was a son of Shāhrukh. He met with some success in Badakhshān, but was defeated by the Tūrān Shāh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zābuli Hazāras, 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 Hāshim Beg, Q.'s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazāras. But Hāshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kābul. Q., on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender, in the meantime, rearranged 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). Hāshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the mêlée, the murderer was killed.

For Qāsim's brother, vide No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Bāqī Khān (elder), brother of Adham Khān (No. 19).

His mother is the same Māhum Anaga, mentioned on p. 340. "From Bādā,oni (II, 340) we learn that Bāqī Khān died in the 30th year as Governor of Gadhna-Katanga." This is all the Muṣṣīr says of him.

His full name is Muhammad Bāqī Khān Koka. From Bādā,oni II, 81, we see that Bāqī Khān took part in the war against Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khān (972-3), and fought under Muṣṣīr-ul-Mulk (No. 61)

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6 In 1015 another false son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (p. 326), created disturbances and asked Jahāngūr for assistance against the Tūrān. The fate of Mīrzā Shāhrukh's second son, Mīrzā Husayn, is involved in obscurity. He ran away from Borhānūpūr, went to Agra and to Persia, from where he went to Badakhshān. People say that he is still alive (1016); but no one knows whether this new pretender is Shāhrukh's son or not. Shāhrukh left Badakhshān about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshis have set up several false Mīrzās, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbeks. This pretender collected a large number of Uymāğhs (p. 371, note 2) and Badakhshī Mountainers, who go by the name of Gharjas (Gharja, whence Gharjīsh), and took from the Uzbeks a part of the country. But the enemies pressed upon him, caught him, and cut off his head, which was carried on a spear all over Badakhshān. Several false Mīrzās have since been killed; but I really think their race will continue as long as a trace of Badakhshī remain on earth." Turān i Jahāngūr, p. 57.
in the battle of Khayrābād, in which Budāgh Khān (No. 52) was captured. The battle was lost, chiefly because Bāqī Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36), and Husayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) had personal grievances—their Uzbek hatred—against Muṣīzā l-Mulk and Rāja Todār Mal.

61. Muṣīzā l-Mulk-i Mūsawī of Mashhad.

He belongs to the Mūsawi Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to ʿAlī Mūsā Raẓā, the 8th Imām of the Shiʿahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called Rażānī.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaumpūr to punish Khān Zamān (No. 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahādur and Iskandar Khān Uzbek (No. 48) to the district of Saqwār. Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (vide No. 60) under Muṣīzā l-Mulk. Bahādur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants. M. M., however, desired war, and though he granted Bahādur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood. But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khān (No. 90) and Rāja Todār Mal to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahādur, if he was satisfied with his good intentions. But here also the rancour of the Khurāsānīs towards the Uzbaks decided matters, and Todār Mal only confirmed M. M. in his resolution. Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khān Zamān, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān (No. 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M. M. attacked Bahādur near Khayrābād. Muhammad Yār, son of Iskandar Khān’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 Bahādur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M. M.’s left wing and put it to flight. Not only was Budāgh Khān (No. 52) taken prisoner but many soldiers went over to Bahādur. Flushed with victory, he attacked the

1 Most MSS. have بی‌پروز. The Ehr. Bibl. Index of Balā, ed. p. 78, has سُمِّیہ. بی‌پروز; but again بی‌پروز on p. 88. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the Sar River (سَرَ) or (سَرَ).

2 Bādāmi says Todār Mal’s arrival was "made on Muṣīzā l-Mulk’s fire". Throughout his work, Bādāmi shows himself an admirer of Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur. With Muṣīzā l-Mulk a Shiʿah of the Shiʿahs, he has no patience. "Muṣīzā l-Mulk’s idma," he says, were "I and nobody else"; he behaved as proudly as Fīrānī and Shāhīd; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhad. Hence people say: "Akh-i Mashhad ba-jaz Imām-i shumā, LeCERT Radī has tambām-i shumā," "O peopel of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imām [Mūsā Raẓā], may God’s curse rest upon all of you. And also, "The surface of the earth rejoices in its inhabitants; how fortunate would it be, if a certain Mashhad vanished from the surface of the earth."
centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (vide No. 60). Todar Mal's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost.

After the conquest of Bihār, M. M. got the Pargana of Āra (Arrah) as jagir. In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihār under Maṣmūm-i Kābulī, tuyūlār of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mir ʿAlī Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaumpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, jāgīrār of Mānilpūr, to hasten to Jaumpūr and convey M. M. with all his suspicious adherents to Court. Asad Khān succeeded in catching M. M., and sent him by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat "foundered", and M. M. lost his life.

62. Mir ʿAlī 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 Ṭabaqāt with a Mawlūd-nāma, or History of the birth of the Emperor. It was in the handwriting of Qāzī Ghiyāsī ʿd-Dīn-i Jāmī, a man of learning, who had served under Humāyūn, and contained an account of the vision which Humāyūn had in the night Akbar was born. The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jalāl ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. This Mawlūd nāma Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mir ʿAlī Akbar with a pargana 1 as inām.

When his brother was sent to Bihār, M. ʿA. A. was ordered to accompany him. He established himself at Zamāniya, which "lies 6 kos from Ghāzi pūr (vide p. 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaumpūr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. ʿA. ʿAzīz (No. 21), who had been appointed to Bihār, to send M. ʿA. A. fettered to Court. Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for life.

63. Sharīf Khān, brother of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was born at Ghaznī. After Bayrām's fall, he held a tuyūl in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mir Muḥammad Khān (No. 16).

On the transfer of the Atga Khāyīl from the Panjāb, Sh. was appointed to the Sarkār of Qannawī. In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohīnī, he sent Sh., together with Qāzī Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144), Muḥājīd Khān, Subḥān Quli Turk, against the Rānā. He afterwards distinguished

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1 Called in the Maṣnūʿ (though it cannot be Nuddās in Bengal); in my copy of the Ṣawāk (سغاک) but Nadīnaḥ in Sambhāl appears to be meant.
himself in the conquest of Kōbhalmūr. In the 25th year, he was made atālīq to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālawah as Governor, Shujā'at Khān (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bāz Bahādur (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrāt. In the 28th year, he served against Muṣaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahroch, which was held for Muṣaffar by Chirkis-i Rūmī and Naṣīrā, brother of Muṣaffar’s wife. The former having been killed, Naṣīrā escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by Sharif, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihāb ud-Dīn (No. 26) to the Ğāhin, to assist Mirzā ȘAzīz (No. 21).

In the 35th year he went from Mālawah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ğaznūn, an appointment which he had long desired. There he remained till the 47th year, when Shāh Beg (No. 57) was sent there.

“Nothing else is known of him.” Maṭāṣīr.

His son, Bāz Bahādur (No. 188), held a jāḡīr in Gujrāt, and was transferred to Mālawah as related above. He served in the siege of Āṣīr, and in the Ahmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talungahs, but was released, when Abū ʿl-Faḍl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibrahim Khān-i Shaybānī (uncle of Khān Zamān, No. 13).

He served under Humāyūn. After the conquest of Hindūstān, Humāyūn sent him with Shāh Abū ʿl-Maʿāli to Lāhor, to oppose Sikandar Sūr, should he leave the Sāwālikas. After the fall of Māṅkot, he received the Pargana of Sarhpūr,1 near Jaunpūr, as jāḡīr, and remained with Khān Zamān. During Khān Zamān’s first rebellion, Ibrahim Khān and Khān Zamān’s mother repaired at Munṣim Khān’s request to Court as hostages of his loyalty. Ibrahim 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, Khān Zamān again rebelled, and Ibrahim went with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrahim, at Munṣim’s request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khān Khānān.

1 It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badā’i’ al-Jawāir II. 23, where Sarhpūr, which “lies 18 kos from Jaunpūr”, is mentioned as the jāḡīr of Abū ʿl-Rahmān, Sikandar Sūr’s son, who got it after the surrender of Māṅkot.
In the *Tabaqat*, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

His son, Ismā'il Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultan Ḥusayn Khān Jalāl-ir. Ismā'il opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.

65. Khwāja Jalāl-ud-Din Mahmūd Bujūq, of Khurāsān.

The MSS. of the *A* in have *Muhammad*, instead of *Mahmūd*, which other histories have, and have besides a word after *Muhammad* which reads like *bujūq* and *bujūq*. This should be no doubt *bujūq*, the *scriptio defectiva* of the Turkish *bujūq*, "having the nose cut," as given in the copy of the *Ma'āṣir*.

Jalāl-ud-Din was in the service of M. ʿAskari. He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmsir, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of Mir Sāmān, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction. On Humāyūn’s return from Persia, Jalāl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznī, the tughūl 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 Ghaznī. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munṣīm Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznī so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznī, when Munṣim called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munṣim imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced. Jalāl’s sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India. Before he reached the frontier, Munṣim’s men caught him and his son, Jalāl-ud-Din Masʿūd.1 Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munṣim.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munṣim’s character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he showed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

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1 He must not be confounded with the Jalāl-ud-Din Masʿūd mentioned in Tāzik, p. 67, who “ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother”.
66. Haydar Muhammad Khan, Akhta Begi.

He was an old servant of Humayun, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Balkh, Humayun's horse had been shot. On the march against Kâmrân, who had left Kâbul for Afghanistân, the imperialists came to the River Surkhâb, Haydar, with several other faithful Amirs, 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 Haydar 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 Ghâzi Khan Sûr, father of Ibrâhim Khan. After the siege had lasted some time, Haydar allowed Ghâzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghâzi. Humayun was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haydar do so again.

After Akbar's accession, II. was with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dihli, and fought under Khân Zamân (No. 13) against Hemû. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kâbul. At Mun'im's request he assisted Ghânî Khan (vide p. 333) in Kâbul. But they could not agree, and II. was called to India. He accompanied Mun'im in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kâbul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, II. served with Khân-i Kalân (No. 16) in Gujràt. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mirzâ Quli, attached to the Bengal Army, under Mun'im. Both died of fever, in 933, at Gaur (vide p. 407).

A son of II. is mentioned below (No. 326).

Mirzâ Quli, or Mirzâ Quli Khân, Haydar's brother, distinguished himself under Humayun during the expedition to Badakhshân. When Kâmrân, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humayun, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, Dost Muhammad, saved him in time.

According to the Tabaqât, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (umara-i kibâr), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the Akbarnâma. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abû 'l-Fazl in this list.

67. Ištîmâd Khân, of Gujràt.

He must not be confounded with No. 119.

Ištîmâd Khân was originally a Hindû servant of Sultan Mahmûd, king of Gujràt. He was "trusted" (Ištîmâl) 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 favour, and was at last made an Amīr. In 961, after a reign of 18 years, the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhān, who besides killed twelve nobles. İstīmād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sultan Māhmūd having died without issue, İst. raised Ražī’s I-Mulk, under the title of Ahmad Shāh, to the throne. Ražī was a son of Sultan Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadābād; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in İst.’s hands. Five years later the young king left Ahmadābād, and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhārā, a principal courtier; but İst. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sultan Ahmad then thought it better to return to İst., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and İst. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. İst. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (ناض) to the throne, “who did not belong to the line of kings”; but on introducing him to the grandees, İst. swore upon the Qur’ān that Nathū was a son of Sultan Māhmūd; his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sultan Māhmūd, to make her miscarry; but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amīrs had to believe the story, and Nathū was raised to the throne under the title of Sultan Muṣaffār.

This is the origin of Sultan Muṣaffār, who subsequently caused Akbar’s generals so much trouble (vide pp. 344, 354, 355).

İst. was thus again at the head of the government; but the Amīrs parcellled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was that incessant feuds broke out among them. İst. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khan, son of İstīmād’s I-Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sultan Muṣaffār, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mirzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, İst. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sultan, and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alīf Khan and Jhujhār Khan took Sultan Muṣaffār to him, went to Chingiz in Ahmadābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mirzās, seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahroch and Sūrat. The general confusion only increased, when Sultan Muṣaffār fled one day to Sher Khan Fūlādī and

1 Regarding this distinguished Gajratī noble, vide the biography of his grandson, S. Hamīd (No. 78).
2 Some MSS. read Nakhū.
his party, and Ist. retaliated by informing Sher Khān that Nathū was no prince at all. But Sher Khān’s party attributed this to Ist.’s malice, and besieged him in Ālmdādābād. Ist. then fled to the Mīrzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujṛāt.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khān’s party had broken up. The Mīrzās still held Bahűch; and Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who had left Sher Khān, fell into the hands of Akbar’s officers (vide No. 361). Istimād and other Gujṛātī 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. Baroda, Cham-pānir, and Sūrat were given to Ist. as tuzūl; the other Amīrs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mīrzās. But they delayed and did nothing; some of them, as Istimād’s ī-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Ist. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Ist. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shāh-bāz Khān (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, Ist. 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 Abū Turāb (vide p. 207) went to Makkah. On his return he received Patan as jāgūr.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihāb’s d-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gujṛāt, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered Ist.’s former inability to allay the factions in Gujṛāt. No sooner had Shihāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. Ist. did nothing, alleging that Shihāb was responsible for his men; but as Sulṭān Muẓaffar had been successful in Kāthiwar, Ist. left Aḥmadābād, and went to Shihāb, who on his way to Court had reached Kari, 20 kos from Aḥmadābād. Muẓaffar used the opportunity and took Aḥmadābād, Shihāb’s men joining his standard.

Shihāb and Ist. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujṛāt, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujṛātīs who had left Muẓaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. Ist. paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khān, against Sher Khān Fūlādī, who was repulsed. In the meantime, M. 'Abd’s r-Raḥīm (No. 29) arrived. Leaving Ist. at Patan, he marched with Shihāb against Muẓaffar.

Istimād died at Patan in 995. The Ṭabaqūt puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.
In Abu 'l-Fazl's opinion, Gujratis are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and Is'timâd was the very type of a Gujrâtî.

68. Pâyanda Khân, Muğhul, son of Hâjî Muḥammad Khân Kokî's brother.

Hâjî Muḥammad and Shâh Muḥammad, his brother, had been killed by Humâyûn for treason on his return from Persia. Hâjî Muḥammad was a man of great daring, and his value, when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor.

Pâyanda, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Munṣîm from Kâbul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khân (No. 19) to Mâlwa. In the 19th year, he accompanied Munṣîm to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwân Dâs against Rânâ Fartâb. In the Gujrât war, he commanded M. 5Abdî ʾr-Râhîm's (No. 29) karâval.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorâghât as jâgîr, whither he went.

This is all the Mu'âsir says regarding Pâyanda.

His full name was Muḥammad Pâyanda. He had a son Wali Beg who is mentioned below (No. 359).

From the Turuk, p. 144, we see that Pâyanda died in 1024 A.H., Jahângîr, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. Tur., p. 68.


He was a hostage in the hands of Sharâfî ʾd-Dîn Ḥusayn (No. 17; vide p. 339). After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar. He generally served with Mân Singh. In the 21st year, when Rânâ Fartâb of Maiwâr opposed the Imperialists, Jagannâth during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Râm Dâs, son of Jay Mal. In the 23rd year, he received a jâgîr in the Panjâb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mîrzâ Muḥammad Hakîm from invading the Panjâb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Rânâ. Later he accompanied Mîrzâ Yûsuf Khân (No. 35) to Kashmir. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murâd in Kâbul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mâlwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakhin, he left Murâd without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar's return from the Dakhin, J. met the emperor at Rantanbhûr, his jâgîr, and was then again sent to the Dakhin.

In the 1st year of Jahângîr, he served under Prince Parwiz against
the Râna, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusraw had been captured, called Parviz to Court (Tuzuk, p. 33). In the same year, J. suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p. 386) had raised at Nâgor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse.

Râm Chand, his son. He was under Jahângîr a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse.

Râja Mansûp, a son of Râm Chand. He accompanied Prince Shâhjahân on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2,000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Shâhjahân. He had a son Gopâl Singh.

70. Makhshîs Khan (younger), brother of Sa'id Khân (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multân. In the 23rd year, he served under Shâhbaz Khân (No. 80) against Gajpatî, and three years later he accompanied Prince Murâd to Kâbul, where he also served under Akbar, who had gone thither and pardoned his brother, M. Muḥammad Ḥâkîm. Subsequently, Makhshîs served under Prince Salîm. In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

He was alive in the beginning of Jahângîr's reign. The author of the Ma'âsîr has not recorded the date of his death.

He had a son Maqsûd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahângîr would not give him a manşab.

71. The author of the A'in, Abû 'l-Faḍl, son of Shaykh Mubârak of Nâgor.

Abû 'l-Faḍl's biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismâ'îl Khân Dâlîy.

Dâlîy, or Dâlîy, is the name of a subdivision of the Barîs clan (vide p. 364, note).

The Ma'âsîr calls him Ismâ'îl Quli Beg Dâlîy. A similar difference was observed in the name of Ḥusayn Qull Khân (No. 24), and we may conclude that Beg, at least in India, was considered a lower title than Khân, just as Beglar Begi was considered inferior to Khân Khânân.

Ismâ'îl Quli was a grandee of Bâbar and Humâyûn, distinguished in the field and in council. When Humâyûn besieged Qandahâr, and the grandees one after the other left M. 5Askari, Ism. also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahâr, Governor of Dâwar.

1 The Tuzuk, p. 74, calls him Karm Chand. Vide also Pâdiakhshâmâme, i, 6. 318.
When Kābul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwāja (vide p. 394, note) attacked Sher ʿAli, an officer of Mirzā Kāmrān, who at the prince’s order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (qāfiya-yiwilāyat) on its way to Chārikān; 1 but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ʿAli could not reach Kābul, and marched towards Ghaznīn, when he was overtaken and defeated. Ism. and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humāyūn. A short time after, Ism. and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qarācha Khān, and followed Mirzā Kāmrān to Badakhshān. Humāyūn followed them up and caught them together with Kāmrān, Ism. among them. Ism. was, however, pardoned at Munṣim’s request. Ism. accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Dīhli together with Shāh Abū ʿl-Maṣūlī to Lāhor.

"Nothing else is known of him." Maṣāṣir.

73. Mir Babū (?), the ʾIḫur (Uighur ?).
The ʾIḫurs are a well-known Chaghātāi tribe. The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS. has a different lectio; vide my Text edition, p. 224, note 6. The Maṣāṣir has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Ṭabaqāt.

74. Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī, Muḥammad Asgār of Sabzwār (?).
He was a Ĥusaynī Sayyid of Mashhad (Maṣāṣir, Mirʿāt ʿl-ʿĀlam), The author of the Ṭabaqāt says, he belonged to the ʾArabshāhī Sayyids; "but people rarely make such fine distinctions." Abū ʿl-Faqrī says, he was of Sabzwār; but in the opinion of the Maṣāṣir, this is an error of the copyists.

Ashraf Khān was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the Taṣliq and Natashaq character (pp. 107-8). He also understood jafar, or witchcraft. 2

Ashraf was in Humāyūn’s service, and had received from him the post and title of Mir Munshī. After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mir ʿAṣrā and Mir Mal. At Akbar’s accession, he was in Dīhli, and took part in the battle with Hemū (p. 394, No. 48). He was imprisoned by Bayrām, but escaped and went to Makkah. He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Māḥshīwārā on his way to the Siwaliks where Bayrām

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1 So the Maṣāṣir. Our maps have Charikar (lat. 35°, long. 69), which lies north of Kābul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Isfāhān (الصفح), or ʿAštāb, lies half-way between Kābul and Charikar. [Dawson, v., 295, has Charikhān.—B.]

2 Jafīr divination, etc.—P.
was. He was well received and got a manṣab. In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Malwa, he bestowed upon him the title of Ashraf Khan.

In the 19th year, he went with Munṣim to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takarol, and died in the twentieth year (833) at Gaur (vide p. 407).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.

His son, Mir Abū ʾl-Muẓaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf’s grandsons, Husayn and Burhān held inferior commands under Shāhjahān.

75. Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha (Kundliwāl).

“Sayyid Mahmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Timúrids.” He was with Sikandar Sūr (Badāʾiṣ II, 18) in Mānkot, but seeing that the cause of the Afghāns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar. He was a friend of Bayram, and served in the first year under ʿAlī Quli Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Henn. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hāji Khān in Ajmīr (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shāh Quli Mahram (No. 45) Fort Jaītāran, and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadauriyahs of Hatkānth (vide p. 341, l. 8).

After Bayram’s fall, Sayyid Mahmūd got a jājīr near Dīhil. In the 7th year, he brought Munṣim Khān to Court (vide p. 333). In the 17th year, he served under the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and the emperor in Gujrat, was present in the battle of Sarnāl, and followed up Mirzā Ibrāhīm Husayn. On every occasion he fought with much bravery. Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Bārha, and Sayyid Muḥammad of Amroha (No. 140) against Rājā Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyār. S. Mahmūd drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Mahmūd 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 favour with the emperor. Once on his return from the war with Madhukar he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition, in which his

1 The Mīrzā says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the Mīrzā’s.

2 The best MSS. have ʿAlī Quli. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmīr over Pālī to Jāhār.
"I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amīrs. "You have gained the victory," interrupted Āsaf Khān, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty’s good fortune (iqbāl-i pādishāhī) accompanied you." Mistaking the word "Iqbal" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Mahmūd, "Iqbal-i Pādishāhī 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 favours.

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amīrs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood. Jahāngīr (Tuzuk, p. 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bārha family to be Sayyids. Once Mahmūd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Bārha traced their descent. Accidentally, a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Mahmūd 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-slippers showed, indeed, no trace of being singed."

For Sayyid Mahmūd’s brother and sons, *vide* Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

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**Note on the Sayyids of Bārha (Sādāt-i Bārha).**

In MSS. we find the spelling بَرَحَا, bārha, and بَرَح, barāh. The lexicographer Bahār-i Ājam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled Jawāhirull-Hurūf, says that the names of Indian towns ending in a form adjectives in تَتَّوًى, Thatha, forms an adjective تنوي تَتَّوًى: but of بَرَحَا no adjective is formed, and you say سَدَاذِت-بَرَحَا instead of سَدَاذَت-بَرَحَا.

The name Bārha has been differently explained. Whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral bārah, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahāngīr; for both the Tabaqāt and the Tuzuk derive the name from 12 villages in the Dušāb (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrām, the Bārha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abū l-Farah of Wasīt; but their nasabmāna, or genealogical tree, was sneered at, and even Jahāngīr, in the above-quoted passage from the Tuzuk, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bārha—but

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1. "From him are descended the most renowned Muslim families in Northern India, the Bārha and Bilgrām Sayyids, and in Khyrābhād, Fattāhpore Husainābād, and the other places, branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Oude*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 93.
nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they
chung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed
the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul
emperors, as Sayyid Khān Jahān (Sayyid Abū 'I-Muẓaffar) and several
others.

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their
bravery and valour had become a by-word. Their place in battle was the
van (harāmā); 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 Hindūstānis
(vide p. 336). Their military fame completely threw to the background
the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohāh, of Mānikpūr, the Khānzādas
of Mewāt, and even families of royal blood as the Safawīs.

The Sayyids of Bāhrā are divided into four branches, whose names are
The chief town of the first branch was Jānsāth; of the second,
Sambalhāra; of the third, Majhāra; of the fourth, Biḍaulī on the
Jamma. Of these four lines Muhammadān Hīstorians, perhaps
accidentally, only mention two, viz., the Kāndīvīlī (کندیولی) to which
Sayyid Māhmuḍ (No. 75) belonged; and the Tihānpūrī (تپنوری), of
which Sayyid Khān Jahān was a member.

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids
of Bāhrā before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of
some importance under the Sūrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Māhmuḍ
in Akbar’s camp (p. 424) is recorded by all historians as an event of
importance. He and other Sayyids, were moreover, at once appointed to
high mānsābts. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered
to Humāyūn; but this is at variance with Abū 'I-Faẓl’s statement that
Sayyid Māhmuḍ was the first that served under a Timurid.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of
Muḥammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid
ṢAbdullāh Khān and Sayyid Husayn ṢAli Khān, in whom the family
reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between
the rustic and loyal Sayyid Māhmuḍ and Akbar, and the above two

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the Glossary read Sayyid Māhmuḍ twice for Sayyid Muḥammad; Sayyid ṢAli Aẓhār
for Sayyid ṢAli Aẓf Dīlār Khān for Debn Khān. Instead of Chatbanūrī (or Chatraūrī),
which Mr. R. J. Lecce, C.S., gives in his valuable Report on the Castes and Races of the
Masaffarangar District (Glossary, p. 297 fl.), Sir H. Elliot has Chatraūrī.
brothers, who made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three.\footnote{They made Farrukh Siyar, Rabi'\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Darnajat, Rabi'\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Dawla and Muhammad Shāh emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahānār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes Agaz\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Dīn, ɪṢ̄All Tabār, and Humāyūn Bahlī.}

The Sayyids of Bārha are even nowadays numerous and "form the characteristic element in the population of the Muqaffarnagar district." (Leeds' Report).

Abū 'l-Fażl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, \textit{viz.}:
1. Sayyid Māhmūd (No. 75).
2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother (No. 91).
3. Sayyid Qāsim (No. 105).
4. Sayyid Hāshim (No. 143).
5. Sayyid Rājū (No. 165).
6. Sayyid Jamāl\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Dīn (No. 217), son of 2.
7. Sayyid Chajhū (No. 221).

The Akbar-nāma mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamāl\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Dīn, a grandson of S. Māhmūd (\textit{vide} under 91); S. Sālim; S. Fāth Khān (Bad. II. 180); etc.

The following trees are compiled from the \textit{Tuzuk, Pādisnāma}, and \textit{Moṣāṣir}.

(a) Sayyid Māhmūd of Bārha, Kāndilīwāl.

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. S. Qāsim (No. 105).
\item 2. S. Hāshim (No. 143).
\item 3. S. Ṣālih Asghar (No. 403).
\item 4. Sayyid Jahāngīr Sayf Khān (Bad. I. 1025).
\item 5. S. Jamāl\textsuperscript{a} 'd-Dīn (No. 217).
\item 6. S. Nūr\textsuperscript{a} 'I. S. Ṣaফar Shujā'at Khān, ɪṢ̄All Bārha, (Bad. II. 735).
\item 7. S. Nājahat (Bad. II. 749).
\item 8. S. Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ Khān, ɪṢ̄All ɪṢ̄All Bārha.
\item 9. S. ɪṢ̄All Bārha, (Bad. II. 749).
\end{itemize}

(b) Sayyid Dilr Khān (Ṣāḥib \textit{I-Wahhāb}), ɪṢ̄All Bārha.

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. S. Ḥasan, ɪṢ̄All Bārha, (Bad. I. 8. 322).
\item 2. S. Ḥaṭ̄h All, ɪṢ̄All Bārha, (Bad. I. 8. 322).
\end{itemize}

(c) Sayyid Ḥaṭ̄h Khān, ɪṢ̄All Bārha, (Bad. II. 1047).

S. Zabārdast.
Sayyid Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī, Tīhanpūrī
(also Ș. Ș. Ș. Abdū 1-Muṣaffar Khān), d. 1006.


The Pūdīshahīnāma (I, b. 312, 319; II, p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mākhan, d. 9th year of Shāhjahān; S. Sīkhan; S. Ș. Abdū 1-lāh; S. Muḥammad, son of S. Afgal; S. Khādīm; S. Sālār; S. Shīhāb.

Sayyid Qasim, Shahāmat Khān [Chātraurī] (was alive in the 24th year of Awarangīb).

S. Ṣāḥīb Yār Khān (under Muhammad Shāh).

Sayyīd Ḥusayn Khān, d. 1129.

1. S. Abū Saʿīd Khān. 2. Ṣibayr Khān. 3. Ḥasan Khān.

Sayyid Ș. Ș. Abdū 1-lāh Khān [Tīhanpūrī],
alās Sayyīd Miγān (under Shāh Ș. Ṣāḥīb 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 Sūdāt-i Bārha, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves. As Mr. Leeds has submitted together with his Report "a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids," the following extracts from the Urdu MSS. will suffice.

The date of the arrival in India of the above-mentioned Abū Ș. Faṣal from Wāṣṭ is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Īltītimiş (Altamash), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulāgū’s invasion of Bāḥdād and the overthrow of the empire of the Khǎlĭfàs; while the sons of Abū Ș. Faṣal are said to have been in the service of Shīhāb Ș. d-Dīn Gōrī—two palpable anachronisms.

Abū Ș. Faṣal 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 Dāʿūd, who settled in the maγqa[ṣ of Tīhanpūr.
2. Sayyid Abū Ș. Faṣal, who settled in the qaṣba of Chkhtānūrā.
3. Sayyid Abū 'l-Fażāsil, who settled in the mauza\(^5\) of Kūndli.
4. Sayyid Najm\(^6\) 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, who settled in the mauza\(^5\) of Jhujar.

These four places are said to lie near Patiyālā in the Panjāb, and have given rise to the names of the four branches. Instead of Chhatbanūri, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also Chhattaurāi, or Jagnērī \(\text{جہنوری} \), instead of Jujārī \(\text{جہنوری} \), although no explanation is given of these alterations.

From Patiyālā the four brothers went to the Du,āb between the Ganges and Jamna, from where a branch was established at Bilgrām in Audh.

The etymology of bārha is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from bāhir, outside, because the Sayyids encamped outside the imperial camp; some from bārah imām, the twelve Imāms of the Shi'a faith, as the Sayyids were Shi'a; some derive it from twelve (bārah) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Talēsil Anūpshahr, is said to contain a bārha of Pathāns, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Pathān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic abrār,\(^1\) pious.

The descendants of S. Dāsid settled at Dhaṣāri; and form the Tikhaŋ-pūris branch, those of S. Abū 'l-Fażl at Sambalhara, and form the Chatbanūri or Chhataurāi branch; those of S. Abū 'l-Fażāsil went to Majhara, and are the Kūndliwāls; and those of S. Najm\(^6\) 'd-Dīn occupied Bidauli, and form the Jujārī, or Jagnērī branch.

A. The Tikhaŋ-pūris.

The eighth descendant of S. Dāsid was S. Khān Qir. (؟)\(^2\)

He had four sons:

1. Sayyid 'Umar Shahīd, who settled in Jānsath, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmins. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 428 (g).

The occurrence of the name 'Umar shows that he, at any rate, was no Shi'ah.

2. Sayyid Chaman, who settled at Chatora (چنوره), in the Pargana of Joli-Jānsath. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign

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\(^1\) Plural.—P.

\(^2\) The word Qir occurs also in the lists of Pathān nobles in the Tuṣi'īg-i Ferangīkā. The title of guček, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later ġorēg, the officer in charge of the qir (p. 116). But the name Khān Qir is perhaps wrong; the MSS. call him Khān Qir or Khān Qir (؟).
of Shāhjahān is said to have founded Kharwa Jalālpūr in the ʿIlāqa of Sirdhana, district Mirath. His son S. Shams left the imperial service; hence the family declined. He had two sons, Asad ʿAli and ʿAli Aṣghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatora and Jalālpūr respectively. They are very poor, and sold in 1843–44 the bricks of the ruined family dwelling, in Chatora for Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation. The buildings in Chatora are ascribed to S. Muḥammad ʿAlā Khan, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. Sayyid Humād (122). He settled at Bihārī, Muṣaffarnagar. He had six sons:

I. Sayyid Qub, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspūr in the Muṣaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids.

II. S. Sultān, whose descendants hold Sirdhāoli. 3

III. S. Yūsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS. reads ʿDubalsā).

IV and V. S. Jān and S. Mān, had no offspring.

VI. S. Naṣīr ʿd-Dīn. To his descendants belongs S. Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī, p. 428 (d). On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family. His first son, S. Manṣūr, built Manṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Manṣūrpūr and Khatauli; his second son Muṣaffar Khān [Sher Zamān] built Muṣaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. Sayyid Ahmad. He settled at ʿAqāl in Jolī-Jānsath, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tātār Khān, and Diwān Yār, Muḥammad Khān as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangaib.

B. The Chhatbanūrī, or Chhātraṇī, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abū ʿl-Faṣl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhr ʿd-Dīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalhara, the rājas of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Nadhah, is said to have had four sons:

I. Sayyid ʿAli.

II. Sayyid Ahmad, a descendant of whom, S. Rawshah ʿAli Khān, served under Muḥammad Shāh.

1 The Pāhishāhāna, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams.
2 A S. Jalāl is mentioned Tas., p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the flesh at Bhiroyvāl (vide No. 99).
3 [Sandhā,oli 1—P.]
III. S. Taj's ʿd-Dīn, whose son, S. ʿUmar settled at Kakrauli.

IV. S. Sādūr [(perhaps the same on p. 428d, last line of) who had two sons S. Ḥaydar Khān, and S. Muḥammad Khān. The descendants of the former settled at Mirānpūr, which was founded by Nawab S. Shahāmat Khān, evidently the same as on p. 428. S. Muḥammad Khān settled at Khatora ("a village so called, because it was at first inhabited by Kā,iths"). Among his descendants are S. Nuṣrat Yār Khān (p. 428) and Rukn ʿd-Dawla.

C. The Kūndliwāls.

S. Abū ʿl-Faṣāil settled at Majhara, which is said to have been so called because the site was formerly a jungle of mūnj grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are mafqūd khabar, i.e. it is not known what became of them. The Kūndliwāls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhara being altogether deplorable.

The Kūndliwāls are now scattered over Majhara, Hāshimpūr, Tisang, Tandera, etc.

D. The Jagnerīs.

The son of S. Najm ʿd-Dīn, S. Qamar ʿd-Dīn, settled at Bīdaulī. A descendant of his, S. Fakhr ʿd-Dīn, left Bīdaulī and settled at Joll Jānsath, and had also zamindāris in Chandaurī Chandaura, Tulsīpūr, and Khari. Nowadays many of this branch are in Bīdaulī, Ilāqā Pānīpat, and Dīhli.

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bārha still exist are Mirānpūr, Khatauli, Mūsafarnagar, Joll, Tis-ha, Bakhera, Majhara, Chataura, Sambalhara, Tisang, Bīlāspūr, Morna, Sandhā, olī, Kailā, odha, Jānsath.

[1] On maps Munjerāh.—B.
[2] As this place is said to have been founded by Hisbūr Khān [p. 427 (c)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kūndliwāl. His brother, S. ʿAbām perished with Prince Shujāʿ in Arracan; and it is noticeable that of the 22 companions of the unfortunate prince, ten were Bārha Sayyids, the remaining twelve being Maguls.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urdu MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sūlī的意义 Bārha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India now so accessible—and compiled from inscriptions and annals and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kūndliwāls, who are the very opposite of Mafqūd ʿl-khabar.
After the overthrow of the Tihanpūrī brothers (p. 428, (g)), many emigrated. Sayyids of Bārha exist also in Lakhna, Bareli, Āwla, in Aush; also in Nagīna, Maiman, and Chāndpūr in the Bijnūr district. A branch of the Jōl Sayyids is said to exist in Pārnīa (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint ʿAbdullāh Kirmānī of Bīrībūm claim likewise to be related to the Bārha Sayyids.

During the reign of Awrangzīb, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunnī tendencies.

The political overthrow of the Sādāt-i Bārha under Muḥammad Shāh (vide Elphinston, Vth edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhamīnī (بہمینی), which lies on the Khātūlī road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors, during their palmy days, had collected.

76. ʿAbdullāh Ilāh Khān Mughul

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the Muṣāger or the Tabaqāt. He has been mentioned above, p. 322, i. 10. Akbar's marriage with his daughter displeased Bayrām, because ʿAbdullāh Ilāh's sister was married to Kārān, of whose party Bayrām believed him to be. When Bayrām, during his rebellion (p. 332) marched from Dīpālpūr to Jālīndhār, he passed over Tāhārā, where Abdullāh Ilāh defeated a party of his friends under Wāli Bāgh (No. 24).

ʿAbdullāh Ilāh Khān Mughul must not be confounded with ʿAbdullāh Ilāh Khān Uzbāk (No. 14).

77. Shaykh Muḥammad-i Būḵārī.

He was a distinguished Hindūstānī Sayyid, and maternal uncle (tughrār (†)) to Shaykh Farīd-i Būḵārī (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattā Khāṣa Khayl Afgān handed over the Fort of Chanār to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a tughrāl in Ajmūr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaykh Muṣīn-i Chishti's tomb, as the khādīmīs were generally at feud about the emoluments 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, Shaykh M. was attached to the corps under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmadābād. After the Emperor's victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā joined Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and ʿĀqīl Mīrzā, at Patān (Gujjāt); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Āgra. The other
three Mirzās remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fūlādī party (vide No. 67). Mirzā ṢAzīz had been reinforced by the Mālwa contingent under Quṭbudd Din (No. 28), Shāh Budāgh (No. 52), and Matlab Khān (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykh M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqa to Sūrat. Mirzā ṢAzīz Koka left Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78) in Ahmadābād, and moved against the Mirzās in Patan. The Mirzās and Sher Khān Fūlādī, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khān sent proposals of peace through Shaykh M. to M. ṢAzīz. Shāh Budāgh advised M. ṢAzīz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and ṢAzīz drew up his army. He himself, Shāh Budāgh, Muṣīnudd Din-i Faranqhūdī (No. 123), Māṣūm Khān and his son, and Matlab Khān (No. 83) stood in the centre (qāl); Quṭbudd Din (No. 28), and Jamāludd Din Injū (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaykh Muḥammad, Murād Khān (No. 54), Shāh Muḥammad (No. 95), Shāh Fakhrudd Din (No. 88), Ṭuḥafār Muḥgul, Pāyanda (No. 48), Ḥāj Khān Afghān, and the son of Khwāja Khān, on the left wing; Dastam Khān (No. 79), Nawrang Khān (vide p. 354), Muḥammad Qulī Toqbal (No. 129), and Mihr ‘Alī Sīlīsī (No. 130), led the van (harāwal); Bāz Bāḥūdar (No. 188) occupied the Altimāsh (between the van and the commander); and Mirzā Muṣīn and Chirghis Khān formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junayd-i Kararānī; the right wing by the three Mirzās; the left wing by Muḥammad Khān (Sher Khān’s eldest son) and Sādāt Khān; and their van was led by Bādri Khān, younger son of Sher Khān. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramazān, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mirzās. Murād Khān (No. 54) preferred to look on. Shāh Muḥammad (No. 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadābād. Shaykh Muḥammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bāḥīr Sadd Din, and Sayyid Jaśfar, brother of Shaykh Farīd (No. 99). The Mirzās also fell upon Shāh Fakhrudd Din and repulsed him. Quṭbudd Din even was hard pressed, when M. ṢAzīz 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 Khān fled to Jūnāgadh, and the Mirzās to the Dakhin.

78. Sayyid Ḥamīd-i Buḥārī.

Sayyid Ḥamīd was the son of S. Mīrān, son of S. Mubārīk. Sayyid Mubārīk was a Gujrātī Courtier (vide p. 419, note) who, it is said, arrived
from Bukharā 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 Gujrat swore by S. Mubārak’s arrow. He gradually rose to higher dignities. When Iṣtimād Khān (No. 67) raised Nathū to the throne, under the title of Muzaffar Shāh, S. Mubārak got several Mahalls of the Patan, Dholqa, and Dandoqa (W. of the Peninsula) Districts. After his death, Dholqa and Dandoqa were given to his son Sayyid Mirān, and after him to his grandson Sayyid Ḥāmīd.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrat, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Ḥāmīd went over to him, and was favourably received. During the war of Mirzā Āzīr Koka with the Mirzās (vade No. 77), S. Ḥ. was put in charge of Aḥmadābād. In the 18th year, Dholqa and Dandoqa were again given him as tūγūl. Subsequently, he served under Qutb-ud-Dīn in Kambāhā. In the 22nd year, he was appointed to Multān, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yūsuf Khān-i-Rayawi (No. 35), against the Balkhān. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammad Ḥakim invaded Lāhor, S. Ḥ. with the other tūγūdaras of the Panjāb assembled and joined the army of Prince Murād, S. Ḥ. commanding the left wing. He also served under Akbar in Kābul. On the Emperor’s return he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his jāgīr.

In the 30th year he served under Mān Singh in Kābul. On his arrival at Peshāwar, his jāgīr, S. Ḥ. sent most of his men to Hindūstān, and lived securely in Bīrām (on our Maps, Bēghram), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Mūsā. This man oppressed the Mahmand and Ghūrbah (?) Khayl tribes, “who have ten thousand homes near Peshāwar.” The oppressed Afghāns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalālá-yi Tārīk as leader, and attacked S. Ḥ. He first resolved to shut himself up in Bīrām; but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies, he left the town, and was defeated and killed (31st year). The Ma‘āzir says he was killed in 993. In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghāns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamāl, son of S. Ḥ. He held it till he was relieved.

S. Kamāl, during Akbar’s reign, was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred, and, on the accession of Jahāngīr, to a Hazārāship. He was made Governor of Dīlī, vice Shaykh Ābdul-Wāḥhāb, also a Bukhārī Sayyid (Tuz. p. 35, l. 8 from below). Kamāl served under Farid-i Bukhārī (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrāw, and commanded
the left wing in the fight near Bhairowal, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Barha; as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Yaqub, son of S. Kamal, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse, and died in the third year of Shahjahans reign. The Ma'asir says, in the 2nd year.

The two lists of Shahjahans grandees given in the Padishahnamah (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hamid, of the name of Sayyid Baqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse.

79. Dastam Khan, son of Rustam-i Turkistan.

The correct name of this grandee is Dastam, a very unusual name though most MSS. of the Akbarnama and many of the Akbarnama give Rustam. The Ma'asir 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 Ma'asir and Akbarnama, which I have seen, either Najiba or Bakhsa—was a friend of Mahum Anaga (vide No. 19) and had free access to the Harem. Dastam appears to have been a play-
fellow of Prince Akbar.

Dastam Khan in the 9th year, served under Muizz 'I-Mulk (No. 61) against 5'Abdi 'Ihah Khan Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year he served under Mirza 5'Aziz Koka in the battle of Patan (vide No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirza, and got a flag. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the Sahba of Ajmir, and got Rantabhur as tayyil. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year Uchla, son of Balbhadr, and Mohan, Surt Dasa, Tilkasi, sons of Raja Bihari Mal's brother, came without permission from the Panjab to Luni (I), their native town, and caused disturbances. Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwas, advised them to return to obedience; but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious. Akbar then ordered D. to have recourse to threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them. D. had at last to do so; but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops. In the fight, the three nephews of the Raja were killed. Dastam received a

1 The geographical details given in the Akbarnama are unsatisfactory.
2 5'Abdi 'I-Fazl mentions the Qasba (small town) of Luni (I) as the birth-place of the Kachhwa rebel; the fight, he says, took place in a village (m claws) of the name of Tora, and Dastam died at Sargar, which is also called a Qasba. But the Akbarnama leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The Tora and, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khan was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantabhir. The only places near Rantabhir which resemble the above three are Bumlee, Tokra, and Sargar, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpur Territory for 1886. The road from Sargar (about 4 miles S.E. of Rantabhir) to Bumlee is bisected
wound from Uchhā, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchhā, 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).

Dustam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpūr. 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 Ma’āṣir says he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanbhūr was then given to Mirzā 'Abdurrahim (No. 29) as jagir.

A son of Dustam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. Shāḥbāz Khān-i Kambū.

Regarding the tribe called Kambū, vide Beames' Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, I, 304. The Persian hemistic quoted (Metre Haraq):—

[Arabic text]

"The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīrs the third, set of scoundrels."

must be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngiir, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now.

The sixth ancestor of Shāḥbāz was Ḥāji Ismā'īl, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahā'īs d-Din Zakariyā of Multān. Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an ashrāfi, or gold muhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention; but as Bahā'īs d-Din could not pay the money, Ḥāji Ismā'īl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafi for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned. Another time, Ḥāji Isma'īl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambūs are proverbial in Hindūstān for sagacity and quickness of apprehension.

Shāḥbāz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done; but the excellent way in which he performed

by the Banas River. Rantanbhūr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chamal and the Banas, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N.W. of it. There are two villages of the names of Tahās, one about 3 miles S.W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banas. Bounlee, or Baīl, would be بیل, or بیل, which will be found below as the head of a Pargana in Sarkār Rantanbhūr, and the change of بیل to بیل is very simple. The greatest differences lies in Sherpūr and Shergāh.

The Akbariins says the fight took place on the 10th Abin of the 25th year.
the duties of kotwal, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amir and appointed Mir Toozak (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khan (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mir Bahshah. In the 21st year he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpur, especially against Kallah, son of Ray Ram, and grandson of Ray Maldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwana. Shabbaz first took Fort Daigur (1), where a large number of Rathi rebels were killed; after this he took Dunaara, from where he passed on to Siwana, which on his arrival capitulated (934).

In the same year, Shabbaz was sent against Raja Gajpati. This Raja was the greatest Zamindar in Bihar, and had rendered good services during Munim's expedition to Bengal. But when Dowd, king of Orissa, invaded Bengal after Munim's death at Gaur in 983, Gajpati rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihar. Farhat Khan (No. 145) tuyuldar of Ara, his son Farhang Khan, and Qaratq Khan, opposed the Raja, but perished in the fight. When Shabbaz approached, Gajpati fled; but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespur, where the whole family of the Raja was captured. Sh. then conquered Shergadh, which was held by Sri Ram, Gajpati's son. About the same time, Sh. took possession of Rahtas. Its Afghan commander, Sayyid Ujhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Jumaydi Karanai, had been hard pressed by Muzaftar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shabbaz, 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 Rana Partab, and besieged the renowned Fort of Kobhalmir (called on our maps Komalnair, on the frontier between Udaipur and Jodhpur, lat. 25° 10'). The Rana, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a Samnaari when the fort was taken. Goganda and Udaipur submitted likewise. Sh. erected no less than 50 thanas in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipur to Fur Mandail. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Daud, son of Ray Surjan Hada (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmir, where disturbances frequently occurred.

1 The MSS. have کوثول, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S.W. of Jodhpur, near which it must lie. Dunaara (most MSS. have دوئار) lies on the right bank of the Lund, S.W. of Jodhpur. Here Shabbaz crossed (Gubhar) and went to Siwana, which lies N.W. S. of Dunaara, about 10 miles from the left bank of the Lund.

2 So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him Gajt, the Lakhmanf Akbarnama (III, 140) Kaj, and the Edin. Bibi, Indias, of Barl., Onl., Kochill (p. 179, 284, 285) and Kajîl (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lakhman edition of the Akbarnama.
When the military revolt of Bengal broke out, Sh. was ordered to go to Bihār; but he did not agree with M. ʿAzīz Koka—for Sh. could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated ʿArab Bahādūr, and marched to Jagdespur. At that time the report reached him that Maṣūm Khān Faranghūdī (No. 157) had rebelled, and ʿArab Bahādūr and Niyābat Khān had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sultānpūr Bhīkārī, 25 kos from Awadh (Fayzābād). Maṣūm, by a timely centre-attack, put Sh. to flight, and followed him up, Sh. fighting all the way to Jaumāpūr, a distance of 30 kos. Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemy that Maṣūm had been killed, which caused some disorder. At this moment, Sh.'s right wing attacked the enemy, Maṣūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Fayzābād). Sh. now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him. Maṣūm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed.

After this, Sh. again went 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 Bakhshis had placed the young Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) above him, he gave vent openly to his anger, was arrested, and put under the charge of Rāy Sāl Darbarī (No. 106).

But an officer of Sh.'s usefulness could ill be spared, and when M. ʿAzīz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh. with other Amirs was sent there. He followed up Maṣūm Khān Kābulī to Ghorāghāt, and defeated him. He then followed him to Bhāṭī (p. 365), plundered Baktārīpūr, the residence of ʿIsā, took Sunnārgāw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. ʿIsā afforded Maṣūm means and shelter; but being hard pressed by the imperialists, he made proposals of peace: an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgāw; Maṣūm 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 enemy did nothing; and when Sh. prepared to return, his officers showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Tānda, all advantage being thus lost. He reported matters to Court, and the tūyādārs of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Maṣūm. In the 30th year, he and Šādiq Khān (cide No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhāṭī, and even sent a detachment to Kokra (حکرا), which lies between Orīsā and the Dakhin. Mādān Singh, the Zamindār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Sāṭīd (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 Kotswal of the army. He was then sent against the Afghans of Sâwâd; but he left his duties without orders, and was again imprisoned.

After two years he was released, was made atâliq to M. Sâhârulkh, who had been appointed to Mâlwa, and was on his way to Prince Murâd in the Dakhin. During the siege of Aâmâdnagar, the inhabitants of Shahr-i Naw, "which is called Burhânâbâd," asked the Imperialists for protection; but as they were mostly Shîâs, Sh., in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called Langar-i-Durâdzda Imâm, 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 Sâdîq Khân (No. 43) was appointed his atâliq, Sh. left without permission for Mâlwa. Akbar gave his jâgîr to Sâhârulkh, and transferred Sâhâbâz.

In the 43rd year Sh. was sent to Ajmîr as Commander of the mangâl of Prince Salîm (Jahângîr), whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilâhâbâd against the Râna. But Sh. was now about 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 Ajmîr another attack; he rallied again, but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008). Salîm took quickly possession of Sh.'s treasures, went back to Ilâhâbâd, without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Sâhâbâz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmîr within the hallowed enclosure of Mu'âin-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 Sâhâbâz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Sâhâbâz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth. His opposition to Akbar's "Divine Faith" had been mentioned above (p. 197). He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word murîd (disciple) on his signet. His Sunûni 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 a rosary in his hand. One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fatehpûr and seized Sâhâbâz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the sagg, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun,
not to miss the proper time. Ḥakim Abū 'l-Fath (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Ḥakim ʿAlī who stood near him, "I shall indeed call Shāhīzā 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 vīrā (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, "Get up!" Abū 'l-Faḍl stepped up and interested for Shāhīzā, whose persistency he admired.

Abū 'l-Fath says that Shāhīzā 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 Pāras stone (vide Book III, Ṣāba of Mālwa). His military contingent was always complete and in good order; during his fights near the Brahmaputru he had 9,000 horses. Every Thursday evening he distributed 100 Ashrafīs to the memory of the renowned Ghauz al-Qādu-i Ġilānī. To the Kambūs he gave so much, that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mir Bakhshī he introduced the Dīgh law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (vide pp. 252, 265, 266).

Shāhīzā's brother, Karāmā Ilāh, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Suronj (Maṭāṣir). The Maṭāṣir mentions a son of Shāhīzā, Ilām Ilāh. He was Wāqiṣa-nawīs (p. 268) of the Sarkar of Baglana, where he died.

The Tuzuk (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbār Khān, who during the reign of Shāhjahān was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horses. He was, in the 13th year, Bakhshī and Wāqiṣa-nawīs of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign.1

31. Darwish Muḥammad Uzbak.

The Maṭāṣir says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Tabaqāt merely say that he was dead in 1001.

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1 Ranbār Khān is wrongly called Niẓām Khān in the Ed. Bibli. Indica of the Pālishāh, I. b., p. 314; but in II. p. 740, of the same work, Ranbār Khān as in the Tuzuk.

Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, p. 159, says that Ranbār's name was Shāhīzā Ilāh; but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should, perhaps, be Ḥabīb Ilāh.

In the list of Akbar's grandees in the Tabaqāt, Niẓām says, "At present (in 1001) Shāhīzā is Mīr Bakhshī of Mālwa."
From the Akbarname (Lucknow edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayram. He was sent by Bayram together with Muqaffar 'Ali (No. 37, and p. 332, l. 6) to Sher Muhammad Divana, who dispatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the Akbarname (Lucknow edition, II, p. 250 —where for Darwish Uzbak Khwaja, read Darwish Uzbak o Muqaffar Khwaja). From the fact that Abu 'l-Fazl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayram's submission.

82. Shaykh Ibrahîm, son of Shaykh Mūsâ, elder brother of Shaykh Salûm of Fatehpūr Sikki.

His father, Shaykh Mūsâ, lived a retired life in Sikki. As Akbar had no children, he asked the Sikki Shaykhs to pray for him, which they did; and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salûm), Akbar looked upon the Shaykhs with particular favour. To this lucky circumstance, the Sikki family owes its elevation.

Shaykh Ibrahîm lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes. In the 22nd year he was made Thânahdār of Lâdlâ, and suppressed the disturbances. In the 23rd year he was made Governor of Fatehpûr Sikki. In the 28th year he served with distinction under M. Aziz Koka (No. 21) in Bihâr and Bengal, and was with Vazîr Khân (No. 41) in his expedition against Qutlû of Orisâ. When Akbar, in the 30th year, went to Kâbul, he was made Governor of Agra, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year).

According to the Tabaqût, he was not only the brother but also the son-in-law of Shaykh Salûm-i Sikriwâl.

83. Abû 'l-Matlab Khân, son of Shâh Budâgî Khân (No. 52).

The Mâşâir makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

Abû 'l-Matlab accompanied Shâraf 'd-Dîn Husayn (No. 17) on his expedition to Mirtha. In the 10th year he served together with his father under Mû'izz 'l-Mulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahâdur Khân, and fled from the battlefield of Khayrâbâd. In the 12th year he served under Muhammad Quîlî Khân Bar-la (No. 31) against Iskandar Khân in Audh. He then retired to his tagûl in Mâlwa.

In the 17th year he belonged to the auxiliaries of M. Aziz Koka and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). In the 23rd year, when Quîlî 'd-Dîn's men (No. 28) brought Muqaffar Husayn Mirza from the Dakhin to Court, Abû 'l-Matlab attached himself as convoy and saw the Mirza safely to Court. In the 25th year he accompanied Ismâ'il Quîlî Khân (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyâbat Khân 'Arab.
following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Dawlat, son of ʿAli Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kābul. In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kālpī, his jagir.

In the 30th year he accompanied M. ʿAzīz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalālā Tārīk, the Afghān rebel. One day, Jalālā fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nūrin Khān (No. 212), Salīm Khān (No. 132), and Sheroya Khān (No. 168). They were in time, and, assisted by Muhammad Quli Beg, routed Jalālā, who escaped to the mountains. ʿAbduʾl-Maṭṭalab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight". He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzād, was under Jahāngīr, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. ʿĪstibār Khān, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was ʿAmbar. He was one of Bābar's Eunuchs. When Humāyūn left Qandahār for ʿIrāq, he despatched ʿĪstibār and others to conduct Maryam Makānī (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 Begams from Kābul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihlī, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Bāja Bir Bal [BŌ-Bar], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dās (Maʿāṣir; the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā,oni, II. p. 161, calls him Brahman Dās) and was a Bhātī, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call badsafaraḥ, "dealers in encomiums." He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badā,oni, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kālpī to Court, where his bonyots in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindi verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of Kāb Rāy, or (Hindi) Poet Laureate,1 and had him constantly near himself.

1 Just as Jēlik Rāy, the (Hindū) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayāl] had the title of Malik ʿaḥ-Sūrārā, or "King of Poets".
In the 18th year Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot, who was at Court happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned. Nargakot was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rāja Bīr Bar. But Jai Chand’s son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch., or Badi Ch.—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Ḥusayn Quli Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, as related above, forced Ḥusayn Quli to raise the siege, and Bīr Bar, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 24th Rabi‘ II, 981. (Vide note to No. 101.)

He was often employed in missions. Thus in the 21st year he was sent with Rāy Lon Karan to Dāngarpūr, the Rāy of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar’s Harem. In the 28th year, again, B. B. and Zayn Koka (No. 34) conducted Rāja Rām Chand (No. 89) to Court.

Bīr Bar spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year Zayn Khān Koka marched against the Yūsufzāís in Bījūr and Sawād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bīr Bay was sent there together with Ḥākim Abū ‘l-Fath (No. 112). It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abū ‘l-Faṣl or Bīr Bar should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar’s wish.

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp. 214, 367). Bīr Bar and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar’s army ever suffered.1

How Akbar felt Bīr Bar’s loss has been mentioned on p. 214. There is also a letter on this subject in Abū ‘l-Faṣl’s Maktūbatā.

The following passages from Bādhoni (Ed. Bibl. Ind., pp. 357, 358) are of interest—"Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year (995) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bīr Bar, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. The Hindūs by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr Bar’s loss, and invented the story that Bīr Bar had been seen in the hills of Nāgar, walking about with Jogis and Sannāsās. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Bar was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzāís; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogis,

1 A similar catastrophe befell Awrangzib, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amin Khān were killed in the Khaibar Pass, on the 3rd Muharram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. Mā‘bāt-i Aḥasagīr, p. 117. Vide Journal A. S. Bengal for 1862, p. 261.
inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Aḥadī was therefore sent to Nagarkot to inquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity."

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bir Bar had been seen at Kalinjar (which was the jāgīr of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bir Bar had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bir Bar had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to Court; and the Hindū Krorī (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bir Bar. The Krorī could, of course, send no barber to Court; he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bir Bar in reality, but he had since died. His Majesty actually went 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."

Bir Bar 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 Hindūstān.

The hatred which Badaʿoni Shāhbaẓ Khān (No. 80) and other pious Muslims showed towards Bir Bar (vide pp. 192, 198, 202, 209, 214) arose from the belief that Bir Bar had influenced Akbar to abjure Islam.

Bir Bar’s eldest son, Lāka, 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 faqīr, in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year).

86. Ikhlās Khān Istibār, the Eunuch.

The Maʿāṣir does not give his name. The list of Akbar’s grandees in the Tabaqāt has the short remark that Ikhlās Khān was an Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahār Khān (Muhammad) Asghar, a servant of Humāyūn.

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS. read Bahādur Khān. The Maʿāṣir does not give his name. The list of the Tabaqāt mentions a "Bahār Khān, a Khāṣa Khayl Afghan, who held a command of Two Thousand". Bahār Khān Khāṣa Khayl is also mentioned in several places in the Akbarnāma. He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abūʾl-Faḍl in this list. Perhaps we have
to read Pahār Khān, instead of Bahār Khān; vide No. 407. The notice in the Tabaqāt implies that he was dead in 1001.

Shāh Fakhr ud-Dīn, son of Mir Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhr ud-Dīn came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India. In the 9th year of Akbar's reign he served in the army which was sent against 'Abd al-Ilāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year he was in the mangalā, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. and Ḥakīm ʿAlī Mulk to Mir Abū Turāb and Iṣtimād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell in with the former, and went to Iṣtimād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. ʿAziz Koka (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 453). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrat (p. 343, note, where according to the Akbarnāma we have to read 24th Rabīʾ II, for 4th Rabīʾ I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqībat Khān. In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrat), vice Tarsā Muḥammad Khān (No. 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986, Tabaqāt).

89. Rāja Rām Chand Baghela.

A few MSS. read Bhagela, which form Tod says is the correct one. Baghela, however, is the usual spelling.

Rām Chand was Rāja of Bhath (or Bhattah, as the Maʿāṣir spells it). Among the three great Rājas of Hindūstān whom Bābur mentions in his Memoirs, the Rājas of Bhath are the third.

Rām Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tānsīn, 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 Jalāl ud-Dīn Qūrchi (No. 213) to Bhath, to induce Tānsīn to come to Āgra. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite, with his musical instruments and many presents to Āgra, and the first time that Tānsīn performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lākhs of rupees. Tānsīn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān.

When Āṣaf Khān (I) led his expedition to Gādha (p. 396) he came in

2 On p. 396, Řám Chand is by mistake called Řám Chandr.
contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rāja became "a servant" of Akbar. In the 14th year Yām Chand lost Fort Kālinjar, as related on p. 399. He sent his son, Bir Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhath; but Bir Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a granlee to his father and convey him to Court. Rāja Bir Bar and Zayn Koka 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 Bir Bhadr succeeded to the title of Rāja. But on his way from Court to Bhath he fell from his palanquin, and died soon after, in the 38th year (1001; vide p. 385). His sudden death led to disturbances in Bāndhū, of which Bikramājit, a young relation of Rām Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rāja Patrdās (No. 196) with troops to Bāndhū, and the Mughuls, according to custom, erected throughout the district military stations (thānae). At the request of the inhabitants, Akbar sent Ismā'īl Quli Khan (No. 46) to Bāndhū, to convey Bikramājit to Court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bāndhū from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramājit, and after a siege of eight months and several days, Bāndhū was conquered (42nd year).

In the 47th year Durjodhan, a grandson of Rām Chand, was made Rāja of Bāndhū. In the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign Amr Singh, another grandson of Rām Chand, acknowledged himself a vassal of Dīlī. In the 8th year of Shāhjahan when ʿAbd al-ʿllāh Khan Bahādur marched against the refractory zamīndār of Ratampūr, Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission. Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anūp Singh. In the 24th year, when Rāja Pahār Singh Bundela, Jāgirdār of Chaurāgadh, attacked Anūp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairām, a zamīndār of Chaurāgadh, Anūp Singh, with his whole family, withdrew from Rewā (which after the destruction of Bāndhū had been the family seat) to the hills. In the 30th year, however, Sayyid Šālabat Khān, Governor of Ilāhābād (vide p. 427), conducted him to Court, where Anūp turned Muhammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bāndhū and the surrounding districts.

90. Laahkar Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Khurāsān.

He was Mīr Bukhāshī and Mīr ʿArī. In the 11th year Muzzafar Khān (No. 37) had him deposed. In the 16th year he came one day drunk to the Darbār, 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 Munṣim's Bengal corps. In the battle of Takaroī (p. 406) 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 Orīṣa.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (Maṣṣāṣir, 1,000).

The Maṣṣāṣir has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of Lashkār Khān was conferred by Jahāngīr on Abū 'l-Ḥasan Mashhādī, and by Shāhjahān on Jān Nīsār Khān Yādgār Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Barha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Māḥmūd (p. 427). In the 17th year he served in the mungāla, which, under the command of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), was sent to Gujrat. After the conquest of Ahmadābād, he was ordered with other Amīrs to pursue the sons of Sher Khān Fālādī (p. 432), who had removed their families and property from Patanto Īdar. A portion of their property fell into the hands of Imperialists. When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mīrzā Abū 'l-Raḥīm (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and Sher Khān Fālādī, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. Ṣāʻīd.

In the 20th year S. A. and his nephew S. Qāsim and S. Ḥāshīm quelled the disturbances in which Jalāl al-Dīn Qūrchī (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānāh. According to the Tābqāt, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abū 'l-Faḍl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p. 300,1,11 from below. Sayyid Ahmad's son, S. Jamāl al-Dīn was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chitor (p. 398).

This S. Jamāl al-Dīn must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamāl al-Dīn who was executed in 993 (Badāʾīnī, II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Māḥmūd (No. 75) S. Qāsim being called his uncle.


He came with Humāyūn to Hindūstān. In the 11th year (973) he was sent together with Shāh Quli Nāranjī (No. 231) to Gadha-Katanga, because Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kākār served also under Muḥammad al-Mulk (No. 61) and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shaʿbān, 980; vide p. 353). He was then attached to Munṣim's
corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981; *Maşār*, 980).


He is the father of Rāy Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 384.

94. Tāhir Khān, Mir Farāgīnat, son of Mir Khurd, who was utāliq to Prince Hindāl.

His name is not given in the *Maşār*. The *Tabaqāt* merely says that he was a grandee of Humāyūn, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. According to the same work, he had a son Bāyī Khān, who likewise served under Akbar.

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, p. 274) we see that he was one of Akbar’s companions. Together with Dastam Khān (No. 79) Qutluq Qadam Khān (No. 123), Peshraw Khān (No. 280), Ḥakim al-Mulk, Muqbil Khān, and Shimāl Khān (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwaja Mu‘azzam, brother of Akbar’s mother.

95. Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qalāt.

As Qalāt belongs to Qandahār, he is often called Shāh Muḥammad Khān-i Qandahārī. The *Maşār* says that the name of the town of Qalāt is generally spelt with a *Q*; but that the Hazāras pronounce *Kalāt*, with a *K*.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān was a friend of Bayrām, and was with him in Qandahār, which Humāyūn had given Bayrām as jāgīr. Bayrām, however, left it entirely in S. M.’s hands. Bahādur Khān (No. 22) was then governor of Dāwar, and had bribed several grandees to hand over Qandahār to him; but S. M. discovered the plot and killed the conspirators. Bahādur then marched against Qandahār. S. M. knew that he could expect no assistance from Humāyūn, and wrote to Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia that it was Humāyūn’s intention to cede Qandahār; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahādur, and take possession of the town. Tahmāsp sent 3,000 Turkmān troopers furnished by the *jāgīrdārs* of Sistān, Farāh, and Garmsīr. Their leader, ʿAlī Yār, surprised Bahādur and defeated him so completely, that Bahādur could not even keep Dāwar. 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. Shāh Tahmāsp then ordered his nephew, Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā (*vide* No. 8), Wali Khalīfa Shāmlū, and others, to besiege Qandahār. The siege had lasted for some time, when Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā felt disgusted and withdrew.
Tahmāsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā with ʿAli Sultān, Governor of Shīrāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ʿAli Sultān was shot during the siege, and Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā 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 Qandahār to the Persians, according to Humāyūn’s promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahār, observes the author of the Maʿāṣir, differs from Manshī Sikandar’s version of his great work entitled ʿĀlamārā-yi Sikandarī. According to that history, Tahmāsp, at the very first request of Shāh Muḥammad sent Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā with Wallī Khalīfa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahādur; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahār, Tahmāsp sent ʿAli Sultān with a stronger army, and appointed Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā governor of Dāwar and Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad held out for six months; but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindūstān.

Be this as it may, S. M. arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar’s reign in India, was made a Khān, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968) he led the van in the battle near Sārangpūr, in which Bāz Bahādur lost Mālwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbdul-ʿĪlah Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kotah. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzā ʿAzīz Koja, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 432).

Regarding ʿĀdil Khān, S. M.’s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Rāy Surjan Hādā.

He is often merely called Rāy Hādā. The Hādās are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantānhūr is called after them Ḥādamī.

Rāy Surjan was at first in the service of the Rānā, and defended the Mughals, because he thought himself safe in Rantānhūr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p. 398), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantānhūr, and R. S., despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Daudā and Bhoj (No. 173) to Akbar’s camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well, and gave each a dress of honour. 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 Shaykh Bahāʾu’ll-Dīn Majzūb of Badā, on, but was cut down by one of Muẓaffar Khān’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, Ḥusayn Quli Khān (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhūr was annexed (Shawwal, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gadhā-Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chānāqī (Chunār).

Soon after, Daudā fled and created disturbances in Būndī. Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Būndī, which was conquered in the beginning of 985. After the conquest, R. S. was made a commander of Two Thousand. Daudā who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shāhābz Khān (p. 436). Not long after, Daudā fled again. He died in the 30th year.

R. S. served in the 25th year, after Muẓaffar's (No. 37) death in Bihār. The Maṭāqāt does not mention the year of his death. From the Ṭūbaqāt, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001.

For R. S.'s son, Rāy Bhoj, vide below, No. 175.

97. Shāhām Khān Jalā'īr.

Jalā'īr is the name of a Chaghtā'i tribe.

Shāhām's father was Bābā Beg, who had been under Humāyūn, governor of Jaunpūr. Bābā Beg also took part in the battle of Chausā, in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh. The Emperor fled to Āgra, and ordered Bābā Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begams. In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Bābā Beg was killed by an Afghān near the imperial tent.

Shāhām Khān was made an Amīr by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalā'īrs, mentioned below, Ḥāfīz Muḥammad Khān-i Sīstānī (No. 55), Chalma Beg (58), Kamāl Khān, Ghakkar, and Qiya Khān Gung (No. 33), under Khān Zamān (No. 15) in the Jaunpūr District against the Afghāns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of Sa'dī, Mubāriz Khān, after Bayrām's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls. In the 10th year Sh. Kh. served against Khān Zamān.

In the 19th year he served under Mūnīm in the Bengal and Orīṣā wars, was present in the battle of Takara and pursued with Tōdar Mal the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p. 406). After Mūnīm's death at Gaur (p. 407), the grandees put Sh. Kh. in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander. In the 21st year he took part in the battle near Āg Mahall (p. 350). In the 24th year he was jāgirdār of Ḥājīpur (opposite Patna). After Muẓaffar's death (No. 37) in 988, before Tōdar Mal had arrived, he defeated and killed Sa'īd-i Badaḵšānī, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued Sa'īd Arab Badaḵšānī, whom Shāhābz Khān
(p. 438) had defeated. In the 26th year Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Maṣṣūm Khān-i-Farankhūdī (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrājīh over Kalyānpūr to Muḥammadābād, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaumpūr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pahār Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzipūr and Qāsīm from Jaldpūr, united their contingents, and pursued Maṣṣūm so effectually that he applied to M. ʿAzīz Koka to intercede for him with the Emperor. In the 32nd year he was made Governor of Gadha, and soon after, of Dīhār. In the end of the same year he accompanied Sultān Murād, who conducted M. Sulaymān (No. 5) to Court. In the beginning of the 33rd year he assisted Šādiq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalāla Tārīki in Terāh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar made Dīhār his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore reprimanded. Two years later, he served in the Āsir war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zī Hijjah, 1009.

The Tabaqāt says that Shāḥam Khān was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāma mentions two other Jalāiirs:—

1. Sultān Husayn Khān Jalāiir. He was mentioned above, p. 417, l. 3.
2. Muḥammad Khān Jalāiir. The Tabaqāt says of him, "he is an old Amīr, and is at present (1001) mad." He served under Khān Zamān in the war with Hemū. In the beginning of the 4th year all three Jalāiirs served under Khān Zamān against the Afghāns in the Jaumpūr District.


His father Mīrzā Bādīṣa ʿz-Zamān was the son of Āghā Mullā Dawādīlā of Qazwin (vide p. 398). M. Bādī, during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp, had been vaẓīr of Kāshān, and Jaʿfar had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Jaʿfar Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M. Ghīyāṣ al-Dīn ʿAli Āṣaf Khān II (No. 126), on his return from the İdar expedition. The new Dākhī was having then been introduced, Akbar made Jaʿfar a Commander of Twenty (Bisṭā) and attached him to the Dākhī (p. 292) of his uncle. According to Bādīsonī (III, 216) people attributed this minimum of royal favour to the malice of Jaʿfar's uncle. The post was so low that Jaʿfar threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province Mūgaffar Khān (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with
him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shams-ud-Din-i Khâli (No. 159) into the hands of the rebels. Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners. On arriving at Fathpur, 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 ʿAsaf Khân. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshe, vice Qâzi ʿAli. In his first expedition, against the Rânâ of Udâipûr, ʿAsaf was successful.

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thânâdâr of Sawâd (Swat), vice Ismâʿîl Quli Khân, who had been reprimanded (p. 388, where for Weâjûr read Bijûr). In the 37th year Jalâla Rawshâni fled to ʿAbd-Allâh Khân Uzbak; king of Târân; but finding no support, he returned to Terâh, and stirred up the ʿAfârid and ûrâkân Afghâns. ʿAsaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zayn Khân Koka, defeated Jalâla. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Wahdat ʿAli, who was said to be Jalâla's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court.

In the 39th year ʿAsaf was sent to Kashmîr, M. Yûsuf Khân (No. 35) having been recalled. He re-distributed the lands of the Jâtir holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kâbulî (No. 191), Muḥammad Quli Afsâhâr, and Ḥasan ʿArâb were the most important. The cultivation of Zafrân (saffron, vide p. 89) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qâzi ʿAli, i.e. at one lakh of khwâzâ, at 24 dâms each (vide p. 370). ʿAsaf stayed only three days in Kashmîr, and returned to Lâhor. In the 42nd year, when Kashmîr had become all but deserted through the oppressions of the Jâtir holders, ʿAsaf was made Governor of the province. In the 44th year (beginning of 1008) he was appointed Divâni kull vice Patr Dâs (No. 190).

In 1013 Prince Salim (Jahângîr) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salim was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrat as tâyâl, and gave up the Šûbas of Hâhâbad and Bihâr, of which during his rebellion he had taken possession. Bihâr was given to ʿAsaf, who, moreover, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand.

On Jahângîr's accession, ʿAsaf was called to Court, and appointed adelg to Prince Parwiz, who had taken the command against the Rânâ. The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusrâw. In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahângîr, after suppressing Khusrâw's revolt, left Lâhor lor Kâbul, and asSharif Khân Amir ʿAl-ʿUmarî remained
dangerously ill in India, Āsaf was made Vakil and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels. But he never trusted Jahāngīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Āsaf’s death (Tuzuk, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar’s death, the kings of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik ʻAmbar had seized upon several places in the Bālághāt District. The Khān Khānān (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the lost, and Jahāngīr sent Prince Parviz to the Dakhin, with Āsaf Khān as atāīy, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodī, Khān-i Aṣ̩zam (No. 21), ʻAbd a’llah Khān, “each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country.” But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amirs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Āsaf died at Burhānpūr. The Tārīkh of his death is:

A hundred times alas! for Āsaf Khān.

The Tuzuk (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Āsaf Khan 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 lopping 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. 218–9). He was one of the best poets of Akbar’s age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Maṣnawi, entitled Nārnāma ranks after Nizam’s Shīrīn Khusrav. Vide below among the poets of Akbar’s reign.

Āsaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. Mīrzā Zayn al-ʻĀdīn. He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān’s reign. He had a son Mīrzā Jaṣfār, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same takhullus (Jaṣfār). He, Zāhid Khān Koka, and M. Shāli (Pādiehākūmā), ʻĀdīn son of Sayf Khān, were such intimate friends, that Shāhjahān dubbed them sīh gār, “the three friends.”

1 It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as insignia on Itwāns. When such officers were deposed, they generally returned the presents.

2 Mughul historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dakhin kings. The word which they generally use, is dangalār, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the Akbar. 
later resigned the service, and lived in Agra on the pension which Shâhjahân granted and Awrangzib increased. He died in 1094.

2. Suhrâb Khân. He was under Shâhjahân a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shâhjahân.

3. Mirzâ ʿAlî Asghar. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parenda expedition, he created dissensions between Shâh Shujâʿ and Mahâbat Khân. He served in the war against Juhâr Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamânī, as related in the Pâdishâhnamâ. He had just been married to the daughter of Muʿtamin Khân Bakhshī (author of the Iqbalnamā-yi Jahângîrī); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shâhjahân married her to Khân Dawrân. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. Mirzâ ʿAskari. He was in the 29th year of Shâhjahân a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the Pâdishâhnamâ mention two relations of Aṣâf—1. Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, son of Mirzâ Shâhî, brother or nephew of Aṣâf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shâhjahân’s reign. 2. Muqīm, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.

99. Shaykh Farîd-i Bakhârî.

The Iqbalnamâ, according to the Muʿāṣir, says he belonged to the Mūsawî Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Bakhârî Sayyid’s trace their descent to Sayyid Jalâl-i Bakhârî, seventh descendant of Imâm ʿAlî Naqî Alhādî.

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farîd was Shaykh ʿAbdul ʿI-Ghaffâr of Dîhil, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyûrghâl tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaykh Farîd was born at Dîhil (Tuzuk, p. 68). He entered Akbar’s service early. In the 28th year, when M. ʿAẓîz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihar army, S. F. accompanied Vazir Khân (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bandîwân, where Qutlû of Orîsâ had collected his Afghâns. Qutlû having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlû’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 1,500. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshî, and had also for some time
the *Dastur-i Tan* in his charge, i.e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jāgīr holders.

His elevation under Jahāngīr was due to the decided support he gave Jahāngīr, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusrāw at Rairāwāl. When Prince Salīm occupied Hāhābād during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to munsābāt and giving them jāgīrs, Akbar favoured Prince Khusrāw so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor. Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salīm’s men were sent to Gujrat. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salīm to stay outside the Fort of Āgra; and M. ʻAzīz Koka (No. 21) and Rāja Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusrāw’s succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and asked Shaykh Farīd to take command. But S. F. did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salīm outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes. On the actual accession, S. F. was made a commander of 5,000, received the title of Ṣāḥib ʻs-sayy f ʻa l qalam, and was appointed Mīr Bahāshī.

A short time after, on the 8th Zi Hilālah, 1014, Prince Khusrāw suddenly left Āgra, and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhor. S. F., with other Bakhārī and many Bārha Sayyids, was sent after him, whilst Jahāngīr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharīf Khān Amir ʻl-Umarā and Mahābat Khān, who were hostile to S. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sultan Khusrāw had gone to Lāhor and besieged the town, when he heard of S. F.’s arrival with 12,000 horse at the ʻAb-īSultānpūr. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Bārā, which S. F. had just crossed. Khusrāw was immediately attacked. The fight was unusually severe. The Bārha and Bakhārī Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Sayf Khān, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Kundliwāl (p. 427) and Sayyid Jalāl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badakhshī troopers, and had not S. Kamāl (vide No. 78) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of Pādešāh salāmat the Bārha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man. Sayyid Sayf Khān got seventeen wounds, and S. Jalāl died a few days after the battle. About four hundred of Khusrāw’s troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed. Khusrāw’s jewel-box fell

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*This title we also find in old inscriptions, e.g. in those of Tribeni and Sātgāw, Hāgū District. It means Lord of the sword and the pen.*
into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairówál. In the evening Jahāngir arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fatbābād, and was given S. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of Murtażā Khān, and was appointed governor of the Šūba of Gujrat.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahāngir with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 mizqāl, 15 surkhās, and was valued at 25,000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrat, he was recalled from Ahmadābād (Tuṣuk, p. 73). In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In 1921 he made preparations to invade Kāngra. He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Diālī (Tuṣuk, p. 169). At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5,000 horse.

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Diālī, entitled ʿAjāʾib ʿṣ-Sanādīd, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukhārī. Of Farīd's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (dālān). But he wrongly places the death of the Shaykh in the 9th year, or 1033 A.H., instead of in the eleventh year, or 1025 A.D. Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a Sārāṯ, built by Shaykh Farīd in Diālī, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (jel khāna).

According to the Tuṣuk, p. 65, Salimgadh (Diālī) belonged to S. Farīd. It had been built by Salīm Khān the Afghan during his reign in the midst (dar mizqān) of the Jamna. Akbar had given it to Farīd.2

When Shaykh Farīd died, only 1,000 Ashrafīs were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the Tāriḥ of his death:

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1. Bhairowal, on our maps Bagrowal, lies on the road from Jālindhar to Amritsir, on the right bank of the Biāh. After the defeat Khusraw fled northwards with the view of reaching Kohtau beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Biāh, the Chanāb, and the Jhelum. On coming to the Chanāb, at a place called Shāhpūr (a very common name in the Panjāb), he could not get boats. He therefore went to Sodhara, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the Tāqquṭ-i Naṣirī—on our maps Sodee, 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 Chanāb, and swam back. This came to the ears of the Chāndī of Sodhara, and a report was sent to ṢAbdul-Qāsim Namakin (No. 199), one of Jahāngīr's officers stationed at Gujrat (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanāb, opposite to Vazirābād). He came, took Khusraw from the island, and kept him confined in Gujrat. The news of the capture reached Jahāngīr at Lāhor on the last Muharram 1015, i.e. 52 days after Khusraw's flight from Agra. On the 3rd Safar, Khusraw Haasan Beg-i Badaghari (No. 167), and ṢAbdul-Qāsim Khār-i Khan; were brought to Jahāngīr in the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmīrīn.

2. The family must have had large possessions in Diālī: for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Diālī, he stayed in Sh. Farīd's mansion, and ṢAbdul-Qāsim (Aḥḥasāmūs, III, p. 198) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamna.
dād, khurūd būrd (1025 A.H.).

"He gave, and left (carried off) little."

Shaykh Farīd 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, Farīd 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, 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 sarās. The one in Dihill has been mentioned above. In Ahmadābād, a mahalla 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 Shāh Wajih al-Dīn (died 988; Badā'ī, III, 43). He also built Farīdābād near Dihili, the greater part of the old pargana of Tilpaṭ being included in the pargana of Farīdābād (Elliot’s Glossary, Beame’s Edition, II, p. 123). In Lāhor also, a Mahalla was built by him, a large bath, and a chaup, or bāzār. The Government officers under him received annually three khul'sats; to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3,000 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 Afghān of the name of Sher Khān, had taken leave in Gujarāt, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh. Farīd was in Kālnāūr on his march to Kangra. The Shaykh ordered Dwārkā Dās, his Bakhshī, to pay the man his wages, and the Bakhshī wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day’s pay. But Farīd got angry, and said, “He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence; give him his whole pay.” The man got 7,000 Rs., his whole pay for six years.

1 Kūrā, cat, enjoyed.—P.

2 In Dihill, Ahmadābād, and many other places in Gujarāt do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. Vide Nos. 77, 78.
"Night and day," exclaims the author of the Ma'āšir, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men. Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaykh Farid had no son. His daughter also died childless. He had adopted two young men, Muhammadsa'īd and Mir Khān. They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor. Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps. One night they did so again, and Mahābat Khān, whom Jahāngīr had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Khān. S. F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood; but Mahābat got together several "respectable" witnesses, who maintained before the emperor that Mir Khān had been killed by Muhammadsa'īd, and Shaykh F. had to remain quiet.

Muhammad Sa'īd was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahān, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (Pādishāhān, II, 743).

Suyyīd Ja'far, S. F.'s brother, was also in Akbar's service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 433).

The Pādishāhānāmā (I, b. 316, 313; II, 739) also mentions Suyyīd Badr, son of Shaykh Farid's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and Suyyīd Bhātar, son of Sh. F.'s brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse.

100. Samānjī Khān, son of Chalma Beg.

For Samānjī we often find in MSS. Samājā. The Turkish samān means hajj, so that Samānjī or Samānjā would mean one who looks after the hajj.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the Ma'āšir, nor the Tabqāt. Nor have I come across his name in the Akbarnāma. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samānjī Khān will be found below, No. 147.

101. Tardi Khān, son of Qiya Khān Gung (No. 33).

He has been mentioned above, on p. 367. The Tabqāt says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt).\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Tardi Khān is also mentioned in Suyyīd Ahmad's edition of the Tazkī. p. 19, l. 13. But this is a mistake. It should be Tārī Khān, not Tardi Khān. The word tārī, i.e., also is a mistake, and should be Taqī. Pages 18, 19, of the Tazkī treat of Akbar's forced march to Patan in Gujurāt (vide p. 343, note, and p. 445). The Ma'āshīr (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, b.) mentions the 4th Rabi' II, as the day when Akbar left Āgra; but from the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, III, 18 ff.) it is clear that Akbar left Āgra on the 24th Rabi' II, 981, and engaged the enemies on the 24th day after his
102. Mihtar Khān, Anās 'd-Dīn, a servant of Humāyūn.

The word mihtār, prop. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humāyūn’s servants. Thus in the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I., p. 269—to a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, etc., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khān was the title of Anās ‘d-Dīn. He was Humayūn’s treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantambhur 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 Mān Singh on his expedition against Rānā Partab of Māwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the Chandānī (rear). In the 25th year he held a jāgūr in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Maṣūm Khān Farankhâlī (No. 157).

Anās was gradually promoted. He was at the time of Akbar’s death a Commander of Three Thousand. According to the Tabaqāt, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2,500.

He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngir’s reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the Maqāṣīr correctly, he was a Kātī, 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 Talib, son of Mūnis Khān, was employed as treasurer (Khāzānādī) of the Šūba of Bengal.

103. Ṛay Durgā Sisodia.

Ṛay Durgā is generally called in the Akbarnāma, Ṛay Durgā Chandrāwati, (लौट, जलद). The home of the family was the Pargana of Rāmpūr, also called Ilāmpūr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar’s reign Ṛay Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul. In the 28th year he was attached to Mirzā Khān’s (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrat war. In the 30th year he was with M. Āzīz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhim. In the 36th year he followed Prince Murād to Mālwa, and later to the Dakhim.

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muṣṭafā Ḥusayn Mirzā. He then accompanied Abū Ḥaḍīl to Nāsik, and went afterwards home on

departure, i.e. on the 5th Jamāda 1, 981. Hence the date 5th Jamāda 1, 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, Tāzak, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jamāda 1, 981.

The comparison of the several sources for a history of Akbar’s reign, and the 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.
leave. He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission.

He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahangir’s reign.

According to the Tuzuk (p. 63) he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years. Jahangir says, he had at first been in the service of Rana Udai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of Commander of Four Thousand. He is said to have been a good tactician.

The Tabaqat says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

The Ma’asir continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken,

Gemology of the Rā.ṣ of Rāmpūr (Islāmpūr), Chīlūr.

1. Rāy Durgā Siaadiya
   (Chandrawat)

2. Rā.ño Chandā (Jahangir)
   (a) A son
   (b) Rā.ño Mukund

3. Rā.ño Dandi (Shahjahān)

4. Rā.ño Hatti Singh (Dū.)
   [died childless]

5. (a) Rā.ño Rāp Singh
   [died childless]
   (b) Rā.ño Amr Singh
   (Awrangzib)

7. Rā.ño Muhīm Singh

8. Rā.ño Gopal Singh

9. Rā.ño Ratan Singh

Rā.ño Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of Muslim Khān (Awrangzib-Jahān-dār Shāh).

104. Madhu Singh, son of Raja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27).

He was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p. 353). In the beginning of the 21st year (Muharram, 984) he served under Mān Singh against Rana Kikā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st Rabī‘ I, 984). In the 30th year he accompanied Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7)

1 There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus in the Padishahgāz, Ed. Bihl. Indias, I. b. 308, he is called Matī Singh; but Hatti Singh in the same work, Vol. II. p. 730, and Hattī, on p. 374.

2 It was said above, p. 361, note 2, that the battle of Goganda was fought in 983. This is the statement of the Tabaqat, which the Ma’asir follows in its biographical note of Raja Mān Singh. But from the Akbarnāma and the History of Babā-aski, who was present in the battle, and brought Akbar Mān Singh’s report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on the 2nd Muharram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rabī‘ I of the same year.

It has been remarked above (p. 383, note 1) that the chronology of the Tabaqat is erroneous. Babā-aski ascribes the errors to the omission of the intercalary days, and a confusion of solar and lunar years. Historians should bear this in mind. The Akbarnāma is the only source for a history of Akbar’s reign, and the Sangānī should be the guide of Historians.
on his expedition to Kashmir. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Hāmid (No. 78), he took the contingent of Rāja Bhagwān from Thāna Langar, where he was stationed, to ʿAli Masjid, where Mān Singh was.

In the 48th year he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse. According to the Ṭabaqāt, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000.

His son, Chātr Sāl, or Sadr Sāl, was at the end of Jahāngīr’s reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse. He was killed together with his two sons, Bhūm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahan’s reign. His third son, Ugar Sen, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (vide Pālishāhān, I, p. 294; I, b., pp. 305, 314).

105. Sayyid Qāsim, and 143. Sayyid Háшим, sons of Sayyid Mahmmūl Khān of Bārha, Kāndliwāl (No. 75).

In the 17th year S. Qāsim served under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the pursuit of Muḥammad Husayn Mīrẓā, who after his defeat by M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhin.

S. Háşim served in the 21st year, with Rāy Rāy Singh (No. 44) against Sulṭān Deora, ruler of Sarohī, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) against the Rānā. In the 25th year, when Chandr. Sen., son of Māldeō, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had jāgīrī in Ajmīr, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the karāwal of Mīrza Khān (No. 29) in the Gujārāt war.

S. Háşim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmādābād. S. Qāsim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thānadalār of Patan. When Mīrza Khān went to Court, leaving Qulī Khān as Governor of Ahmādābād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muẓaffar, Jām (samindār of Little Kachh), and Khangār (samindār of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mīrza Khān, Khān-i Aʿṣam (No. 21) was appointed Governor of Gujārāt. Qāsim continued to serve in Gujārāt, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year. Later, he commanded the left wing of Sulṭān Murād’s Dakhin corps.

Qāsim died in the 44th year (1007). He was at his death a Commander of 1,500.

Regarding their sons, vide p. 427.
XII. Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty.

106. Rāy Sāl Darbārī, Shaykhāwat.

He is also called Rājā Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Sojā, son of Rāy Rāy Mal Shaykhāwat, in whose service Ḥasan Khān Sūr (father of Shēr Shāh) was for some time.

As remarked above (No. 23), the Kachhwāhas are divided into Rājāwats and Shaykhāwats. To the latter branch belong Rājā Lō Karan, Rāy Sāl, etc.; the former contains Mān Singh's posterity (the present rulers of Jaipur).

The term Shaykhāwat, or Shekhāwat, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons. A Muḥammadan Shaykh, however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son. From motives of gratitude, the boy was called Shaykh. Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhāwat Branch.

Rāy Sāl was employed at Court, as his title of Darbār indicates. He was in charge of the Harem. During the reign of Jahāngir, he was promoted, and served in the Dakhin. He died there at an advanced age. He had twenty-one sons, each of whom had a numerous posterity.

Whilst Rāy Sāl was in the Dakhin, Mādhū Singh and other grand-children of his, collected a lot of ruffians, and occupied Rāy Sāl's paternal possessions. But Mathurā Dīsā, a Bengali, who was Rāy Sāl's Munshi and Vakil, recovered a portion of his master's lands.

After Rāy Sāl's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamīndārs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other. Rājā Girdhar, Rāy Sāl's son, is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court.

From the Akbarnāma we see that Rāy Sāl entered early Akbar's service; for he was present in the battle of Khayārbād (p. 414) in the fight at Sarnāl (vide 27), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note).

The Padishāhnāma (I, b., p. 314) mentions another son of Rāy Sāl's, Bhoj Rāj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse.

The Tabaqāt says that Rāy Sāl, was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. Abū l-Faţl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This mansab is unusual, and Rāy Sāl stands alone in this class. It does not

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1 He is the same as the Shaykh of Jaipur genealogies. Shaykhjī is said to have been a grandson of Udai Karan, twelfth descendant of Dhed Rāy (p. 348).

occur in the lists of Grandees in the Pādišāhīnāma. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Maņṣab after the Hāzārī was the Hāzār o pānṣadī, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.


This grandee must not be confounded with Muḫīb ʿAlī Khān Kahlūsī (p. 466).

Muḫīb ʿAlī Khān is the son of Mir Niẓāmʿa ʿd-Dīn ʿAlī Khalīfa, the "pillar of Bābār’s government". He had no faith in Humāyūn, and was opposed to his accession. He therefore favoured Mahdī Khwāja, Bābār’s son-in-law. Mahdī, a short time before Bābār’s death, assumed a royal deportment. One day, Mir Khalīfa happened to be in Mahdī’s tent: and when he left, Mahdī, 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 Muqīm-i Harawi in the corner of the tent. Muqīm reported these words to Mir Khalīfa, and upbraided him for giving Mahdī his support. Mir Khalīfa thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdī, and raised, on Bābār’s death, Humāyūn to the throne.

His son Muḫīb ʿAlī Khān distinguished himself under Bābār and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāḥīd Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka. Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Bābār. Bābār had fallen into the hands of ʿAbdū ʿl-Lāh Khān Uzbak, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that he was Bābār. He was cut to pieces, and Bābār escaped. In 975, Nāḥīd Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Ḥājī Begam (daughter of Mirzā Muqīm, son of Mirzā Zāl-i-Nūn). After Qāsim Koka’s death, Ḥājī Begam married Mirzā Ḥasan, and after him, Mirzā ʿĪsā Tarḵhān, king of Sindh (p. 390). Before Nāḥīd Begam reached Thatha, Mirzā ʿĪsā died. His successor, Mirzā Bāqī, ill-treated Ḥājī Begam and her daughter. Ḥājī Begam therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M. Bāqī’s person. The plot was, however, discovered, and Ḥājī Begam was put into prison. Nāḥīd Begam escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sultān Maḥmūd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muḫīb ʿAlī to Bhakkar; and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack Thatha. Nāḥīd Begam did so on coming to Court, and Akbar,

1 Father of the Historian Niẓāmʿa ʿd-Dīn Ahmad, author of the Tabaqāt-i Akbari. Muqīm was then Dīvān-i Begīd.
in the 16th year (978), called for Muḥibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muḥibb set out, accompanied by Mūjāhid Khān, a son of his daughter. Saʿād Khān (No. 25), Governor of Multān, had also received orders to assist Muḥibb; but at Sultān Maḥmūd's request, Muḥibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sultān Maḥmūd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmīr, and not from Bhakkar. Muḥibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sultān Maḥmūd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Maḥmūd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Māṭhila (مَائَاطِيل). Muḥibb 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 Maḥmūd. The consequence of this victory was that Mūbārak Khān, Sultān Maḥmūd's vazīr, left his master and went with 1,500 horse over to Muḥibb. But as Mūbārak's son, Beg Oghlū, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sultān Maḥmūd, Muḥibb wished to kill Beg Oghlū. Mūbārak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muḥibb's power. Muḥibb therefore killed Mūbārak, 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 Sīr tree (p. 238), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sultān Maḥmūd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salīm, if Muḥibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Maḥmūd) to Court; for he said, he could not trust Muḥibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesū, Bakāwal-begi, to Bhakkar.1 Before Mir Gesū arrived, Sultān Maḥmūd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mūjāhid Khān just besieged Fort Ganjāba,2 and his mother Sāmīa Begam (Muḥibb's daughter), who felt offended at Akbar's proceedings, dispatched a few ships against Mir Gesū, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muṣīm-i Harawi also arrived and dissuaded Muḥibb from hostilities against Mir Gesū.

1 The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the Tārīkh-i Maṭṣūmī (vide No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot's History of India (I. p. 248 ff.) has given extracts. But Abu 'l-Faḍl's account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson's Mir Khāb, we have to read Mir Gesū. His biography is given in the Maṣāʾir.
2 Generally called Gausjum.
The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muḥibb nor Mujahid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger. Muḥibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mir Gesū, according to which Mujahid should be allowed to go to Thatha, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Lohari. The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mir Gesū dispatched a flotilla after Mujahid. Muḥibb upon this withdrew to Māṭhila. Sāmi'a Begam fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesū's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one night. Next day, Mujahid arrived by forced marches, defeated the enemy, and occupied the land east of the river.

In the meantime, Akbar had sent Muḥammad Tarsō Khān (No. 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muḥibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muḥibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of Mir 5.argo. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of Mir 5.argo, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dīhlī. Muḥibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dīhlī in 989.

Muḥibb is placed in the Tabaqūt among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū 'l-Faḍl says that it is called in old books Mansūra. Six rivers united pass by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to the north. The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar. On the second branch another town lies, called Lohari, and near it is the Indus.

Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghān, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother, Sultān Mahmūd. After Shāh Ḥusayn's death, Sultān Mahmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mirzā Ḥisā Tarkhān (p. 390) at Thatha. Both were often at war with each other. Sultān Mahmūd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha, it was attached to the Šūba of Mūltān.

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1 If Prof. Dowson's MSS. agree with his version (1, p. 344), the Tairij-i Muṣīṣi would contradict the Abbaraham. Mujahid Khān is again mentioned. Lc. p. 332.
Like Muhibb 'Ali Khan Rahtas, he is put in the Tabaqat among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abu l-Fazl had 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 Rahtas in S. Bihar, he is generally called Rahtas. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Shâh. During his reign, as also that of Salim Shâh, Fateh Khan Batni commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaymân and Junayd-i Karrarâni. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. As related above (p. 437), he handed it over to Shâhâz Khan (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpati and his son Sri Râm (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muhibb 'Ali Khan governor of Rahtas, and Shâhâz Khan made over the Fort to him.

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Habib 'Ali Khan (vide No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yusuf Mi'tti, who had collected a band of Afghan and ravaged S. Bihar. His death affected his father so much that he became temporarily insane.

In the 31st year, two officers having been appointed to each Sib, Muhibb was ordered to join Vâzir Khan (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year Bihar was given to the Kachhwahas as jagir, and Akbar called Muhibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multan. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muhibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muhibb fell ill, and died, on the emperor's return, near the Koh-i Sulayman. Akbar went to his sick-bed and saw him the moment he died.

In the Akbarnamah (III, p. 245) a place Muhibb 'Alipur is mentioned which Muhibb founded near Rahtas.

108. Sultan Khwaja 'Abdu l-'Azîm, son of Khwaja Khâwand Dost.

He is also called Sultan Khwaja Nashkhbandi. His father Khâwand Dost was a pupil of Khwaja 'Abdu l-Sâh-Shahid, fifth son of Khwaja

1 Not given on the maps.
2 Nashkhband was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwaja Bahau'd-Din of Bukhara, born 728, died 3rd Rabî' 1, 781. He was called 'nâshkhband, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave kashkâh adorned with figures (nâshk).
ābā' ilāh (generally called Khwāja ān Khwāja; vide No. 17),
son of the renowned saint Khwāja Aʿṣīrī ʿd-Dīn Aḥrār (born 806, died 29th Rabiʿ I, 895).

When ābā' ʿsh-Shahīd came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pargana Chamārī. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sūltān Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in tasawwuf (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 courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah. Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia: Sūltān Khwāja was to distribute six lākhs of rupees and 12,000 khāns to the people of Makkah.

On his return in 986 (23rd year) he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed Sādīr of the realm (p. 284). He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992). He was buried outside the Fort of Fathpur, to the north.

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Dānyāl.

His son, Mīr Khwāja, was in the 46th year a Commander of 500.

According to Bādāoni and Abū ʿl-Faqīl, Sūltān Khwāja belonged to the elect of the "Divine Faith" (vide p. 214).


His name is not given in the Moṣāṣir and the Tabaqāt. The Akbarsāma mentions a Khwāja ābā' ilāh who served in the war against Abī Ṭāhā Kābūrī ān ʿDīn Uzbak (No. 14), in Mālwā (971–2), during the last rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sārnāl (middle of Shāhān, 980; vide No. 27). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarsāma, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.

110. Khwāja Jahān, Ṭāhānā of Hirāt.

His full name is Khwāja Ṭāhānā of Hirāt. The form Ṭāhānā is modern Irānī, which likes to add a lung ʾā to names.

Ṭāhānā was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher. He accompanied Humāyūn on his flight to Persia. On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshī of Prince Akbar.

On Akbar's accession, Ṭāhānā was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of Khwāja Jahān. He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal. In the 11th year he was
accused by Muṣafar Khān (No. 37) of want of loyalty shown 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 (981-2) Akbar besieged Hājipūr; but Amin had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaumpūr. When the emperor returned from Hājipūr over Jaumpūr to Āgra, 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 Shāh-bān, 982.

According to the chronology of the Tabaqāt, 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 takhlīṣūf of Shāhīrī. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahāngīr also conferred the title of Khwāja Jahān on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kābul) who had served him as Bakhsī while Prince.

111. Tātār Khān, of Khurāsān.

His name is Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad. In the 8th year he accompanied Shāh Budār Khān (No. 52) and Rūmī Khān (No. 146), and pursued Mir Shāh Abū ‘l-Maṣūfī, who withdrew from Hisār Fīrūza to Kābul.

He was then made governor of Dihlī, where he died in 986.

The Tabaqāt says he was for some time Vazīr, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullā Nūrī ‘d-Dīn Tarkhān, vide Bādāoni, III, 199.


His name is Masīhī ‘d-Dīn Abū ‘l-Fatḥ. Mawlána Ṣabdī ‘r-Razzāq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of Sādr of Gilān. When Gilān, in 974, came into the possession of Tāhmāsp, Ahmad Khān, ruler of the country, was imprisoned, and Ṣabdī ‘r-Razzāq was tortured to death. Hakīm Abū ‘l-Fatḥ, with his distinguished brothers, Hakīm Humām (No. 205) and Hakīm Nūrī ‘d-Dīn, left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 184). They went to Court and were well received. Abū ‘l-Fatḥ, in the 24th year, was made Sādr and Amin of Bengal. At the outbreak of the military

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1 He is mentioned below among the poets of Akbar’s reign. His takhlīṣūf is “Qarārī.” Their fourth brother, Hakīm Lutfī ‘l-ḥāf, came later from Iran to India, and received through Abū ‘l-Fatḥ’s influence a Command of Two Hundred (No. 354). He did not live long.
revolt, he was captured with several other officers (vide Nos. 98 and 158); 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 and on the emperor himself. Though only a Commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a Vâkîl.

As related above (p. 367), he accompanied Bir Bar on the expedition against the Yûsufzâis in Sawâd and Bijor. On his return, he was reprimanded; for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abû 'l-Fath's insubordinate conduct towards Zayn Koka (No. 34).

In the 34th year (997) he went with the emperor to Kashmir and from there to Zâbulistân. On the march he fell sick, and died. According to Akbar's order, Khwâja Shamsu'd-Dîn (No. 159) took his body to Hasan Abdâl, and buried him in a vault which the Khwâja had made for himself (Tuzuk, p. 48). On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abû 'l-Fath's tomb.

The great poet Ḥurfî of Shirâz (vide below, among the poets) is Abû 'l-Fath's encomiast. Fayżî also has composed a fine mursiya, or elegy, on his death.

Abû 'l-Fażl and Badâ'ûnî speak of the vast attainments of Abû 'l-Fath. A rare copy of his Munshiyat 1 is preserved in the Library of the As. Soc. Bengal (No. 780). He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets; thus he called Anwari diminutively Anwariyuk; and of Khâqânî he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abû 'l-Faţl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badâ'ûnî, III, 167).

Badâ'ûnî mentions Abû 'l-Fath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islâm (p. 184).

Abû 'l-Fatî had a son, Fathû 'Ilâh. He was killed by Jahângîr, as he was an accomplice of Khusraw (Tuzuk, p. 58).

A grandson of Abû 'l-Fath is mentioned in the Pâdishâhnâma (II, p. 739). His name is Fatî Ziyâ; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. Shaykh Jamâl, son of Muḥammad Bakhtyâr.

His full name is Shaykh Jamâl Bakhtyâr, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Bakhtyâr. The Bakhtyâr clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dihlî.

Shaykh Jamâl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's

1 His Munshiyât contain interesting letters addressed by Abû 'l-Fath to his brother Ḥakîm Humâûn, the Khân Khâsû (No. 29), Khwâja Shamsu'd-Dîn (No. 159) and others.
harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand. Jamál's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rūp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, fell immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 26th year he accompanied Ismā'īl Quli Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyābat Khān. Niyābat Khān was the son of Mīr Ḥāshim of Nīshāpūr; his name was *Arāb. Before his rebellion he held Jhōsil and Arail (Jalālābās) as jāgīr. In the fight which took place near "Kantit, a dependency of Panna," the Shaykh Jamál was nearly killed, Niyābat Khān having pulled him from his horse.

In the 26th year he marched with Prince Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakim of Kābul.

Shaykh 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 jōfī. 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 Zābulistān, Shaykh Jamál had to remain sick in Lūdhiyāna. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamál has been mentioned above on p. 209.

114. Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories Ja'far Khān Taklū, Taklū being the name of a Qizilbash tribe.

His grandfather, Muḥammad Khān Sharafla, 'd-Dīn Qublā Taklū was at the time of Humāyūn's flight governor of Hirāt and lalla 2 to Sultan Muḥammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp-i Šafawi. At the Shāh's order, he entertained Humāyūn in the most hospitable manner. When he died he was succeeded in office by his son Qazāq Khān. But Qazāq showed so little loyalty, that Tahmāsp, in 972, sent

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1 The Bibl. Indica edition of Bādū, vmi (II, 289) says, the fight took place at Gāshī (v. 24), a dependency of Futān (v. 22), but this is a mistake of the editors. Sir H. Elliot (Bemiss' Glossary II, 166) has drawn attention to the frequent mistakes which MSS. make in the name of Pānā (v. 21), to which Kantit belonged. There is no doubt, that above, on p. 130, l. 2, and p. 129, note, we have likewise to read Pānā, which was famous for its wild elephants.

2 The word lalla is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the Memoirs of Tahmāsp, the Ālamārā, etc. 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 āttīq, which so often occurs in Indian Historians, e.g. p. 383, note 2. [Lala a tutor.—P.]
Maššūm Beg-i Şafawi against him. Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirat, he died. Maššūm seized all his property.

Jašfar thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar. He distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān, and was made a Khān and a Commander of One Thousand. From Badāʾomī (II, p. 161), we see that he had a jagīr in the Panjāb, and served under Ḥusayn Quli Khān (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the Tabaqāt, Jašfar's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians.

Jašfar had been dead for some time in 1001.

115. Shāh Fanāʾī, son of Mir Najaff.

His name is not given in the Maššūr and the Tabaqāt. From the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year; vide No. 120).

The poet Fanāʾī who is mentioned in Badāʾomī (III, 296), the Tabaqāt, and the Mir-āʾī Tāʾālam, appears to be the same. He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war. Akbar conferred on him the title of Khān. He was a Chaghīāʾī Turk of noble descent. Once he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three C's—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz. conceit. For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty it was found that he had become mad. He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of.

116. Asadʾ Ilāh Khān, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the Maššūr and the Tabaqāt. An Asadʾ Ilāh Khān is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (end of the 12th year). He served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) and commanded the town of Zamāniyā (p. 337, l. 14). After Khān Zamān's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. But Munṣim (No. 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and quickly took possession of the town, so that the Afghāns under their leader, Khān Khānān Lodī, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghān's into contact with Munṣim; 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 Khān Khānān Lodī, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the Khutba, and to strike coins in
Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980.\footnote{According to the Ḍabās al-Ma'āram, and the Ghazvīnī, Sulaymān died in 980. In Pierson's Table, Stewart's Bengal, etc., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The Rūpī's Ḭujūlu-khān, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the Akbarānma and the Ṭabaquṭ, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. Vide note 3, p. 179.}

The Akbarānma mentions another officer of a similar name, Asad-ullāh Turkmān. He was mentioned above under 61.

117. Sa'ādat ʿAlī Khān, of Badakhshān.

From the Akbarānma (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel ʿArab Bahādur. Shāhāb-ud-Dīn had sent Sa'ādat to a Fort\footnote{The MSS. call the Fort Ṭabaquṭ, ʿAbūz-Zaytun, etc. It is said to be a dependency (an nāṣif) of Rohītā.} near Rahtās, where he was surprised by ʿArab, defeated and slain. It is said that ʿArab drank some of his blood.

118. Rūpsī Bairāgī, brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

The Muḥāṣib says that Rūpsī was the son of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother. He was introduced at Court in the 6th year.

According to the Ṭabaquṭ, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred. Jaymal, Rūpsī's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23). He served some time under Sharaf-ud-Dīn (No. 17), jāgīrdār of Ajmir, and was Thānadār of Mirtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court. In the 17th year he served in the manqalā of Khān Kalān (vide No. 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note). In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Daudā, son of Rāy Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Būndi (Muḥarram, 985). Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal; but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died.

Jaymal's wife, a daughter of Moth Rāja (No. 121), refused to mount the funeral pile; but Īdāi Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a Satī. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnāth (No. 69) and Rāy Sāl (No. 106) got hold of Īdāi Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Muḥammad Husayn Mīrzā, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād, is known from Elphinstone's History (Fifth Edition, p. 509, note). Rūpsī was offended, because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Māldeo) to put on Jaymal's armour, and angrily demanded it back. Akbar then put off his own armour. Bhagwān Dās, however, thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rūpsī's rudeness.
119. **Istimād Khān, Khwājasarā.**

He has been mentioned above, p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʻAdl (vide No. 140) had died.

Maqṣūd ʻAli, who killed Istimād, is said to have been blind in one eye. When he explained to Istimād his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that someone should put urine into his blind eye. Maqṣūd stabbed him on the spot. According to another account, Istimād was murdered by Maqṣūd, whilst getting up from bed.

Istimād built Istimādpūr, 6 kos from Āgra. He had there a villa and a large tank. He also lies buried there.\(^1\)

120. **Bāz Bahādur, son of Shajāwal Khān [Sūr].**

Abū l-Faḍl says below (Third Book, Śūba of Mālwa) that his real name was Bāyazād.

Bāz Bahādur’s father was Shujā’at Khān Sūr, who is generally called in histories Shajāwal, or Sajāwal, Khān. The large town Shajāwalpūr, or Sajāwalpūr, in Mālwa bears his name; its original name, Shuṣṭarpūr, which Abū l-Faḍl gives below under Sarkār Sārangpūr, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Shāh took Mālwa from Mallū (Qādir Khān), Shujā’at Khān was in Sher Shāh’s service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province. In Salīm’s reign, he returned to Court; but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Mālwa. Salīm dispatched a corps after him, and Shujā’at fled to the Rāja of Dūngarpūr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salīm, and remained with him, Mālwa being divided among the courtiers. Under ʻAdlī, he was again appointed to Mālwa. After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962).

Bāz Bahādur succeeded him. He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Mālwa. His expedition to Gādjā was not successful. Rānī Dūrgāватi (p. 397) 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 Rūpaṇatī, who is even nowadays remembered.

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1 The trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of Istimādpūr Mandāra about 9 miles E. of Āgra, in the Pargana of Pathābād, near Samāgar, where Awrangzib defeated Bārā Shīkhti.

2 A few MSS. have Shujā’at Khān for Shujā’at Khān, just as one MS. read Shujāzpūr for Shujāwalpūr. Elphinstone also has Shujā’at (p. 501, note 1). The word “Shujā’at” should be spelled “Shujā’at”, whilst ʻ is pronounced Shujā; but the former also is pronounced with a ʻ over all India.
In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar’s reign Adham Koka (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Mâlwa. Pir Muḥammad Khân (No. 20) ʿAbdul-ʿllah Khân Uzbek (No. 14), Qiyâ Khân Gung (No. 33), Shâh Muhammad Khân of Qandahâr (No. 95) and his son ʿĀdîl Khân (No. 126), Śâdiq Khân (No. 43), Ḥabib ʿAli Khân (No. 133), Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khân (No. 66), Muḥammad Qulî Toqâʾî (No. 129), Qiyâ Khân (No. 184), Mirak Bahâdur (No. 208), Samānji Khân (No. 147), Pâyanda Muḥammad Mughul (No. 68), Mihr ʿAli Sildoz (No. 130), Shâh Fanâʾî (No. 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Bâz Bahâdur three kôs from Sârangpûr and defeated him (middle of 968). ¹ Bâz Bahâdur fled to the jungles on the Khândesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pir Muḥammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mirân Shâh of Khândesh, who assisted him with troops. Pir Muḥammad in the meantime conquered Bîjâgadh, threw himself suddenly upon Burhânpûr, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him, and defeated him. As related above, Pir Muḥammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbadâ. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jâgîrdârs left for Agra, so that Bâz Bahâdur without opposition re-occupied Mâlwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent ʿAbdul-ʿllah Khân Uzbek to Mâlwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharji, Zamîndâr of Baglana, and tried to obtain assistance from Chîngiz Khân and Sher Khân of Gujrat, and lastly even from the Nizâm ‘l-Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Rânâ Udai Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar’s generosity; for in the 15th year Akbar ordered Ḥasan Khân Khizânchî ² to conduct Bâz Bahâdur 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 manṣab of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bâz Bahâdur and his Rûpmati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Újjain. Vîde No. 188.

121. Údai Singh, Moth Râja, son of Rây Mâldeo.

The Tâbuqât says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred and ruler of Jodhpûr.

¹ The 6th year of Akbar’s reign commences on the 34th Jumâda II, 968, and the battle of Sârangpûr 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 Gaipati of Orîsâ.

In 981 he was at Kambhâ, it, which he left on the approach of Muḥammad Husayn Mirzâ, and withdrew to Ahmadâbâd to M. ʿAzîz Koka (No. 21).
Akbar, in 994, married Udai Singh’s daughter to Jahangir. On p. 8 of the Tuzuk, Jahangir says that her name was Jagat Gosehni. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Shahjahan); vide p. 323, l. 18.

Mirza Haidi in his preface to Jahangir’s Memoirs (the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri) has the following remark (p. 6): “Raja Udai Sing is the son of Raja Maldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Rana Sankâ, who fought with Firduaw-makâni (Bahar) possessed much power, Maldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious.”

From the Akbarnama (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Moth Raja accompanied in the 22nd year Sadik Khan (No. 43), Raja Askaran, and Ulung Khan Habsi (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabiul 1, 985). In the 28th year he served in the Gujrat war with Muzaffar (Akbarnama, III, 422).

Another daughter of Moth Raja was married to Jaymal, son of Rupai (No. 118).

122. Khwaja Shâh Mansur, of Shiraz.

Mansur was at first mushir (accountant) of the Khushbâ-Khâna (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muzaffar Khan (No. 37) induced Sh. Mansur to go to Jaumpur, where Khan Zamân made him his Diwân. Subsequently he served Munim Khan Khânân in the same capacity. After Munim’s death he worked for a short time with Todar Mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor Vasir. 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 Khwajâ in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding Daksâla roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself, which did not then include Orose, Thathah, Kashmir, and the Dakhin, was divided into 12 parts, called Suhâs; and to each suha a sipahsalar (Military Governor), a Diwan, a Bakhshâ (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a Mir 5 Adl, a Sadr, a Kotewal, a Mir Bahr, and a Waqfâ Nausi (p. 268) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwaja displayed towards jagir-holders led to serious results. In the 25th year he lowered the value of the jagirs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihâr by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihâr were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghans still mustered large forces.
in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orissa, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mansur’s rigour was impolitic; for Akbar’s officers looked upon the old jagir emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghans. 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 Bihur. This Mansur cut down; he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihur officers an increase of only 20 per cent. He then wrote to Muzaffar to enforce the new arrangements. But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Suyurgah tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jagir-holders in Jaumpur, Bihur, 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 Hindu was on the side of the rebels. Todar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mansur and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Masum Khan-i Farangkudi (No. 157) and Muhammad Tarsa (No. 32). Akbar deposed Mansur and appointed temporarily Shah Quli Mahram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mansur’s demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, at Masum Khan-i Kabol’s instigation, threatened to invade the Panjab, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mansur’s enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mirza M. Hakim’s Munshi, addressed to Mansur. Accidentally Malik Sani Hakim’s Divan, who had the title of vazir khaan, left his master, and paid his

1 The chief rebel was Masum Khan-i Kabol, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 198, 303, 377, 438, etc.). He was a Turabi Sayyid (vide p. 373, No. 37). His uncle, Mirza Aziz, had been Vazir under Humayun, and Masum himself was the foster-brother (kawk) of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar’s brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi (p. 339) who had married the widow of Mur Shahr Abu-i-Ma’ali, Masum, in the 29th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghans, and was wounded in a fight with Kala Pahar. For his bravery he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Oress as tujaf, when Mansur and Muzaffar’s strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him Masum Khan-i Sali, Masum Khan, the rebel. His fight with Muzaffar and Shabaz have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to Bhed (p. 365, note), where he died in the 44th year (1007).

His son Shuja-i-Kabol was under Jahangir Thanesar of Gazni, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Shahjahân, who bestowed upon him the title of Anum Khan. He died in the 12th year of Shahjahân’s reign. His son, Qobad, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the Paslashánama, Ed. Bibi. Indira, have entered Shuja’s name twice, I, 394, and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong. [Regarding his death vide Akbar, III, 810. — B.]
respects to Akbar at Sonpat. As he put up with Manṣūr, new suspicious
got afloat. Several words which Manṣūr was said to have uttered, were
construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written
to M. M. Ḥakīm were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg,
his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said
that Farīdūn Khān (maternal uncle to M. M. Ḥakīm) had presented the
Beg to the Mirzā. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicita-
tions of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Manṣūr; 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 Rāy (p. 262) to hang
Manṣūr on a tree near Sarā Koṭ Khachwa (beginning of 989).

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when
Akbar came to Kābul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Manṣūr’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 Manṣūr 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 Karamā
’llah, brother of Shāhbaż Khān-i Kambū (p. 440, l. 23), had written the
letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rāja Todar Mal.

Manṣūr had been Vażīr for four years.

123. Qutluq Qadam Khān, Akhta-begī.

The Turkish word qutluq means mubārak, and qadam-i mubārak,
is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the
Prophet. The Tabaqāt calls him Qulū, instead of Qutluq, which confirms
the conjecture in note 2, p. 383.

Qutluq Qadam Khān was at first in the service of Mirzā Kāmrān,
and then went over to Humāyūn.

In the 9th year of Akbar’s reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja
Mūsāgīm, and served in the same year in Mālwa against ‘Abdu’llah
Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the battle of Khayrābād, he held a command
in the van.

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1 So the Akhara-sana. Kot Khachwa is a village on the road from
Karnāl to Ludhiana, Lat. 30° 17’, Long. 76° 33’. In the Ed. Bbl. India of Badık, om
II, pp. 303, 304) the place is called ፐፋ ፐፎ ፏፎ ፏፏ, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg,
moves, is called Ṭaudaraf Beg, and a few lines lower, again Sharaf Beg. Badık, om
says nothing of Todar Mal’s intrigues. Manṣūr was hanged in the very beginning of 989,
in the midst of the 25th year. The 29th year of Akbar’s reign commences on the 9th Safar
989 (the London Edition III, 323, has wrongly 990): and the 27th year commences
15th Safar 990, which in the Bbl. India Edi. of Badık, om (II, p. 300, l. 2 from below)
is wrongly called the 28th year.

2 Akhta means “a gelding”; and ākhā-begī, the officer in charge of the geldings
(rev. No. 60). This title is not to be confounded with the much higher title Ābedo, from
the Turkish ṭī, a horse; rev. p. 145, Атън 53.
In the 19th year, he was attached to Munṣim's Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takarof (p. 406). He was no longer alive in 1991.

His son, Asad (†) Khān, served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatābād.

124. Šāh Qullā Khān, Indarābī.

Indarābī is a town of Southern Qandahār. A straight line drawn from Kābul northwards to Tālīghān passes nearly through it.

Šāh Qullā had risen under Humāyūn. When the Emperor left Kābul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayrām's rebellion, he appointed Šāh Qullā governor of Kābul. Later, he went with Humāyūn to India.

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Šāh Qullā Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the war with Hemū, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sīkandar Sūr.

In the fifth year, he served under Atga Khān (No. 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated.

The Tabaqqī says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

125. Šāh-al Khān, son of Šāh Muhammad-i Qalātī (No. 95).

He served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in Mālwa, and took a part in the pursuit of Šāh-al Khān Uzbak. Later, he assisted Muhammad Qullā Khān Barlās (No. 31) on his expedition against Sīkandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chitor (p. 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramaḍān, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmir and Alwar. Šāh-al, who was at that time maʃtāb, i.e., under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbārs, had followed the party. A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when Šāh-al 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 Šāh-al received accidentally a sword cut.

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months. In relating his end, Abū Šāfī says that the wrath of heaven overtook him. He had been in love (taṣalluq-i khāṭir) with the wife of his father's Diwān; but he was not successful in his advances. His father remonstrated with him, and Šāh-al in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiṣṣām Khān, brother of Šāh-al Khān. Jahāngīr made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as Qarūnsalbesī (officer in charge of the drivers).
126. Khwāja Ghiyāš's d-Dūn (Ali Khan, Asaf Khan II) of Qazvin. He is not to be confounded with Mir Ghiyāsh's d-Dūn Ali Khan (No. 161). For his genealogy, vide p. 398. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaykh Ghiyāsh's d-Dūn Suhrwardi, a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalifa.

Khwāja Ghiyāsh was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakhshi by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrat war, and received the title of Āsaf Khān. He was also made Bakhshi of Gujrat, and served as such under M. Ẓ Aziz Koka (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amir's to Idar, "to clear this dependency of Gujrat of the rubbish of rebellion." The expedition was directed against Zamindār Narā'in Dās Rāthor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm-i Naqshbandi, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Āsaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies.

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwa and Gujrat, to arrange with Shihāb Khān (No. 26) regarding the introduction of the Dāgh (pp. 252, 265).

He died in Gujrat in 989.

Mirzā Nur's d-Dūn, his son. After the capture of Khusraw (p. 455) Jahangir made Āsaf Khān III (No. 98), Nur's d-Dūn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nur's d-Dūn, who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape. But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of İstibār Khān, one of Jahangir's eunuchs, and Nur's d-Dūn had to alter his plans. He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause. In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahangir on the road. But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwāja Waisi, Diwan of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nur's d-Dūn and Muḥammad Sharif, son of İstimād's d-Dawla, and several others were impaled. The paper containing the list of names was also brought up; but Jahangir, at the request of Khān Jahān Lodi, threw it into the fire without having read it: "else many others would have been killed."

1 Author of the da'irī Tafa'ilī. He died at Bahgdād in 632. His uncle 'Abd al-Nasir (died 583) was also a famous saint. Watenfeld's Jaent, III, p. 203, Naṣīrī T-Uso, pp. 478, 544. Şafā'at T-Aṣfiyā (Lahore Edition), pp. 681, 683.
127. Farrukh Husayn Khān, son of Qāsim Husayn Khān. His father was an Uzbak of Khwārazm; his mother was a sister of Sultan Husayn Mirzā.

The Mu'in and the Tabqāl say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnamā (II, p. 335).

128. Mu'in 'd-Dīn [Ahmad] Khān-i Farangkhādī.¹

Mu'in joined Humāyūn's army when the Emperor left Kābul for Hindūstān. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, he was made Governor of Āgra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces. In the 7th year, when 'Aḥmad Khān Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Mālwa, Mu'in was made a Khān. After the conquest, he divided the province into khālsa and jagīr lands, and performed this delicate office to Akbar's satisfaction. In the 18th year, Mu'in was attached to Mu'in's Bihār corps. He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroi, and died of fever at Gaur (vide p. 407).

The Tabqāl merely says of him that he had been for some time Mir Sāmān.

For his son, vide No. 157.

Badāuni (III, p. 157) mentions a Jāmi Masjid built by Mu'in at Āgra.

129. Muhammad Quli Toqba.

Toqba² is the name of a Chaghtā³ clan.

Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khān (No. 19) in the conquest of Mālwa (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year), and in the pursuit of Mirzā Sharaf 'd-Dīn (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980) he served in the manqalā of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).² In the 20th

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¹ Many MSS. have Farangkhādī. The Muṣjam mentions a place μηχ, Farangked, which is said to be near Samarkand.

² Akbar left Faithpur Sikri for Gurga, in the 20th Safar 980 (17th year), passed over Sangūnir (8 miles south of Jaipur), and arrived on the 15th Rabī' I, at Ajmir. On the 2nd Rabī' II, 980, he ordered the Khan-i Kalān (No. 16) to march in advance (manqalā), and left Ajmir on the 22nd Rabī' II. Shortly before his arrival at Nāgor on the 9th Jumādā I, Akbar heard that Prince Dūnyālī had been born at Ajmir on the 2nd Jumādā I, 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Ahmadābād on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Shavbān, 980, the fight at Sarāqī took place with Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā. On the 22nd Shabān, Akbar reached Baroda, and arrived at Sūrat on the 7th Ramaḍān, 980. On the 18th Ramaḍān, 980, Mīrzā 'Āzīz defeated Muhammad Husayn Mirzā and the Fākdīla at Patan. Sūrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwāl.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dūnyālī's birth. The Tarāk (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumādā I, 978, which has been given above on p. 200. Baddawi (II, p. 120) has the 2nd Jumādā I, 980. The Akbarnamā has the 2nd Jumādā I, and relates the event as having taken place in 980. The MSS. of the Samānī also place the event in 980, but say that Dūnyālī was born on the 2nd Jumādā I, 979.

On the 6th Zī Qaḍā, 980, the 18th year of Akbar's reign commences. After the 10th Zī Hijāh (980) Akbar returned over Patan and Jālōr to Agra, which he reached on the 2nd Safar, 981. After this, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā invaded Gurga, and took Bahrogh and Kamkhā, but was defeated by Quli Khan and S. Hāmid (No. 78),
year, he was attached to Mumcim’s corps, and was present in the battle of Takarat, and the pursuit of the Afghans to Bhadrak (p. 375).


Sildoz is the name of a Chaqhtāi clan. According to the Tabaqāt, he was at first in Bayram’s service. In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanađh (Chunār) which Jamāl Khán, the Afghan Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Badā,oni II, 32). Akbar offered him five parganas near Jampūr, but Jamāl did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 8Ali with vain promises. Mihr 8Ali at last left suddenly for Agra.

On his journey to Chanādh, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badā,oni, then a young man, to whom he had given lodging in his house at Agra. On his return from the Fort, Badā,oni nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river. Badā,oni calls him Mihr 8Ali Beg, and says that he was later made a Khān and Governor of Chitor.

He served under Adham Khān (No. 10) in Mālwa, and in the Gujrat wars of 980 and 981. In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hisār, and honoured him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakīma Bānū Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kābul to advise his brother, Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakim. In the 25th year, he served under Todār Mal against the rebel 8Arab.

The Tabaqāt makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.


He is not mentioned in the Muṭāsir and the Tabaqāt. From the Akbarnāma (II, p. 207) we see that he was Jāgīrār of Sakit (in the Mainpūri 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

8Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadābād. Muhammad Husayn Mirzā joined him. Both besieged Ahmadābād. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrat. This is the famous ‘two days’ march (24th Bāśā II, 981, to 4th Jumāda I, 981); vide p. 488, note. Muhammad Husayn Mirzā was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Huṭtiyār was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, after an absence of forty-three days, at Fatehpūr Sikri, 8th Jumāda I, 981.

It has been above remarked (p. 406, l. 24) that the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnāma 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 Aḡūr-i Akbar, is the third part—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dānīyāl (2nd Jumāda I, 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zil-Qaḍa, 980). Hence they have omitted the important events which took place between those two days, viz., the conquest of Gujrat and the first defeat of the Mirzā.
arrows struck in his shield, and his elephant fell with one foot in 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. ۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۪۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۫۴۲

The Tabaqât mentions a Sultan Ibrahim of Awba (near Hira) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the A'ín. He was the maternal uncle of Nizamuddin Ahmad, author of the Tabaqât. He conquered Kanaun and the Damani Koh.

132. Salim Khan Kākar. 2

Several MSS. of the A'ín call him Salim Khan Kākar Ṣ Ali. The Akbarnama calls him Salim Khan Kākar, or merely Salim Khan, or Salim Khan Sirmur. The Tabaqât has Salim Khan Sirmur Afghān.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Mālwa, and later under Mu'izzuddin Mulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarmāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jāgīrdar of Tājpūr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shāh Bāz Khan (No. 80) to Bhaṭī. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazir Khan having gone to the frontier of Oṛīṣā, Jāhārī (vide p. 400, note 2) made an inroad from Kūch Bihār into Ghorāghāt, and took Tājpūr from Salim's men, and Pūrma, from the relations of Tarsō Khān (No. 32). Jāhārī moved as far as Tānda. The Kotwāl, Ḥasan Ṣ Ali, was sick, and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Šadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaykh Farīd arrived, and Jāhārī withdrew to Tājpūr. In the 32nd year, Salim served under Mastāb Khān (No. 83) against the Tārīkās, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Šādīq Khān against the same Afghān rebels.

He was no longer alive in 1001.

133. Ḥabīb Ṣ Ali Khān.

He is not to be confounded with the Ḥabīb Ṣ Ali Khān mentioned on p. 466.

Ḥabīb was at first in the service of Bayrām Khān. In the third year when Akbar had marched to Āgra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantanbhūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghāns, and Salim Shāh had appointed Jhujhar Khān governor. On Akbar's accession, Jh. saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists, and handed it over to Rāy Surjan (No. 96), who was then in the service of Rāna Ūdai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege.

1 Parōkh, nineteen kos south of Siyālko.—B.
2 Should be Osman.—B.
Abū Ḩaẓāl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bayrām's fall produced.

In the 6th year (968) he served under Adham (No. 19), in Mālwa. According to the Tabaqāt, he died in 970.

134. Jagmāl, younger brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. -Jagmāl was mentioned on p. 348. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp. His son Kangār. He generally lived with his uncle Rāja Bihārī Mal at Court. When Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rāja to go to Dihlī. In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan. In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition against Rānā Partāb. Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shāhbaz Khān (No. 80). When Shāhbaz returned unsuccessfully from Bhāti (p. 438) Kangār, Sayyid Abū ʿAbbās ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Khān (No. 189), Rāja Gopāl Mīrzā Khān (No. 152) met a detachment of rebels, and mistook them for their own men. Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed Nawrūz Beg Qāqshīl, the leader. They then joined Shāhbaz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Mūrchea.

According to the Tabaqāt, Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand. The phraseology of some MSS. implies that he was no longer alive in 1001.

135. Ulugh Khān Ḥabshī, formerly a slave of Sūltān Mahmūd of Gujrat.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian Khān-i Kālān (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Mahmūd of Gujrat. The word Ḥabshī, for which MSS. often have Badakhshī, 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 Gujratī nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Śādiq (No. 43) against Rāja Mādhukar Bundela, Zamīndār of Undcha. In the 24th year, he followed Śādiq who had been ordered to assist Rāja Todar Mal on his expedition against the rebel Arab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabitas (p. 383, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.

The Tabaqūt says that Maqsūd was at first in Bayrām Khān’s service. He had been dead for a long time in 1001.

From the Akbarnāma (II, 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest of Gwāliyār.

137. Qabūl Khān.

From the Akbarnāma (II, p. 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar’s reign) we see that Qabūl Khān had conquered the District of Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier. One of the Zamīndārs of the District, named Jalāl, 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 Yadgār Husayn (No. 338), to Nawshahr. The Zamīndārs of the latter place opposed Yadgār, and wounded him in a fight. Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yadgār 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 Ramaḍān, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jalān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamīndārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

Yadgār Husayn recovered from his wounds. He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāma mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served in the Afghan war in Bengal under Mun'im Khān Khānān. He was present in the battle of Takarā, and pursued the Afghāns under Todar Mal to Bhandark (p. 406).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the Tabaqūt and the Ma'āṣir.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.


Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, long. 70°, lat. 30°. 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 Akbarnāma Kūchak ‘Ali Khān-i Badakhshi.

1 Not all MSS. of the Aţ in have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 amongst the Hazāri. But the best MSS. have this sentence. In the lists of grandees in the Pādshāhānād also the season of Nine Hundred occurs.
He served under Munṣim Khān Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation of Bakṣar (Buxar) in the 10th year.

He also served under Munṣim Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaro,¹ (p. 406).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148 and No. 380.

139. Sabdāl Khān, Sumbul, a slave of Humāyūn.

140. Sayyid Muhammad, Mir ʻAdl, a Sayyid of Amroha.

Amroha, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to the Sarkār of Sambal. Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India. Mir Sayyid Muhammad had studied the Hādiṣ and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Badā,oni, was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muhammad, Mir ʻAdl. When the learned were banished from Court (iḥkrāy-i ʻulamā) he was made governor of Bhakkar.¹ He died there two years later in 984 (vide Nos. 119 and 251).

From the Akbarnāma, we see that S. Muhammad with other Amroha Sayyids served, in the 18th year, under S. Mahmūd of Bārha in the expedition against Rāja Madhumār.

He advised the Historian Badā,oni to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious Madad-i maṣūṣh tenures, an advice resembling that of ʻAbd-i-Ghaffār (vide No. 99, p. 454). S. Muhammad’s sons were certainly all in the army; vide Nos. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawi Khān, Mirzā Mirak, a Razawi 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 Dihli, Badā,oni II, 100). After Khān Zamān’s death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a māzi 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 mansāb, and the title of Razawi Khān. In the 19th year, he was made Diwān of Jaumāpur, and in the 24th year, Bakshi of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muzaffar Khān (No. 37). His harsh behaviour towards the dissatisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of

¹ In 983, the 20th year (Akbarabnāmā III, 138). Badā,oni (III, p. 73) has 984.
the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zī Hijjah, 987) and gone from Tānda to Gaur, Mużaffar sent Razawi Khān, Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196) and Mir 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 Rāy Patr Dās’s Rājpūts said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot. Rāy Patr Dās mentioned this to Razawi Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās. Razawi Khān and Mir Ahmad Munshi surrendered themselves.

The Ma’āṣir says that nothing else is known of Razawi Khān. The Tabaqāt says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

Mirzā Mirak is not to be confounded with Mirak Khān, “an old grandee, who died in 975” (Tabaqāt); or with Mirak Bahādur (208). Shāhjahān conferred the title of Razawi Khān on Sayyid ʿAlī, son of ʿAbdul-. ʿAbdul-Mirzā S. Jalāl of Bukhārā.

142. Mirzā Najāt Khān, brother of Sayyid Barka, and
149. Mirzā Husayn Khān, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the Tabaqāt, were dead in 1001. Their names are often wrongly given in MSS., which call them Najūbat, instead of Najāt, and Ḥasan instead of Husayn.

From the Akbarnāma (I, 441) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

Mirzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rāja ʿAlī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qāqshālī (vide, p. 399, note 2), Jahārī (p. 400), Vaxir Jamīl (No. 200), ʿAṣāl-i Toqhi, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zī Hijja, 987, from Tānda to Gaur across the Ganges. Mir Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Mużaffar sent his grandees [Mir Jamāl al-dīn Husayn Injū (No. 164), Razawi Khān (No. 141), Timūr Khān (No. 215), Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196), Mir Adham, Husayn Beg, Ḥakim Abū ʿĪbād Fath (No. 112), Khwajā Shams al-dīn (No. 150), Jaʃfar Beg (No. 98), Muḥammad Qulī Turkmān (No. 203), Qāsim Khān-i Sistānī, ʿĪważ Bahādur, Zulf ʿAlī Yaḍālī, Sayyid Abū ʿIs-ḥaq-i Ṣafawi (No. 384), Mużaffar Beg, etc.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mir Najāt stayed with Vaxir Jamīl, although Mużaffar, who was Najāt’s father-in-law, fully expected him to join. He must have soon after left
the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal; for in the end of the 25th year he was at Sātgāw (Hūglī). Abū l-Faḍl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fatābād (No. 34), and Qiyā Khān in Orīsā (No. 35), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (Akbār, III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afgāns under Qutūʿī, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity. Mir Najāt also was attacked by Qutūʿī and defeated near Salimābād (Sulaymānābād), S, of Bardwān. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūglī. Bābā Khān Qāshālī sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt; but the officer hearing of Qutūʿī's victory, attacked the Afgāns near Mangalkot, N.E. of Bardwān. Qutūʿī, however, was again victorious.


144. Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshī.

In MSS., Ghāzī is often altered to Qāzī, and Badakhshī to Bakhshī, and as Ghāzī Khān's first title was Qāzī Khān, his name is often confounded with No. 223. Other Ghāzī Khāns have been mentioned above, on pp. 396, 418.

Ghāzī Khān's name was Qāzī Nizām. He had studied law and Hadīs, under Mullā ʿĪsāʾ b-Dīn Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the murūd of Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Sūfī. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, king of Badakhshān (No. 5), who conferred upon him the title of Qāzī Khān. At the death of Humāyūn, Sulaymān, wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kābul and besieged Munṣīm (No. 11). After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaymān sent Qāzī to Munṣīm to prevail on him to surrender. But Munṣīm detained him for several days, and treated him "to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshīs cannot enjoy even in peaceful times". The good dinners made such an impression on Qāzī Khān that he advised Sulaymān to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort. Sulaymān thereupon returned to Badakhshān.

Subsequently Qāzī Khān left his master, and went to India. At Khaṃpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (Akbār, III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed Pūrmānchī writer (p. 273). Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a Commander of One Thousand. He also bestowed upon

1 The MSS. of the Akbarnāma call him Barūb Bilār Fīrisāt, or Purūb Fīrisāt.
him the title of Ghāzi Khān, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghāzi Khān commanded the left wing of Mān Singh’s corps in the war with the Rānā. Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely. He then received Awadh as tayīl, and distinguished himself in Bihār against the rebellious grandees.

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultān Khwāja died (No. 108).

Ghāzi Khān is the author of several works (vide Badā,oni III, 153).

The ejda, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (vide p. 167, note).

His son Husām-ā ’d-Dīn. Akbar made him a Commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khān Khānān (No. 29) to the Dakhan. Suddenly a change came over Husām, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as a faqīr at the tomb of Nīgām-ā ’d-Dīn Awliyā in Dīlī. The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Husām next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazaars. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dīlī. Khwāja Bāqi Billah (born at Kābul and buried at Dīlī) conferred on him power of “guiding travellers on the road of piety”. He died in 1034. His wife was Abū ’l-Fazl’s sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwishes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. Vide Tuzuk, p. 80.


The MSS. have Sakā (x) and Sakāhī. Farhat Khān is first mentioned in the war between Humāyūn and Mirzâ Kāmrān, when many grandees joined the latter. In a fight, Beg Bābā of Kolāb lifted up his sword to strike Humāyūn from behind. He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat, and put to flight. When Humāyūn left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khān was, Farhat was appointed Shiqdār of Lāhor. 1 Subsequently, Mir Shāh Abū ’l-Ma’ālī was appointed Governor of Lāhor. He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead. Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb.

1. Aḥmadshāh I, 416. At the same time, Mir Bāhā (No. 73) was appointed Faujdār of the Panjāb, Mirzâ Shāh Sultān was made Amin, and Mihtar Jawhari, treasurer.

Humāyūn was on the 29th of Muharram, 962, at Bigrān, crossed the Indus on the 5th Saif, when Bāyān arrived from Kābul, was at Lāhor on the 2nd Rabī’ II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajab.
After Akbar’s accession, Farhat was made Tuguldur of Korn. He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirza near Ahmadabad. When the Mirza was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farhat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihar and was made jagirdar of Ara. In the 21st year (984), Gajpat (p. 437) devastated the district. Farhang Khan, 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. Rumi Khan, Ustad Jalabi (?), of Rumi.

He is not mentioned in the Tabaqat and the Ma’aqir, and but rarely in the Akbarnama. In the 20th year, he and Baji Khan (No. 60) and Abdur-Rahman Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salima Suliman Begam, Haji Begam, Gulnaz Begam, Sultan Begam (wife of Mirdza Askari), Umme Kulsam Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujnar Agha (one of Babor’s wives), Bibi Safiya, Bibi Sarw-i-Sali and Shaham Aga (wives of Humayun), and Salima Khwaja (daughter of Khizr Khwaja). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rumi Khan has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Samanjii Khan Qurghaja (vide No. 100).

He was a grandee of Humayun. During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. The Tabaqat says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000. In the same year he is called a Mughal.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Malwa under Adham Khan (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sarangpur. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qasim Khan-i-Nishapuri (No. 40) and pursued Abdulla Khan Uzbak (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi (No. 74), to go to Rantambhur and suppress the disturbances created by Mirza Muhammad Husayn in Malwa. Later, he held a jagir in Ara. He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the Akbarnama (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

1 The Ma’aqir has Aminah. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jagirdar of the Ara District (Akbar, III, 244).
21st year under Khân Jahân (No. 24) and was present in the battle of Ağ Muhâlîl. In the 30th year, he was in Mâlwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps. Two years later, he served under Shâhâb Khân (No. 26) against Râja Mâshukâr.


His name is not given in the Muḥsir and the Taqâqî. Amîr Beg, a Pânsâlî under Shâhjahân, appears to be his son.

149. Mirza Husayn Khân, brother of Mirzâ Najât Khân (vide No. 142).

150. Hakîm Zanbîl, brother of Mirzâ Muḥammad Tabîb of Sabzvâr.

Zanbîl means "a baket". In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakîm Zanbîl Beg. Badâ,oni says, he was a muqarrîb, or personal attendant on the emperor.¹

151. Khudâwând Khân-i Dakhini.

Khudâwând Khân was a Nizâmshâhî Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called Mashhadî. He was of course a Shîfah.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well known for his personal courage. When Khwaja Mirak of Isfahân, who had the title of Chingiz Khân, was the Vâkil of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barâr as jagîr. The Masjid of Rohankhera ² was built by him.

In 993, when Mîr Murtazâ of Sabzvâr (No. 162) commanded the army of Barâr, and was no longer able to withstand Salâhât Khân Chirgis in the Dakhin, Kh. accompanied M. Murtazâ to Hindûstân. Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh. was made a Commander of One Thousand. He received Patân in Gujrat as tugîl.

He was married to Abû ʿl-Faṣîl's sister, and died at Karî in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (Badâ,oni II, 372, where in the Târikh of his death the word Dakhînî must be written without an h).

Once Abû ʿl-Faṣîl had invited several grandees, Khudâwând 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 Abû ʿl-Faṣîl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindûstânî custom, Kh. disliked Abû ʿl-Faṣîl, and never went again to his house.

"Hence Dakhinîs are notorious in Hindûstân for stupidity."

¹ The Edêt. Bibl. Indices of Badâ,oni (III, 104) calls him wrongly Hâˀûn Zâbîl Shâfîzî. Zîzî is the reading of bad MSS., and Sabzvârî is often altered to Shâfîzî. Other bad MSS. have Rashîl.

² Rohankhera lies in West Barâr, in the district of Bûdlâna. In Abû ʿl-Faṣîl's list of parganas in Surkâr Talûqâna, there is one called Girpâl-i Khudâwând Khân.
The Tabaqût puts Kh. among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The Mu'āṣir has 997.

152. Mirzâda ʿAli Khan, son of Muhtarum Beg.¹

He served in the 9th year in Mālwa during the expedition against ʿAbdūllāh Khan Uzbek (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 Qāsim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghāns ravaged the frontiers of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shāh bāz Khān in the war with Rānā Partāb.² He then served in Bihār under Khān-i Aṣzam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāh bāz Khān (vide No. 134, p. 483). In the 30th year (993) he was present in the fight with Qulū near Mangalkot (Bardwān). In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmir. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdūllāh Khan (No. 189).

Baʿdūni (III, p. 326) says he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. Saṣādat Mirzā, son of Khizr Khwāja Khān (p. 394, note).

154. Shīmāl Khān Chela.

Chela means "a slave". The Tabaqût says he was a Qurchi, or armourbearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a Hāzārī and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muṣẓazzam. In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandra Sen, during which Jalāl Khān (No. 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Aḥmad (No. 91) and Shāh bāz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānā.

155. Shāh Ghāzī Khān, a Sayyid from Tabriz.

The Tabaqût calls him a Turkman, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served in the 19th year with Mirzāda ʿAli Khan (No. 152) against Qāsim Khān Kāsū.

He may be the Shāh Ghāzī Khan mentioned below under No. 161.

156. Fāzīl Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16).

He was mentioned above, on p. 339.

157. Maṣṣūm Khān, son of Muṣṭin, d-Dīn Aḥmad Farangkhūdī (No. 128).

He is not to be confounded with Maṣṣūm Khān-i Kābulī (p. 476, note).

¹ He is also called Mirzā ʿAli Khan. My text edition has wrongly Mirzā ʿAli Khān. For Muhtarum many MSS. read wrongly Mubaroq.

² His father, Muhtarum Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn’s Court.

³ Generally called in the Histories Ramā Khān.
Mašūm was made a Hāzūrī on the death of his father, and received Ghāzi pur as tāyūl. He joined Toḍar Mal in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (pp. 376-7). Not long afterwards, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Mašūm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsā Khān's men (No. 32). As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as tāyūl. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Quli Mahāram and Rāja Bir Bar had failed to bring him to his senses, Shāh-bāz Khān, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him. The events of the expedition have been related on p. 437.

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 Zamindārs 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 Maḥmūd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahārīch. Vazir Khān (No. 41) and others moved from Ḥajipur against him; but M. escaped them. After plundering the town of Muḥammadābād, he resolved to surprise Jaunpūr, when the tāyūlārs of the district marched against him. Being hard pressed, he applied to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) to intercede for him. Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Pargana Mīhī, Sarkār Chāmpārān, as tāyūl. But M. continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M. ʿAzīz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court. He arrived, in the 27th year, in Āgra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar's mother.

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbār, he was killed on the road. An inquiry 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 Bihār rebels.

158. Tolak Khān Qūchān.

Tolak commenced to serve Bābar. He joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia. When the emperor had seized on Kābul, and M. Kārām came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humāyūn's grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zāhāk (تک) and Bāmiyān, where he hoped to find faithful officers. He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kābul,
to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned. For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegi.

Tolak accompanied Humayun 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 Mir Shâh Abû 'I-Ma'âlî. Afterwards, T. went to Kâbul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghâni Khân, son of Munsim Khân (No. 11), who was in charge of Kâbul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bâbâ Khâtân, his jagîr, collecting men to take revenge on Ghâni. A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghâni one day had left Kâbul for a place called Khwâja Sayyârân (خوaja سیاران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khân fell upon them. Ghâni, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwâja Awâsh (خوaja اواش), a place two kos distant from Kâbul. But he was opposed by Fazîl Beg (Munsim's brother) and his son Abû 'I-Fath (called wrongly 'Abdû 'I-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 Hindustân. Ghâni overtook him near the Āb-i Ghurbând, and killed Bâbâ Qâchín, and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandiyâr managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jagîr in Mâlwa, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under Khân Khânân (No. 29) in Mâlwa and Gujrat, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambâhât. He distinguished himself in the fights with Mughâflâr, and served under Quli Khân (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahrôch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 'Aziz Koka was to be sent to the Dakhin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 'Aziz Koka and Shihâbû 'I-Dîn, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mân Singh against the Afghans.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwâja Shamsû 'I-Dîn Khawâfî.

Khwâfî means "coming from Khawai", which is a district and town in Khurásân. Our maps have "Khâfî" or "Khâfî", due west of Hirât, between Lat. 66° and 61°. According to the Mu'jamû 'I-Buđân, "Khawai" is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishâpûr. Near it lies on one side Bûshanj which belongs to the districts of Hirât, and on the other Zâzan. Khawai
contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Āravand, and Kharjarval)." Amin Rāzi in his excellent Haft Iqlīm says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Āl-i Muẓaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 69 years over Fārs and Shirāz, were Khawāfīs. The author of the Zakhīrat al Khawāfīn says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnis. When Shāh ʿAbdul-ʿAlī Saʿawī, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shiʿas, the companions of the Prophet (ṣubb-i ṣaḥāba); but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid. Although then no one was converted, the Khawāfīs are now as staunch Shiʿas as they were formerly bigoted Sunnis.

Khwāja Shams-al-Din was the son of Khwāja ʿAbd-al-Din, who was a man much respected in Khawāf. Shams accompanied Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Māṣūm-ī Kābulī had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him. Shams was half dead, when at the request of ʿArab Bahādūr he was let off and placed under ʿArab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrām, Rāja of Khārakpūr (Bihār). As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

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1 They succumbed to Timur. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from A.D. 741 to 798.

Amin Rāzi mentions also several learned men and vuzirs besides those mentioned in the Maʿṣūm, and relates some anecdotes illustrating the proverbial sagacity and quick-wittedness of the inhabitants of Khawāf.

The number of Khawāfīs in the service of the Mujahil emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maʿṣūm has notes on the following: Mīrā ʿAṣār (under Jahāngīr); Mīrāūd, and Mīrūna Madīn Khān Muhammad Sallī (under Shāhjahān); Sayyid Amir Khān Shāykh Mir, Khwāja Mir Khwāfī Sarabat Khān, Ḥusayn Khān, and Mustafā Khān (under Awrangzīb). The lists of grandees in the Pādshahnamā mention several other Khawāfīs. In later times we have the name of ʿAbdul-r-Razzāq Samānī ʿAbd-al-Dawla Awrangzībī, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mir Khwāja al-Din Khwāfī, has served under Akbār.

For Khawāfī, some MSS. have Khāfī. The Historian Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān has also been supposed to be a Khawāfī, though it must be observed that geographical titles are rare. There are a few, as Khān Khān, Chāzān Khān, Ḥabik Khān. The authors of the Pādshāḥīnamā and the Maʿṣūm never use the term Khāfī.

Singrām later fought with Shāhāb Khān (No. 80), and died Fort Mālābād. 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 Khāl Khān Lālī Beg, governor of Bihār, sent a corps against Singrām, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Mālābād, and received the name "Rāja Bāz-ālān," was confirmed in his zamindāri, and reached, under Jahāngīr, the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāhjahān, he served with Mālābāt, Khān in Balkh, against Jānārānīn Singh Bundela, in the siege of Parejā, and was at his death in 1634 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rāja Bīhrīrī served in Qandahār, in the war between Awrangzīb and Shāh Sanjāc, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Pālānāw (4th year of Awrangzīb). Rāja Bīhrīrī died in the 8th year of Awrangzīb's reign. Vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society Bengal, for December, 1870.
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 (266h) to superintend the building of Fort Atak (built 990-1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.1

After this, Shams was for some time Diwân of Kâbul. In the 39th year, when Qulîj Khân (No. 42) after the death of Qâsim Khân (No. 59) was made Şâbûdar of Kâbul, Shams was made Diwân of the empire (Diwân-i kull), vice Qulîj.2 When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjâb, moved to Ágra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurrâm (Shâhjâhân) were left in Lâhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjâb, in which office he continued, after Akbar’s mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Ágra.

Shams died at Lâhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bâbâ Hasan Abdâl having been used for other purposes (p. 469) he was buried in Lâhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called Khawâfsípûra.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shaykh Farîd-i Bulkhârî (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwâja Mûmin Khawâfî, was made, on his death, Diwân of the Panjâb. Mûmin’s son, ‘Abî ‘l-Khâliq was a favourite of Æsaf Khân IV (p. 398). He was killed by Mahâbat Khân, when Æsaf had been removed by Mahâbat from Fort Atak and imprisoned.


Kûwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mîrzâ Ja’far Æsaf Khân (No. 98) against Râja Bâsû, zamindâr of Man and Pathân (Nûr-pûr, N.E. Panjâb). In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Mâlwa, and Prince Salîm (Jahângîr) was ordered to move against Rûnû Amr Singh,

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1 The author of the Mâzâr repeats Abî ‘l-Farl’s etymology of the name “Atak,” which was given on p. 404, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindî, “atak,” perversion, a bar, “because Hindîs will not go beyond the Indus.” But there is no instance on record that Hindîs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwân Dás, Mân Singh, and others were governors of Kâbul and Zâbulistân, and had their Râjpûts there; and during the reign of Shâhjâhân, the Râjpûts distinguished themselves in the conquest of Balhâ and the siege of Qandahâr. (Fort Atak built in 990-91. — B.)

Abî ‘l-Farl’s etymology is also doubtful; for in the Akbârnamâ (II, 362) he mentions the name “Atak” long before the building of the Fort (III, 333).

2 The twelve Diwâns, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Sâbûs, were under his orders. Diwân-i kull is the same as Fâzîr-i kull or Fâzûr-i mutley, or merely Fâzûr.
Mān Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal, as sādū of his father. While still at Āgra, he died from excessive drinking. Regarding J. S.'s daughter, vide p. 323 and No. 175.

Mahā Singh, Jagat's younger son, was appointed in his stead. His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghāns under ʿUsamān and Shujāwāl Khān to attack him. They defeated him and Partāb Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 336), near Bhdrak in Orīsā (40th year). Mān Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afghāns near Sherpur ʿAtā-1, between Shiūrī (Sooree) in Bhirhūm and Murshidābād, recovered Lower Bengal and Orīsā.

Mahā Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.


Naqīb Khān is the title of Mir Ghiyās d-Dīn ʿAlī. His family belongs to the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, who were known in Iran for their Sunnī tendencies. His grandfather Mir Yahyā 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 Muḥammadan religion to his own time."

"In the opening of his career, Mir Yahyā was patronized by Shāh Tahmāsp-i Ṣafawī, who called him Yahyā Maṣṣūm, 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 ʿAbdu ʿl-Latīf, were the leading men among the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Ṭabarzīān, to order Mir Yahyā and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Isfahān. At that time, his second son, ʿAlī ʿd-Dawla was in Ṭabarzīān, and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father. Mir Yahyā, being too old and infirm to flee, accompanied the king's messenger to Isfahān, and died there, after one year and nine months, in A.H. 962, at the age of 77 years." 2

2. Mir ʿAbdu ʿl-Latīf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's

1. I.e., exempt, probably from losing life and property for his attachment to Sunnism.

2. Mir Yahyā is the author of an historical compendium called Labbād d-ṭawāiḥī, composed in 1041. Vide Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ʿAlī ʿd-Dawla wrote under the poetical name of Kāmis, and is the author of the Naḥaʿ ʾt-Māṣṣir, a "tażhiḥ," or work on literature. Radà,oni (III, 97) says he composed a Qaṣīda in which, according to the manner of Shīʿah, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnis, and among the latter his father and elder brother (C ʿAbdu ʿl-Latīf), whom he used to call Ḥurraʿ-i Ḷiyū, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.

Some fix the date of Mir Yahyā's death two years earlier.
communication, fled to Gilân, and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humâyûn went to Hindûstân, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor. At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hâlig. 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 Bayrâm Khân had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Ágra and proceeded to Alwar with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjâb, the emperor sent the Mir to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign. Elliot, Index, i.e.

Mir ¢Abdul-Latif died at Sikrî on the 5th Rajab, 981, and was buried at Ajmûr near the Dargâh of Mir Sayyid Husayn Kháng-Suwâr. ¢Abdul-Latif had several sons. The following are mentioned: 1. Naqîb Khân; 2. Qamar Khân; 3. Mir Muhammad Sharîf. The last was killed in 984 at Fathpûr by a fall from his horse, while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad. II, 230). For Qamar Khân, vide No. 243.

Naqîb Khân arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjâb (Akbarn. II, 23) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II, 281). In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khân Zamân, for whom Munîsim Khân had interceded (II, 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadâbâd (p. 481, note), and in the following year to Patan. In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Ídar (III, 165) and was sent in the following year to Mâlwa or Gujràt, after the appointment of Şihâb to the latter province. After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N. with his brother Qamar Khân served under Tôdar Mal and Şâdîq Khân in Bihâr against Munisîm-i Kábûlî (III, 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqîb Khân. Though

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1. The MSS. of the Maâlûkî have , so also Badâ, i.e.
2. He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of , "peace with all," the Persian term which Abû 'l-Fazîl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abû 'l-Fazîl (Akbarn. II, 23) says that Abdul-Latif was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindûstân of being a Shi'ah.
3. Elliot has by mistake 971. The Tarîkh of his death in the Maâlûkî and Badâni (III, p. 99) is fâlîf-i at-i Ya-Sûr, "the pride of the descendants of Yasin (the Prophet)" = 981, if the long alif in at-i be not counted; but 1.
4. Kewal Râû, according to Elliot, says in the Tâskhîs 'l-Usâsî that the title was conferred on Naqîb Khân in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Mâsûm Khân-i Kábûlî on the Imperialists under Tôdar Mal and Şâdîq Khân. This night attack is related in the Akbarshah (III, 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Guyà; but Abû 'l-Fazîl says nothing of Naqîb's "gallant conduct"; he does not even mention his name.
during the reign of Akbar, he did not rise above the rank of a Ḥazārī, he possessed great influence at Court. He was Akbar’s reader, and superintended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 110. Several portions of the Tārīkh-i Ḳalī also (p. 113) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāzī Ǧīṣā, who had come from Iran to Akbar’s Court, where he died in 980. His son was Shāh Ghāzī Khān (vide No. 155). Akbar married the latter to Sakīna Bānī Begam, sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (Akbar’s half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāzī Ǧīṣā had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar, the emperor married her. Thus two of Naqīb’s cousins married into the imperial family.

On the accession of Jahāngīr, N. was made a Commander of 1,500 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He died in the 9th year of J.’s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmīr, and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Muṣīn-i Chishti’s tomb (Tuzuk, p. 129). His wife was a daughter of Mir Muḥīr, Munṣūh wa l-Mamūlīk, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar’s service (Badā, oni III, 321).

Naqīb’s son, Ǧāḥīmad wa l-Laṭīf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūsūf 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 Rawzat wa l-safa by heart. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, praises him for his remarkable memory, and Badā, oni, who was Naqīb’s schoolfellow 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. Mir Murtaḍā Khān, a Sahibwārī Sayyid.

Mir Murtaḍā Khān was at first in the service of ǦĀdīl Shāh of Bījāpur. Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh called him to Ahmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amir wa l-Umar. He successfully invaded, at Nizām Shāh’s order, ǦĀdīl Shāh’s dominions. But Nizām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakil, Shāh Quli Ṣalābat Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the Ṭugāḍarīs of Barār, were dissatisfied. Ṣalābat Khān being bent on ruining them, Mir Murτaḍā Khudadwānd Khān (No. 151), Jamshed Khān-i Shīrāzī and others, marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān and Shāhzāda Mirān Ḥusayn surprised them and routed them. Mir Murtaḍā lost all his property, and unable to resist Ṣalābat Khān, he went with Khudadwānd 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, Saʿdiq Khān (No. 43) remained in Mahār (South Barār), and M. M. in Ilīchpūr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gāwūl, near Ilīchpūr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajīhuʿd-Dīn and Bīwās Rāsā, to enter Akbar's service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Dānyāl, and received a higher Mānsāb, as also a flag and a nāqqārā.

Mir Murtaza is not to be confounded with the learned Mir Murtaza Sharif-i Shīrāzī (Badā,oni III, 330), or the Mir Murtaza mentioned by Badā,oni III, 279.

163. Shamsī, son of Khān-i Aʿzam Mirzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on pp. 345 and 346. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsī was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahāngīr's reign, he received the title of Jahāngīr Quli Khān, vacant by the death of Jahāngīr Quli Khān Lāla Beg, Governor of Bihār, and was sent to Gujrat as nāʾīb of his father. Mirzā Azīs had been nominally appointed Governor of that Sūba; but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court. Subsequently Shamsī was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor of Jaunpūr. Whilst there, Prince Shāhjahān had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending ʿAbd-illāh Khān Piržā-Jang and Rāja Bhūm in advance towards Ilāhābād. On their arrival at Chausā, Shamsī left Jaunpūr, and joined Mirzā Rustam (No. 9), Governor of the Sūba of Ilāhābād.

On Shāhjahān's accession, Shamsī was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mānsāb. A short time after, he was appointed to Sūrat and Jāmāgaḍh, vice Beglar Khān. He died there in the 5th year of Shāhjahān's reign (1041).

Shamsī's son, Bahrām, was made by Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (Pādirshāhīn, I, b., 309) and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrat, he built a place called after him Bahirūmpūrā. He died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign (Pādirshāhīn, II, p. 733).

164. Mir Jamāl ʿd-Dīn Husayn, an Injū Sayyid.

From a remark in the Wasef it appears that a part of Shīrāz was called Injū; vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mir Jamāl ʿd-Dīn Injū belongs to the Sayyids of Shīrāz, who trace their descent to Qāsimarrāsī (? ibn-i Ḥasan ibn-i Ībrāhīm Ṭabāṭīb?i Husaynī. Mir Shāh Mahmūd and Mir Shāh Abū Turāb, two later members.
of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp-i Șāfawī, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mir Shams'a 'd-Dīn Asad'a 'l-lāh of Shushtar, the first as Shaykh' l-Islām of Persia, and the second as Qāziy'a l-Quṣāt. Mir Jamāl'a 'd-Dīn is one of their cousins.

Mir Jamāl'a 'd-Dīn went to the Dakhin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injūs. He afterwards entered Akbar’s service, took part in the Gujrat wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 432). Later he was sent to Bengal. At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muzaflar (Akbarname III, p. 255). In the 30th year (993) he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, Aṣgam Khān (No. 21) on his expedition to Gadhha and Rā'isīn (Akbar, III, 472). In the 36th year, he had a jagīr in Mālwa, and served under Aṣgam Khān in the Dakhin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazāri took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of Aṣir had been conquered, ʿĀdil Shāh, king of Bijāpur wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dānyāl. To settle matters, Akbar dispatched the Mir in 1009 (Akbar, D III, 846) to the Dakhin. But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan. After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishīa, he went to Āgra, in order to lay before the emperor "such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dakhin".

At the end of Akbar's reign, Mir J. was a Commander of Three Thousand. Having been a favourite of Prince Salim, he was promoted after the Prince's accession to the post of a Chahar-Hazāri, and received a nappīra and a flag. When Khusrav rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusrav the kingdom of Kābul with the same conditions under which M. Muḥammad Ḥakim, Akbar's brother, had held that province. But the Prince did not consent; and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p. 455) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No. 167), Khusrav's principal agent told Jahāngīr that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamāl'a 'd-Dīn had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as Pānjhaizārī. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirza 'Āzīz Koka (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself ('Āzīz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahāngīr consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, Mir Jamāl received the title of 'Āsād'a 'd-Dawla.
On this occasion, he presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bijapur. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow yaqıt fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other yaqıts and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahangir 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 Panj hazarī with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahangir’s accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled Farhang-i Jahangiri, 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 Bahrā,ich, Mir Jamāl returned to Agra, where he died.

Mir Jamāl’s d-Dīn had two sons. 1. Mir Amān ‘d-Dīn. He served with his father, and married a daughter of ‘Abd’r-Rahim Khān Khānān (No. 29). He died when young.

2. Mir Husam ‘d-Dīn. He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khān, brother’s son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-Jang (Nūr Jahān’s brother). Jahangir made him Governor of Āsūr, which fort he handed over to Prince Shāhjahān during his rebellion. On Shāhjahān’s accession, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 3,000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of Mustazā Khān. He was also made Governor of Thathāl, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mir Husam’s sons—1. Samsam ‘d-Dawla. He was made Diwān of Shāh Shujā in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orīsā with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. Nūr ‘Ilāh. He is mentioned in the Pādshāhnāma (I, b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

165. Sayyid Rājū, of Bārha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (vide p. 427) the Bārha clan Rājū belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannāth (No. 69), against the Rānā. While serving under the latter, Rājū commanded the Imperial garrison of Māndalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Rānā’s troops. In the 30th year, Jagannāth and Rājū attacked the Rānā in his residence; but he escaped.

1 Regarding the Farhang-i Jahangiri, vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, pp 12 to 15, and 63 to 69.
Later, Râjû served under Prince Murâd, Governor of Mâlwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Râja Madhubar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Mâlwa, Râjû 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. Râjû attacked them, but was killed in the fight, together with several of his relations (A.H. 1003).

166. Mir Sharif-i Amuli.

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p. 185. In the 30th year (993) Prince Mirza Muhammad Hâkîm of Kâbul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mir Sharif was appointed Amîn and Sadr of the new province. In the following year, he served under Mân Singh in Kâbul. In the 36th year, he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihâr and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmir as aqta, and the Pargana of Mohân near Lakhnau, as taqâlî. 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 Mohân. 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.

Jahângir in his memoirs (Tuzuk, p. 22) praises him very much.

The Tabaqat says, "Mir Sharif belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with Sûfism and is at present (1001) in Bihâr."

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Note on the Nuqtawiyya Sect (نقطوية).

It was mentioned above (p. 186) that Mir Sharif spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmûd of Bâsakhiwân. The curious sect which Mahmûd founded, goes by the name of Mahmu'diyya, or Wâhidiyya, or Nuqtawiyya, or Usmâni. Mahmûd called himself Shâkh-i wâhid, or "the individual," and professed to be the Imam Mahdi, whose appearance

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1 The Lucknow edition of the Afkarâd-dîn (III, p. 629) says he was made at the same time a Commander of Four Thousand. This must be a mistake, because Mir Sharif was at Jahângir's accession a Commander of 2,500 (Tuzuk, p. 22).

2 Bâdâ, ed. (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has Bâsakhwân; the MSS. of the Mahmu'd, Bâsakhiwân (with a long penultimate) and in other places Bâsâkhân without a c; the Calcutta editions of the Babestân (p. 374) and Shee and Troyer's Translation have Ma'mûnâ—the shifting of the diacritical points.

3 The name amrâsi was evidently used by Bâdâ, ed., though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have Nabâni, which was given on p. 185. For Usmâni, Shâh's translation of the Babestân has Ifamâ; but as (amnâ) is, no doubt, the plural of amr.
on earth ushers in the end of the world. According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistān and Shea’s Translation, he lived about A.H. 600; but the MSS. of the Maṭāṣir have A.H. 800, which also agrees with Badā’i’si’s statement that Mahmūd lived at the time of Timūr. The sect found numerous adherents in Irān, but was extinguished by Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māẓī, who killed them or drove them into exile.

Mahmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Qur’ān (Sur. XVII., 81): ṣaṣā an yābṣaṣa-kā rabbu-kā maqām-nn mahmūd-nn, “peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (mahmūd) station.” He maintained that the human body (jāṣud) 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 Qur’ān, 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 nuqta-ji khāk, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term nuqta-ji khāk has given rise to their name Nuqawīs. For other of Mahmūd’s tenets, vide Shea’s translation of the Dabistān, 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, etc., have been mentioned above, and Mir Sharif-i Āmul could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing out to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium.

The author of the Ālam Ārah-yi Sikandari, as the Maṭāṣir says, mentions Mir Sharif-i Āmul under the following circumstances. In 1062, the 7th year of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māẓī’s reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh ʿAbbās Jalāl ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad of Tabriz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, it was proposed that Shāh ʿAbbās should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death should sit on the throne. This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of; the criminals threw lots, and Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusrav of Qazwin, 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

1 Māẓī (مازي), i.e., who passed away, is the epithet which Historians give to Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngīr.
never to speak of his Nuqqaeiyya belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Kāshān, whom Abbās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the Nuqqā doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abū l-Fazl in Akhbar's name. Mir Sharif-i Amuli, a good poet and the head of the sect, heard of these persecutions, and fled from Astrābād to Hindūstān.

Regarding the last sentence, the author of the Ma'ārif remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mir Sharif.was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dipāpūr in Mālwa; and besides, Sharif-i Amuli was mentioned in no Tāzikān as a poet.

167. Hasan Beg Khān-i Badakhshāni Shaykh 'Umārī.1

Hasan Beg was a good soldier. In the 34th year, Akbar after his stay in Kashmir, marched to Zābulistān, and passed through the district of Pakhāli, which is 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kāshān. In Pakhāli, Sultan Husayn Khān-i Pakhaltwāl (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zāmindār belonged to the descendants of the Qārughis (ضربالحی), whom Timūr on his return from India to Īrān had left in Pakhāli as garrison. After following Akbar's Court for a few days, Sultan Husayn Khān withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pakhāli (Akbarnāma III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg's temporary absence at Court, Sultan Husayn Khān again rebelled, assumed the title of Sultan Nasir 'd-Dīn, and drove away Hasan Beg's men. But soon after, he had again to submit to Hasan Beg. In the 46th year, Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash, and was put, towards the end of Akbar's reign, in charge of Kābul, receiving Fort Rohtās (in the Panjab) as jagir.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, he was called from Kābul to Court. On his way, at Mathurā (Mütrā), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusraw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday, the 8th Zī Hijjah, 1014.2 From

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1 Badakhshāni is the adjective formed from Badakhshān, as Kāshī from Kāshān. The words Shaykh 'Umārī are to be taken as an adjective formed like Akbarshāhi, Jahāngīri, etc., which we find after the names of several grandees. Thus Shaykh 'Umārī would mean belonging to the servants of Shaykh 'Umār, and this explanation is rendered more probable by the statement of historians that Hasan Beg belonged to the Bahārīs or nobles of Bābar's Court.3

2 Hassan Beg is often wrongly called Husayn Beg. Thus in the Tāzār, p. 35 ff.; Padishtah I, p. 300; Akbar, III, 598.

3 Generally spelt مسیح. The fort in Bāhir is spelt without szī, مسیح, though both are identical.

4 So the Tāzār. The Ma'ārif has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound مسیح and مسیح. But Jahāngīr on his pursuit reached Hoja in on the 10th Zī Hijjah and the Tāzār is correct.
distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kābul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshis", he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshī troopers, received the title of Khān Bābā, and got the management of all affairs. Another officer who attached himself to Khusraw, was ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm, Diwān of Lāhor. After the defeat near Bhairówāl on the Biāh, the Afghāns who were with the prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the Empire; but Ḥasan Beg proposed to march to Kābul, which, he said, had always been the starting-place of the conquerors of India; he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohtās, which were at the Prince's service. Ḥasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted. But before he could reach Rohtās, Khusraw was captured on the Chanāb. On the 3rd Šafar 1015, the Prince, Ḥasan Beg, and ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm, were taken before Jahāngir in the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmārān, a villa near Lāhor, Khusraw himself, according to Chingiz's law (battarāh i Chīngizī (?)), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet. Ḥasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p. 500), was put into a cow-hide and ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars. "As cow-hides get dry sooner than donkey-skins," Ḥasan died after a few hours from suffocation; but ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon. The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusraw were impaled; their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bāgh-i Mirzā Kāmārān to the Fort of Lāhor, and Khusraw, 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 Khusraw, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do homage to you."

Ḥasan Beg was mentioned above on p. 370. His son Isfandiyār Khān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (Pādishāhī, I, 476; I, b. 304). The ʿĀrif Beg-i Shaykh Ṣūmārī mentioned in the Pādishāhī (I, b. 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Shereya 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

1 Fīrūz p. 459 note. There is another Bhairówāl between Wazirábd and Syālkhāt, south of the Chanāb.
2 In Zīl-i Hijah, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yūṣūfī, or commander of 100, and was sent to Kashmir (Tasvīk, p. 79). In the Tasvīk, he is called ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm Khār; ʿAbbās ʿr-Rahīm "the Ace".
grandees to save Maryam Makānī, Akbar’s mother, after the fatal battle of Chausā (vide No. 96, p. 450). When Humayūn fled to Persia, Sher Afkān remained with Mirzā Kārnām in Kābul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Irān, and was made governor of Qalāt. Later he received Ḥabāk-Bāmīyān as jagīr, but went again over to Kārnām. Humayūn’s, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroya Khān served at first under Munṣīm (No. 11) in Bengal and Orīṣā. In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād to Kābul. In the 28th year, he served under ʿAbdullā Ṣ-r-Raḥīm (No. 29) in Gujrat, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (Akbarnāma III, 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Mattāb Khān (No. 83) against Jalālā Ṭārīkī (p. 441). In the 39th year, he was made a Khān, and was appointed to Ajmīr. According to the Ṭabaqat he was a Hazārī in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Akbarnāma (III, p. 500) says, “On the same day Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shādī Be (No. 367), and Bāqī Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor.”

Shādī Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Mattāb Khān (No. 83) against the Ṭārīkīs. He may be the Shādī Khān Shādī Beg, mentioned in the Pādisẖāh-nāma (I, b. 308) as a commander of One Thousand. Be is the abbreviation of Beg. Nazar Be is not to be confounded with Nazar (1) Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalāl Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān, son of Sūltān Ādam, the Gakkhar.

171. Mubārak Khān, son of Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the Muṣāḡīr, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus. 2 At the time of Zayn-al-ʿĀbidīn, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznīn noble of the name of Malik Kid (ﮑر), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kābul, took away

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1 When the news was brought to Akbar that Mān Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists, and the death of Bīr Bārī in the Khaybar Pass, had defeated the Ṭārīkīs at ʿAli Maṣūf (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Bāhū I, 994).

2 Mr. J. G. Dalmerick informs me that the Gakkhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindi and Jhelam districts from Khānpūr on the borders of the Hazārā district along the lower range of hills skirting the Tashk of Rawul Pindi, Kuhītā, and Gījar Khān, as far as Gaṇdī in the Jehām district. Their ancient strongholds were Phātvāla, Sūltānpūr, and Dāngūl. They declare that they are descended from the Kauzānī kings of Irān. Their ancestor Kid invaded Tibet, where he and his descendants reigned for ten generations. His tenth descendant Kāb conquered Kashmir, and took possession of half of it. The Gakkhars then reigned for 16 generations after Kāb in Kashmir. The 18th descendant, Zayn Shāh, fled to Afghanistan, where he died. His son, Gakkhar Shāhī, came to the Panjāb with Mūḥammad of Ghur, and was made lord of the Sind Sāgar Dāh. Malik Bār is said to have been the grandfather of Tātār, whose father was Malik Fīlīk. Vide Mr. Delmerick’s History of the Gakkhar, Journal A.S.B., 1871. Vide p. 621.
these districts from the Kashmiris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilah (Indus) and the Sawalliks and the frontier of modern Kashmir. Malik Kird was succeeded by his son Malik Kalan, and Malik Kalan by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Sultan Tatir, who rendered Babar valuable service, especially in the war with Rama Sanka. Sultan Tatir had two sons, Sultan Sargar and Sultan Adam. Sargar fought a great deal with Sher Shah and Salim Shāh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghans. The Fort Rohtas was commenced by Sher Shah with the special object of keeping the Gakkhar in check. Sher Shah in the end captured Sultan Sargar and killed him, and confined his son Kamal Khan in Gwaliyar, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sultan Adam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghans. Once Salim Shah gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwaliyar Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamal Khan, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamal went to his kinsfolk; but as Sultan Adam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Sa'id Khan, avoiding conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamal paid his respects to the emperor at Jālindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Humā and during the siege of Mankot. In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyana Afghans, who had revolted near Saraj (Māwā) and was made on his return Āśīrdar of Karah and Fathpur Husswah. In the 4th year, he served under Khan Zamān (No. 13) against the Afghans under the son of Mubāriz Khan 5 Adli (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamal Khan begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakhak district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khan-i Kalan (No. 16) and other Panjābi grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamal Khan; if Sultan Adam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultan Adam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultan Adam. The Panjāb,
army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakhar district, and
defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the "Qašba
of Hilā." 1 Sultan Ādam and his son Lashkarī were handed over to
Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district. Kamāl Khān
killed Lashkarī, and put Sultan Ādam into prison, where he soon after
died. (Akbarnāma, II, 240 ff.)

It is stated in the Tabaqāt that Kamāl Khān was a Commander of
Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972. 2

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān served in the 30th year under Mirzā
Shāhrukh, Bhagwān Dās, and Shāh Quli Māḥram, in Kashmir (Akbarnāma,
III, 485). The Tabaqāt calls both, as also Saʃīd Khān, Commanders
of Fifteen Hundred. A daughter of Saʃīd Khān was married to Prince
Salīm; vide No. 223, note.

172. Tāsh Beg Khān Mughul. [Tāj Khān].

Tāsh Beg served at first under Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, king of
Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service. He
received a jāgīr in the Panjāb. According to the Akbarnāma (III, 489),
he went with Bir Bar (No. 85) to Sawād and Bījur, and distinguished
himself under Ṣabī' 1-Maṭilb (No. 83) against the Tārikīs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the Ṣās Khayl Afghāns, though
with little success. Two years later, he served under ʿAṣaf Khān (No 98)
in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Tāj Khān. 3 When
Rāja Bāšī again rebelled (47th year), Khwāja Sulaymān, Bakhshī of
the Panjāb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of
Qulī Khān (No. 42), Ḥusayn Beg-i Shaykh ʿUmārī (No. 167), Ahmad
Beg-i Kābulī (No. 191), and Tāj Khān. Without waiting for the others,
T. Kh. moved to Paṭhān. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamīl Beg, T. Kh.'s
son, received news of Bāšī's approach. He hastily attacked him, and
was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent.

Jahāṅgīr, on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3,000.
In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kābul till the
arrival of Shāh Beg Khān (No. 57). He was afterwards appointed
governor of Thathāh, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

1 Not Hālī (هلا), south of Chilīnwālā between the Jhelam and the Chanāb;
but Hīlī, or Hīl, which, Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dāngāl,
Sultān Ādam's stronghold.

2 So in my MSS. of the Tabaqāt. The author of the Muṣābāt found 970 in his MS.,
which would be the same year in which Kamāl Khān was restored to his paternal inheritance;
hence he adds a ʾaʃīd ʿaʃīd. He was certainly alive in the middle of 972. (Akbarnāma,
1, p. 302.)
173. Shaykh 'Abdù 'Ilâh, son of Shaykh Muhammad Ghawa [of Gwâliyâr].

Shaykh 'Abdù 'Ilâh at first lived a retired and saintly life, but entered subsequently the Emperor's service. He distinguished himself, and is said to have risen to the dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand. He died when young.

His brother Ziyâdet 'Ilâh lived as a Faqîr, and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wâjihù 'l-Dîn in Gujrat, who himself was a pupil of Muhammad Ghawa.

Biographies of Muhammad Ghawa (died 970 at Agra, buried in Gwâliyâr) will be found in the Ma'âsur, Burdâomi (III, p. 4), and the Khazinât 'l-Asfiyâ (p. 969). He was disliked by Bayrûm Khân, Shaykh Gâdâ, and Shaykh Mubârak, Abû 'l-Faţl's father. Vide also Ma'âsur-i 'Alâumîrî, p. 166.

174. Râja Râjasingh, son of Râja Askaran, the Kachhwâha.

Râja Askaran is a brother of Râja Bihârî Mal (No. 29). He served in the 22nd year with Şâdiq Khân (No. 43) against Râja Madhubar of Údchâ, and in the 25th year under Tođar Mâl in Bihâr. In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under 'Azîz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each sâba, Askaran and Shaykh Ibrâhîm (No. 82) were appointed to Agra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Râja Madhubar under Shihâb Khân (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abû 'l-Faţl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Tabaqât says he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

Râj Sing, his son, received the title of Râja after the death of his father. He served for a long time in the Dakhin, was called in the 44th year to Court, and was appointed commandant of Gwâliyâr. In the 45th year, he joined the Imperial army, which under Akbar besieged Fort Asir. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Râj Râyân Patr Dâs (No. 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela, who at Jahângîr's instigation had murdered Abû 'l-Faţl. For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundela clan, he was promoted, and held, in the 50th year the rank of a Commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse. In the 3rd year, of Jahângîr's reign, he served in the Dakhin, where he died in 1024 (10th year).

1 Údchâ is generally spelt on our maps Gorchâ. It lies near Jhânsi on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river "Dasthârā," mentioned on p. 382, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the Ma'âsur has Sadakhdârâ.
Rām Dās, his son, was a Commander of 1,000, 400 horse. He received, in the 12th year, the title of Rāja, and was made, in the same year, a Commander of 1,500, 700 horse.

One of his grandsons, Prasiddtman Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 6th year of Shahjahan’s reign, and received the name of ‘Ibādatmand.\footnote{1}

175. Rāy Bhoj, son of Rāy Surjan Hādā (No. 96).

When Bāndī, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudā, elder brother of Rāy Bhoj, the latter was put in possession of it. Bhoj served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns of Oriṣā, and under Shāykh Abū ʾl-Fażl in the Dakhin (Akbarān, III, 351, 355).

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No. 160).

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngīr wished to marry Jagat Singh’s daughter. Rāy Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāngīr resolved to punish him on his return from Kābul. But Rāy Bhoj, in the end of 1016, committed suicide. The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabīʾ 1, 1017, (Tuzuk, pp. 68, 69).

It is said that Rāthor and Kachhwāhā princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hādā princess was ever married to a Timurid.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwāja.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itāwa (سادت انتای). His mother was a Naqshbandī (p. 466, note 2). Sher Kh.’s name was “Pādishāh Khwāja”, but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage Sher Khwāja.

In the 30th year, Sh. Kh. served under Saʿīd Khān Chaghtāʾī (No. 25) against the Yūsufzāʾīs, and afterwards under Sultān Murād in the Dakhin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Paṭān, where he distinguished himself against Iḥlās Khān. He continued to serve in the Dakhin under Abū ʾl-Fażl. In the engagement near Bīr 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 Gangā (Godāvari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū ʾl-Fażl arrived and raised the siege. Abū ʾl-Fażl proposed to leave his own son ʾAbdullā ṭ-Rahmān at Bīr; but Sh. Kh. refused to quit his post. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag.

\footnote{1 Regarding the Kachhwāhas, see my article in the Calcutta Review, for April, 1871, entitled ”A Chapter from Muhammadan History.”}
Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahangir. He was with the emperor when Mahabat Khan near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahangir's person. After Jahangir's death, he served with Asaf Khan against Shahryar in Lahore.

In the 1st year of Shahjahan's reign, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 1,000 horse, and received the title of Khwaja Badi Khan. He was also appointed governor of Thatlah, vice Mirza Isfahani (p. 392). He died on his way to his province in 1637. Padishahin, I, 181, 200.

His son Khwaja Hashim was made a commander of 500 (Padishahnama, I, b. 327). Another son, Asadullah, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (Padishahin, II, 738).

177. Mirza Khurram, son of Khan-i Asam Mirza Aziz Koka (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 346.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraysh Sultan, son of Abdu'l-Rashid Khan, king of Kasghar.

182. Sultan Abdallah, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultan.

310. Shah Muhammad, son of Quraysh Sultan.

Quraysh Sultan is a descendant of Chingiz Khan.1 His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarnama (III, 584) and the Tarikh-i Rashidi as on following page.

After the death of Abdu'l-Rashid Khan (16), Abdu'l-Karim Khan, elder brother of Quraysh Sultan, succeeded to the throne of Kasghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfillment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudabanda, son of Quraysh Sultan, quarreled with Muhammad Khan, his uncle, and Khudabanda occupied the town of Tarfan. Abdallah, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sultan to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakshah and Balligh, and lastly, with the permission of Abdallah Khan of Tarfan, to Himfustan. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shiah Dinh-pur, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmir, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred.

Quraysh died in the 37th year (1000), at Hajipur.

179. Qara Bahadur, son of Mirza Mahmud, who is the paternal uncle of Mirza Haydar [Gurgani].

1 Chingiz Khan in the histories is often called Qutb-ud-din Buzurg.
1. Chingis Khân.
2. Chaghtâ'î Khân.
3. Mawâtkân (second son of Chaghtâ'î Khân).
4. [The MSS. give various readings.]
5. Yârâq  Kháân (called after his conversion Sulîjan (Hijri 8) d-Din).
6. Dawân Kháân.
7. Ahsânqâ, or Ahsâmîqâ Kháân.
8. Tughluq Timûr Kháân.
10. (a) Muhammad Kháân . . . (b) Shams Jahan Kháân . . . (c) Naqsh Jahan Kháân.
11. (a) Sher Muhammad Kháân; (b) Sher e Ali Uglân.
14. Sultân Ahmad Kháân, known as Alâsha Kháân.
15. Sultân Abî Sâm Kháân.
16. 1Abâd e Rashîd Kháân.
17. (1) 1Abâd e Karim Kháân; (2) Quraysh Sulîjan; (3) Sulîjan e Abâd e Tah (No. 168); (4) Sulîjan e Abâd e Tah (No. 178).

Like the preceding, Qârâ Bahâdur belonged to the royal family of Kâshghar. Mirzâ Haydar's father, Muhammad Husayn, was the son of Bâhar's maternal aunt.

Mirzâ Haydar, during his stay in Kâshghar, had accompanied the

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1 Burâq, Vanâsboy, p. 193—8.
2 Dawân invaded India during the reign of EAlâ e d-Din; see Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.
3 His daughter is called Yakan Khánam. It is said that Timûr after the marriage received the title of Gurpân, the Mughal term for the Persian sââdîd, or son-in-law. Hence Timuridas are often called Gurpânas.
4 Mirzâ Haydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 851 the Târikh e Abâd e Rashîdî, a biography of Abâd e Rashîd, king of Kâshghar. The villa known as Bâgh e Sofâ was erected by him. Akbarnâsî, III, 782.
5 The MS. of the Târikh e Rashîdî 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 Yâncand.

The Târikh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timûr, who was converted to Jâlîm by Mawâlnâ Arshad e d-Din, and goes down to the reign of Abâd e Rashîd. The second chapter contains the Memoirs of Mirzâ Haydar. The style is elegant.
son of Sultān Abū Saʿūd on several expeditions to Kashmir, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshān to India, and arrived at Lāhor, where Mīrzā Kamrān made him his stavādī during his absence on an expedition to Qandahār, which the Shāh of Persia had taken from Khwāja Kalān Beg. M. Ḥaydar afterwards accompanied Kamrān to Āgra, 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 Lāhor, he gave M. Ḥaydar 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 khutba to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humāyūn’s name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris.

The father of Qara Bahādur was Mīrzā Mahmūd; hence Q. B. was M. Ḥaydar’s cousin. As he had been with M. H. in Kashmir, Akbār, 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 Rājor, 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 Akbār.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mālwa, and was appointed, on Akbār’s return, governor of Mandū. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qara Bahādur, vide No. 183.

180. Muzaффār Husayn Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Husayn Mīrzā [son of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā].

Muzaффār Husayn Mīrzā is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Ulugh Mīrzā</th>
<th>(2) Shāh Mīrzā</th>
<th>(3) Ibrāhīm Husayn M.</th>
<th>(4) Muhammad Husayn M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mīrzā Bāyqār</td>
<td>Mīrzā Manṣūr</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm Husayn M.</td>
<td>Mā.CreateInstance M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Bāyqār</td>
<td>Was Mīrzā</td>
<td>Muzaффār Husayn</td>
<td>Aqīl Husayn M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Muzaффār Husayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Sikandar Mīrzā, sire Ulugh Mīrzā
(2) Mahmūd Sultān M., sire Shāh Mīrzā

[9 His brother is Abū ‘l-Ǧāzīr Sultān Husayn Mīrzā.—B.]
The mother of Muhammad Sultan Mirza was the daughter of the renowned Sultan Husayn Mirza, king of Khurasan, at whose Court Muhammad Sultan Mirza held a place of distinction. After Sultan Husayn's death, Muhammad Sultan Mirza went to Babar, who treated him with every distinction. Humayun also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction. Ulugh Mirza was killed in the expedition against the Hazaras, and Shah Muhammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulugh Mirza had two sons, Sikandar Mirza and Mahmid Sultan Mirza; but Humayun changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mirza, and Mahmid Sultan Mirza that of Shah Mirza.

As Muhammad Sultan Mirza was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (takliif-e bār), and gave him the pargana of Agampire in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shah Mirza. At Agampire in his old age, Muhammad Sultan M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrahīm Husayn Mirza, 2. Muhammad Husayn Mirza, 3. Mas'ūd Husayn Mirza, and 4. Sāqīl Husayn Mirza.

In the 11th year of Akbar's reign, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, king of Kabul, invaded India and besieged Lāhor; and when Akbar marched against him, Ulugh M. and Shah M. rebelled. They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrahīm Husayn M. and Muhammad Husayn M. The rebellious Mirzas went plundering from Sambhal, to Khan Zaman (No. 13) at Jaunpūr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihlī, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muhammad Qutl Khan Barlas (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muhammad Sultan Mirza. He died a short time after in his prison at Blāna. In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed Khan Zaman, and conquered Chitor, he made Shihab Khan (No. 26) governor of Mālwa, and ordered him to punish the Mirzas.

About this time Ulugh M. died. The other Mirzas unable to withstand Shihab Khan fled to Chingiz Khan (p. 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrat. Chingiz Khan was at war with Istimād Khan (No. 67) of Ahmadābād; and as the Mirzas had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahroch as jagir. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz Khan had to send a corps against them. Though the Mirzas defeated his troops they withdrew to Khāndesh, and re-entered Mālwa. They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf Khan (No. 74), Sādiq Khan
No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantambhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbādā, where many soldiers of the Mīrzās perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Kān had been murdered by Jhunjhar Khān and as Gujrat was in a state of disorder, the Mīrzās with little fighting, occupied Champānīr, Bahrōch, and Sūrat.

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrat and occupied Ahmadābad. Dissensions having broken out among the Mīrzās, Ibrahīm Husayn M. left Bahrōch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp. Most of Akbar's Amīrs had the day before been sent away towards Sūrat in search of Muḥammad Husayn M. Hearing of Ibrahīm Husayn's arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhza Khān (No. 80) after the Amīrs whilst he himself marched to the Mahindri River, where it flows past the town of Sarnāl. Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour; but when the Amīrs returned, the number rose to about 200. The signal of attack was given and after a hard fight, Ibrahīm Husayn M. was defeated. He fled towards Āgra, whilst his wife, Gulrūkh Begam, a daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muṣaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) with a garrison in Ahmadābad, ordering at the same time Qūṭbāʾ b-Dīn (No. 28) to join ʿAzīz with the Mālwa contingent. Muḥammad Husayn M. and Shāh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khān Fūlādī, a Gujratī noble, and besieged Paṭan. ʿAzīz marched against them, and defeated them (p. 432). Muḥammad Husayn M. then withdrew to the Dakhin.

Ibrahīm Husayn M. and his younger brother Masʿūd Husayn M. having met with resistance at Nāgor (p. 384), invaded the Panjāb. The governor, Husayn Quli Khān (No. 24) at that time besieged Nāgarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mīrzās, made peace with the Rāja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Masʿūd. Ibrahīm Husayn fled towards Mūltān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūchīs. He then fell into the hands of Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Āgra, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrat, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambhā, it by Nawrang Khān (p. 354) and joined the party of Iḥtiyār b-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. They then marched against Ahmadābad and besieged M. ʿAzīz Koka. To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Āgra to Paṭan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumādā I, 981 (p. 458), with about 1,000 horse,
at a place 3 kos from Ahmadabād. Leaving Ḥāṭtiyār to continue the siege, Muhammad Ḥusayn 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 Bir Bar, at Akbar’s request, asked Muhammad Ḥusayn 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.” Ḥāṭtiyār, on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Ḥusayn, raised the siege, and fled with his 5,000 troopers. Akbar at once pursued him. Ḥāṭtiyār got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhrāb Turkmān who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor. Muhammad Ḥusayn also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ray Singh (No. 44), whom Akbar had put over him.

Shāh Mirzâ had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzâ, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhan, entered Gujrat and created disturbances. He was defeated by Rāja Todar Mal and Vazīr Khān (p. 379) and fled to Jūnāgadh. When the Rāja had gone, Muẓaffar besieged Vazir in Ahmadabād. During the siege he managed to attach Vazir’s men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Mīhr ʿAlī Kolābī, who had led the young Muẓaffar into rebellion. This so affected Muẓaffar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Naẓrābād. Soon after, he was captured by Rāja ʿAlī of Khāndesh, and handed over to Akbar. He was kept for some time in prison; but as he showed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultān Khānum. He also gave him the Sarkār of Qanawjāst tuggūl. Muẓaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the tuppūl, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Azir, he sent Muẓaffar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwāja Fathā ʿllāh, and one day, he decamped for Gujrat. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Sārat and Baglāna, when he was caught by Khwāja Waisī 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, Nur ʿn-Nisā, was married to Prince Salim (vide No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begam, Muẓaffar’s mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahāngir at Ajmīr.
181. **Qundūq Khan**, brother of the well-known Bayrām Oghlān.

The *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) mentions a Qundūq Sultan, who accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

For *Qundūq*, some MSS. read *Qundūz*. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Munīm, and died at Gaur (p. 407).

182. **Sultan ʿAbd-ʿllāh**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultan (No. 178).

183. **Mirzā ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahmān**, son of Mirzā Ḥaydar’s brother (*vide* No. 179).

184. **Qiyā Khan**, son of ʿṢāḥib Khan.

In the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma* he is generally called Ġasāḥ-Ḥasan, which may mean “Qiyā, the beautiful”, or “Qiyā, son of ʿṢāḥib Ḥasan”. Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izhaf. It looks as if the reading Ġasāḥ-Ḥasan of the Ā’in MSS. was a mistake. The words Ġasāḥ-Ḥasan are intended to distinguish him from Qiyā Gung (No. 33).

Qiyā served under Shamsud-Dīn Atga against Bayrām (p. 332). He was also present in the battle of Sārangpūr (*vide* No. 120).

185. **Darbār Khan**, ʿInāyat [ullah], son of Takaltū Khan, the Reader.

Darbār’s father was Shāh Tahmāsp’s reader. ʿInāyat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbār Khan. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Mālwa, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khān Zamān. He accompanied the emperor to Rantānghūr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muḥсин-i Chishti in Ajmūr, Darbār Khān took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Āgra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the *Muʿāṣir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one of Akbar’s dogs, which he had built. The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial master.

186. **ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahmān**, son of Muṣayyid Dūlday.

The name *Dūlday* had been explained above on p. 388. ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahmān’s great-grandfather, Mir Shāh Malik, had served under Timūr. ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahmān was killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat. *Vide* under his son Barkhūrdār, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.

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1 Thus you say. ʿAbd-ʿr-Rahmān, the accursed Ḥulāghū.
When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No. 13), Qāsim ʿAli Khān held Ghāzīpur. In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Sūrat, and in the following year, with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the conquest of Patna under Mūsīm. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujaʿat Khān (No. 81) a prisoner to Mūsīm, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under ʿĀdīq (No. 43) against Maháulkar Bundela, and in the 25th year, under ʿAẕīz Koka (No. 21) in Bihār. In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Ḥājī Begam, daughter of the brother of Humeiyn’s mother (tāqīāʾī ʿādā-ye ʿawālīda-yi Janmat-ʿastānī), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humeiyn’s tomb in Dīlā, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each ʿAṣba, Q. A. and Fath Khān Tughluq were sent to Audh. He returned, in the 35th year, from Khayrābād to Court, and soon after received Kālpī as jagir. ‘Nothing also is known of him.’


189. Sayyīd ʿAbdū ʿIlāh, son of Mir Khwāṇānda.
Some MSS. have “Khwāṇ” instead of “Khwāṇānda.” Sayyīd ʿAbdū ʿIlāh had been brought up at Court. In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of ʿAbdū ʿIlāh Khān Uzbak. In the 17th year, he was with the Khān-i Kālān (No. 16) in the first Gujarāt war. Later, he served under Mūsīm in Bengal, and was with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the battle of Takaroī (p. 406). In 934, he brought the news of Daʿūd’s defeat and death at Ḥgmaḥal (p. 350) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) and under Shāhbaẓ Khān (No. 80), chiefly against Mağṣūm-i Farankhūdī (No. 157). In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in Kashmir. In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmirs, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists.


191. Ahmad Beg-i Kābulī.
Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ghīyāṣu’d-Dīn Tarḥān, a Chaghīātī noble who served under Timūr. Like Shāh Beg (No. 57), Tāj Khān

* Sayyīd Ahmad’s edition of the Tarāk mentions a Qāsim ʿAlī on p. 38, l. 2 from below; but according to the Maṭāʾīr, we have there to read Qāsim Beg for Qāsim ʿAlī.
(No. 172), Abu l-Qasim (No. 199), Mas'ud Khan (p. 476, note 1), and Talha Beg (No. 195), A. B. entered, after M. Muhammad Hakim's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yaqub Khan-i Razawi (No. 35), a jagir in Kashmir. He married the sister of Javaar Beg Asaf Khan. (No. 98).

During the reign of Jahangir, he rose to the post of a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Khan, 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 Jahangir was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshawar as jagir. In the second year, he was ordered to punish the Afghani tribes in Bangash, and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2,500. In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khan (No. 42), he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantambhur (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'ud (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Tarkis. His son, Arisher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Sharih, 's reign.

2. Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar-jang (second son). He rose during the reign of Shaajah Khan to the high dignity of a commander of 7,000, and distinguished himself in every war. He was governor of Kabul, the Punjab, and Bihar. He died on the 2nd Safar, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khanzad Khan and Luftullah, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'id also was severely wounded. Two other sons, Abu 'l-Lah and Fatehullah, rose to high commands.

3. Mukhlisullah Khan Iftikhar Khan. He rose under Shaahjah Khan to a command of 2,000, one thousand horse, and was Faujdar of Jamnud (Padihahtu, I, p. 258), and died in the 4th year of Sharih, 's reign.

4. Abu l-Baqi. He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'id, under whom he served. He was thanadar of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahar expedition, he got the title of Iftikhar Khan, at the same time that his elder brother received that of Zafar-jang, and was made a commander of 1,500, one thousand horse.


'Ali came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate.
enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (*mülazim*) and friend of Akbar. Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals. To his satisfaction, *Ali correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to *Ali *Āḍil Shāh of Bijāpūr, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, *Āḍil Shāh suddenly died.¹

In the 39th year, Ḥakīm *Ali constructed the wonderful reservoir (*hanq*), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians. A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room, six *gaz* square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people. By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room, he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books. Breakfast was also provided.

In the 40th year, *Ali was a commander of 700, and had the title of Jālīnūs *Zamānī*, "the Galemus 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 dysentery or acute diarrhoea, which no remedies could stop. *Ali had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentery 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 Khusrav at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahānghūr) had an elephant of the name of Gīrānbār, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar’s stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of Ābrūp, one of Khusrav’s elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Runtakman, was selected as *jābānga*, i.e., he was to assist either of the two combatants when too severely handled by the other. At the fight, Akbar and Prince Khurrman (Shāhjahān) sat at a window, whilst Salīm and Khusrav were on horseback in the arena. Gīrānbār completely worsted Ābrūp, and as he mauled

¹ *Āḍil Shāh 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 Bārū of Būdar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mawla ʿAbd al-Masjih, poetically styled Ṣayf, found the tarīkh of his death in the words Shāh-i jāḥūsh abad abāl (988), "The king of the world became a martyr."
him too severely, the tabānche elephant was sent off to Ābrūp’s assistance. But Jahāngīr’s men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver. This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his. Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamna. This annoyed Akbar more; but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khurram came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor. Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for ʿAli, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khurram’s bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jahāngīr also visited ʿAli’s reservoir, and made him a commander of 2,000. He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muḥarram, 1018. Jahāngīr says of him (Tāzuk, p. 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the Qānūn. “But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart; for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man.” Once Jahāngīr hinted that ʿAli had killed Akbar. On the other side it is said that he spent annually 6,000 Rupees on medicines for the poor.\footnote{Bakhtawarī (III, 166) says that ʿAli was the son of the sister of Hākim ʿAbd al-Wahhab. He held a mansūb. In the 15th year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Rās, which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāzī 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. Jahāngīr ordered ʿAbū Māfīl to investigate the case. ʿAbd al-Wahhab got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and ʿAbū Mafīl by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported ʿAbd al-Wahhab, and the Emperor deprived him of his mansūb and jāgīr. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the Pādishāhnāma (I, 6, 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse.}
193. Güjar Khân, son of Qutb-ud-Din Khân Atga (No. 28).
He was mentioned above under No. 28.

194. Sadr Jahân Mufti.
Mirân Sadr Jahân was born in Pihâni, a village near Qanawj.1 Through
the influence of Shaykh ʻAbd-ud-Nabi he was made Mufti. When ʻAbd-ud-
Ilâh Khân Uzbek, king of Tûrân, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy
from Islam, Mirân Sadr and Ḩakîm (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors.
The answer which they took to ʻAbd-ud-Ilâh contained a few Arabic verses
which ʻAbd-ud-Ilâh could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy—

قَالَ ابْنِ ابْنِ الرَّسُولِ الَّذِي كَفَّنَا
مَا أَيَّا اللَّهِ الَّذِي نَوَّاهُ عَن
مَعَ الْأَرْضِ الَّذِي كَفَّنَا
نَكْفَنَّ أَنَا

“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
slender of men—Then how should I!”

Mirân returned in the 34th year, and was made Sadr (vide p. 284).
In the 35th year, at the feast of Abâmâh, the Court witnessed a curious
spectacle. The Sadr and ʻAbd-ud-ʻI-Hay (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 Hâfiz:

دُرْ أَمَّا شأْتُهُ فَهَيْنِي خَمْسُ
بُشَّرْتُكَ بَيْنَ شَفَاءِ كَسَّرَتُ ثَلَثًا وَمَثًَٰ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ

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 mansab of 2,000 (vide

During the reign of Jahângîr, who was very fond of him, he was
promoted to a command of 4,000, and received Qanawj as bajîl. As
Sadr under Jahângîr he is said to have given away more lands in five
years than under Akbar in fifty. He died in 1620, 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. 217-18). There is no doubt that he temporized, and few people got more
for it than he. He also composed poems, though in the end of his life,
like Badâ,oni, he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit
of the Muhammadan law.

He had two sons:

1. Mir Radî-ud-Dîn. He lived a retired life.

2. Seyyid Niẓâm Khân. His mother was a Brâhman woman, of

1 So Badâ,oni. The Maṭbûr says, Pihâni lies near Lakhna.
whom his father had been so enamoured that he married her; hence Nizám was his favourite son. He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2,500, two thousand horse. In the first year of Sháhjáhán’s reign, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and received, on the death of Murtádá Khán Injú (p. 301) the title of Murtádá Khán. He served a long time in the Dakhan. His tugál was the Pargama of Dalaman, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Fawjdár of Lakhmann. In the 24th year of Sháhj’s reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dâms per annum out of the revenue of Piháni, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long-time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons, 4 Abí 4 Muqta- 

dir and 4 Abí 4 lláh were appointed to manşabs, and received as tugál 

the remaining portion of the revenue of Piháni. 4 Abí 4 Muqta- 

dir rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Fawjdár of 

Kháyába d.

195. Takhta Beg-i Kábuli [Sardár Khán].

He was at first in the service of M. Muhammad Ḥákím, and distin-

guished himself in the wars with India; but on the death of his 

master (30th year) he joined Akbar’s service. He served under Mán 

Singh and Zayn Koka against the Yúsufzâís. As Thánahdár of Peshawa-

r he punished on several occasions the Târikis. In the 49th year, he was 

made a Khán.

After Jahángír’s accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and 

received the title of Sardár Khán. He was sent with Mirzá Gházi Tarkhán 

(p. 392), to relieve Sháh Beg Khán (No. 57) in Qandaháir. As Sháh Beg 

was appointed governor of Kábul, Takhta was made governor of 

Qandaháir, where, in 1016, he died.

He had a villa near Pesháwar, called the Bâgh-i Sardár Khán. His 
two sons, Ḥavárt Khán and Hidáyat 4 lláh got low manşabs.

196. Ray Patr Dáš [Rája Bikramâjí], a Khatrá.

Patr Dáš was in the beginning of Akbar’s reign accountant (mushrif) 
of the elephant stables, and had the title of Ráy Ráján. He distin-

guished himself, in the 12th year, during the siege of Chitor. In the 24th year, he 

and Mir Adham were made joint diwáns of Bengal. At the outbreak 
of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p. 485), 

but got off and served for some time in Bengal. In the 30th year, he was 

made diwán of Bihár. In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy 

Bándhú (p. 446), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days 
surrendered (42nd year). In the 43rd year, he was made diwán of Kábul,
but was in the following year again sent to Bûndhû. In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3,000. When Abû 'l-Fazîl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bir Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dâs to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bir Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Itchî. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bir Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Râja Bikramâjit.

After Jahângrî's accession, he was made Mîr Atash, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50,000 artillery (topchî) with a train of 3,000 gun-carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (Tarûk, p. 10).

When the sons of Muzaffar of Gujrat created disturbances, and Yatîm Bahâdur had been killed, Patr was sent to Ahmadâbâd with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted up to commands of Yûz-bâshîs, or to recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the Emperor.

"The year of his death is not known." Ma'a'ûr.

The Rây Mohan Dâs mentioned occasionally in the Akbarnâma and the Tarûk (p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaykh *Abd* 'r-Rahîm, of Lakhnau.

He belongs to the Shaykhzâdas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamîl Bakhtyâr (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane. In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjâb, *Abd* 'r-Rahîm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyâlko in Hâkîn Abû 'l-Fadîl's dwelling. Akbar looked after the wound himself.

His wife was a Brâhman woman of the name of Kishnâ. 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 panjâhâzârî to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

*Abd* 'r-Rahîm was mentioned above on p. 359-60.

198. Medînî Rây Chauhân.

From the Akbarnâma we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrat. Niẓâm *d-Din Ahmad*, who was with him in Gujrat, says in the Tabaqât—"Medînî Rây is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i.e., in 1001) a commander of 1,000."
199. **Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakin (Qāsim Khān).**

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tāmkin* (تَمْكِين) instead of *Namakin*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim was a Sayyid of Hirāt. He was at first in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother and king of Kābul. But he left Kābul, and on entering Akbar's service, he received Bhīra and Khushāb in the Punjāb as jāgīr. As his lands lay within the Namakānīr, or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (namak-halāfī), with a plate and a cup made of salt (*namakīn*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of Namakin.

Abū 'l-Qāsim served in the war with Dārā ud of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kābul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Iṣmā'īl Quli Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the Bahūchīs. In the 32nd year, the Afghan chiefs of Sawād and Bajor, and Terāb waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abū 'l-Qāsim Krori and Fawjdār of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afghānistān. 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 Bhakkār. He built the great mosque in Sukkhar, opposite to Bhakkār. 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 ʿAbdū ʿl-Ḥay (No. 230), the Qāzī of the imperial camp (*urdū*). But Abū 'l-Qāsim, 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 bazaars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaykh Maʿṣūf, Ṣadr of Bhakkār, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes. The next day he went to the Emperor, and complained of the Qāzī, stating that there were no complainants, and ʿAbdū ʿl-Ḥay tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qāzīs should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor.

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5 The namakār, or salt-range, says the Maṣ'ūrī, is a district 20 kas long, and belongs to the Sind Sūgar Đah, between the Bāhar and the Imām. 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ and the latter $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dām to two dāms (one rupee = 40 dāms) per māns, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 māns. The salt is also often made into ornaments.
Abū ʿI-Qāsim was, soon after, made a Khān, got a higher mansab, and received Gujrat in the Panjāb as tujūl. In the first year of Jahāngir's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500. The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khusraw has been mentioned above (p. 456, note 1, where Tamkūs is to be altered to Namakūn). For his services he was again appointed to Bhakkar with the rank of a commander of 3,000. He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home. Most of his illustrious descendants were born there. On a hill near the town, southwards towards Lohari, near the branch of the river called Kahārnāṭī (کہارن ماتی), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of Suffa-yi Šafī (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—1,000 mangoes, 1,000 sweet apples, and 2 melons, each weighing a man. The Muʿāẓir says, he had 22 sons, and the Turuk (p. 13) says he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters.

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the Muʿāẓir:

Mir Abū ʿI-Qāsim Namakūn (settled at Bhakkar in 1613).

Mir Abū ʿI-Baqā Amīr Khān rose under Jahāngir to a command of 2,500, fifteen hundred horse. Through the influence of Yamūnā ʿd-Dawla he was made governor of Multān, and in the 2nd year of Shāhjāhān, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand horse, and appointed to Thathah, vice Murtaza-yi Injū deceased (p. 501). In the 9th year, he was made Tuyūlādār of Bir in the Dakhīn, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Siwāstān vice Qarah Khān. In the following year he was again appointed to Thathah, where, in 1057 (20th year), he died. He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father. Under Jahāngir he was generally called Mir Khān. Shāhjāhān gave him the title of Amīr Khān.

One of his daughters was married in 1066, after his death, to Prince Murād Baksh, who had no children by his first wife, a daughter of
Shāhnawāz Khān-i Šafawi. Amīr Khān had a large family. His oldest son, Mir ʿAbdu'l Razzāq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Shāhjahan's reign. His second son, Ziyāʾ, d-Dīn Yūsuf, was made a Khān, and held under Shāhjahan a mansab of 1,000, six hundred horse. Ziyāʾ's grandson, ʿAbū ʿl-Wafā, was in the end of Awrangzib's reign in charge of his majesty's prayer room (dār-ōgha-yi jā-namāz). Amīr Khān's youngest son, Mir ʿAbdu'l-Karim, was a personal friend of Awrangzib. He received in succession the titles of Multāfit Khān, Khānāzād Khān (45th year of Awrangzib), Mir Khānāzād Khān, and Amīr Khān (48th year), and held a command of 3,000. After Awrangzib's death, he was with Muḥammad Aẓam Shāh; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (bāngā) at Ghāliyār. After the death of Muḥammad Aẓam in the battle of Sarāy Jāju, Bahādur Shāh made him a commander of 3,500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyār. After Farrukh's death, the Bārha brothers made Amīr Khān ṣadr of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, ʿAbū ʿl-Khayr, was made a Khān by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no mansabs, but lived on their zamindāris.

2. Mīrzā Kashmīrī was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusrav. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (siyāsāt-i ghayr-mukarrar, Tuzuk, p. 32) Jahāngīr ordered his penis to be cut off.

3. Mīrzā Ḥusain d-Dīn. He held a mansab, but died young.

4. Mīrzā Zād-i ʿlāh. He was in the service of Khān Jahān Lodi.

200. Wazīr Beg Jamīl.

Wazīr Jamīl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar's reign against ʿAbdu'l-lāh Khān Uzkar, and in the war with Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahādur Khān (No. 22) was thrown off his horse, W. J., instead of taking him prisoner, accepted a bribe from him, and let him off. But Nāzar Bahādur, a man in the service of Majūnūn Khān (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahādur prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jagir in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Orlas under Munsim Khān. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qāshāhs; but when they separated from Maṣʿūm-i

1 Shāhnawāz Khān-i Šafawi is the title of Mīrzā Ḥadiyā ʿz-Zamān, alias Mīrzā Dakhīm, son of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dīras Bānū Begum, was married, in the end of 1646, to Awrangzib. Another was married, in 1652, to Prince Murād Bakhsh. Elphinstone (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shāhnawāz Khān by mistake the brother of Shāyesta Khān; but Shāyesta is the son of Yāma Dustinwā ʿṣ-Dawla Aṣaf Khān, elder brother of Nīr Jāhān.

3 Sarāy Jāju, near Dholpūr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabīʿ I, 1119, and Muḥammad Aṣḵām was killed with his two sons, Bedar Bakhsh and Wāšt-jāh.

5 Jamīl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindūstān.
Humām had two sons:—

1. Ḥakīm Ḥāzīq (حازق). He was born at Fathpūr Sikri, and was a young man when his father died. At Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and was sent, in the 1st year, to Tūrān as ambassador. He rose to a command of 3,000. Later, for some reason, his mansāb was cancelled, and he lived at Āgra on a pension of 20,000 rupees per annum, which in the 18th year was doubled. He died in the 31st year (1068). He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of Hāzīq. His vanity is said to have been very great. A copy of his diwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salāms; else he got offended.

2. Ḥakīm Khushshāl. He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000. He was for some time Bahāshī of the Dakhin.

206. Mirzā Anwar, son of Khan-i Aʿzam Mirzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on page 346.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltā Khan of Turkistān.

He was a grandee of Humayūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration.

208. Mirak Bahādur Arghūn.

The Tabaqat says he reached a command of 2,000, and died. From the Akbarnāma (II, 170, 248) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa (vide No. 120) and in the pursuit of Sharaftūd-Dīn Husayn (No. 17).

209. Lāl Khan Kollābī.

He is also called Lāl Khan Badakhshi (vide p. 484), and served under Humayūn in the war of the restoration (Akbarī, I, 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hīmū. Later, he served under Munṣīm in Bengal and Orīṣā, and died of fever at Gaur (p. 407).

210. Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh Salīm.

He is the second (miyānī) son of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikri. He served at Court with Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985). 1

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1 The Maʿṣūrī says that the author of the Mis. al-ʿAṣās mentions 1080 as the year of his death; but my MS. of the Mis. al-ʿAṣā (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humayūn to Awarangzīb) mentions no year.

2 Died in 975. He was blown up before Chitor; Sanaʿi, p. 201.—B.

3 Sanaʿi, p. 370.—B.
211. Iskandar Beg-i Badakhshāi.
He is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (II, 251) as having served in the pursuit of Abūl 'l-Maṣūm (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nurūn Khān Qūchān.
He served under Muṣīzā' l-Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khayrābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under 5'Abdul-l-Maṭla'ab (No. 83) and 5Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) against the Tūrīkīs.
The Tabaqāt says he was a commander of 1,000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jalāl Khān Qūchāri.
Akbar was much attached to him. In the 7th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagela (No. 89) with the request to allow Tānsūn 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 Raṣawī pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Śivānā and distinguished himself, in the 20th year, in the war with Rāja Chandr Sen of Mārwār. During the expedition a Rājpūt introduced himself to him who pretended to be Devī Dās, who had been killed at Mīrtha, evidently with a view of obtaining through him an introduction to Court. The stranger also reported that Chandr Sen had taken refuge with Kallā, son of Rām Rāy, and brother's son to Ch. S., and a detachment of imperialists was sent to Kallā's palace. Kallā now wished to take revenge on the stranger for spreading false reports, and induced Shimāl Khān (No. 154) to help him. Shimāl therefore invited the stranger; but though surrounded by Sh.'s men, the pretender managed to escape. He collected a few men and entered one night a tent which he supposed to belong to Shimāl. But it happened to be that of Jalāl, who was cut down by the murderers (end of 983, Akbarnā, III, 140).

It was Jalāl who introduced the historian Badā'uni at Court.

214. Parmānānd, the Khatrī.
He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I, p. 244.

215. Timūr Khān Yakka.
He served under Munṣīm (No. 11) in Kābul, and, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (Akbarnā, II, 236, 328).
The Timūr-i Badakhshāni mentioned several times in the Akbarnāma (III, 165, 174) appears to be another officer. Vide No. 142.

216. Sānī Khān, of Hirāt.
He was born at Hirāt, and belonged to the Arlāt (चित्र, 1) clan. According to the Akbarnāma (I, 379), Mawlānā Sānī, "who is now called Sānī
Khān*, was in the service of Mīrza Hindāl; but after the Mīrza's death (21st Zī Qaṣda, 958) he was taken on by Humāyūn. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān.

Buddāmi (III, 296) says that his real name was *Ali Akbar. He was a fair poet, but a heretic, and like Tashbhihi of Kāshān, wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium, according to the Nuqṭawī doctrines (p. 502). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jamāl* d-Dīn, son of Sayyid Ahmad Bārha (No. 91).
Vide above, p. 447. He had also served in the final war with Khān Zamān.

218. Tagmal, the Pūwār.
He served in the second Gujrāt war after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458 note).

219. Husayn Beg, brother of Husayn Khān Buzurg.

220. Hasan Khān Bātāni.1
The Tabaqāt classes him among the commanders of 1,000. He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulaymān, and was present with Sulaymān Mankī (p. 400) and Kālā Pahār at the interview between Minhāj and Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). Akbār, II, 325.
Hasan was killed with Bīr Bār in the Khaybar Pass; vide p. 214. MSS. often call him wrongly Husayn instead of Hasan.

221. Sayyid Chhajhū,* of Bārha.
The Tabaqāt says that S. Chhajhū was a brother of S. Maḥmūd (No. 75) and distinguished for his courage and bravery. From the family genealogies of the Bārha clan it appears that S. Ch. was a Kūndiwiūl. His tomb still exists at Majhera, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Munṣīf Khān, Sultan Muḥammad of Hīrāt.

223. Gāzī Khān Bakhshī.
Some MSS. have Badakshān instead of Bakhshī. Vide No. 144.

224. Ḥājī Yūṣuf Khān.
He was at first in Kāmrān's service. In the 12th year, he joined the corps of Qiyā Khān (No. 33), and rendered assistance to M. Yūṣuf Khān, whom Khān Zamān (No. 13) besieged in Qanaj. In the 17th year, he operated under Khān 5Ālam (No. 58) against M. Ibrāhīm Husayn, and was present in the battle of Sarnāl. In the 19th year, he went with Munṣīm to Bengal and Orīsā, and died after his return at Gaur (p. 407).

1 Buxar is the name of an Afghān tribe, N.W. of Dera Ismā'īl Khān.
2 The spelling "Chhajhū" is preferable to "Jhajhū".
225. Rāwul Bhīm, of Jaisalmīr.

The Tuzuk says (p. 159)—"On the 9th Khurdād (middle of 1025), Kalyān of Jaisalmīr was introduced at Court by Rājā Kishīn Dās, whom I had sent to him. Kalyān’s elder brother was Rāwul Bhīm, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhīm’s daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of Malika-yī Jahnān. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhīm’s brother to Court, invested him with the fīkā, and made him Rāwul."

For Kalyān, vide under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahāngīr’s reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (Tuzuk, p. 163).

226. Hāshim Beg, son of Qāsim Khān (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulī Khān (No. 42), the new governor of Kābul, Hāshim returned to Court. In the 41st year, he served under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bāsū and other rebellious zamindārs in the north-eastern part of the Panjāb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau. In the 44th year, he served under Farrūkh-i Bulẖārī (No. 99) before Ṭisir. Later, he went with Saʿdāt Khān to Nāsik. After the conquest of Tiranbak, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500.

In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was made a commander of 2,000, fifteen hundred horse. In the 2nd year, his mansāb was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Orīsā. In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwājāgī Muḥammad

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1 The list of Jahāngīr’s wives on p. 323 may be increased by ten other princesses.
2 Malika-yī Jahnān, daughter of Rāwul Bhīm of Jaisalmīr.
3 The beautiful daughter of Zayn Koka, mentioned on p. 369. There is a curious discrepancy between Tuzuk, p. 8, and Akbarsnāma, III, 394: Jahāngīr says that Parviz was his son by Zayn Koka’s daughter, and Abī ‘l-Faṣl says that Parviz’s mother was the daughter of Khwājah Hassan, Zayn Khān’s uncle (vide also p. 367); but there is no doubt that Parviz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Aḥād, 967, whilst Jahāngīr, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zayn Khān’s daughter (p. 369). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad’s text of Tuzuk, p. 8, be correct, that Jahāngīr had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son.
5 This Saʿdāt Khān had first been in the service of the Dākhin kings as commander of the Forts of Gāhān and Tiranbak; but later he entered Akbar’s service.
Husayn (No. 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orisā. His successor in Orisā was Rāja Kalyān, brother of Bhūm (No. 225).

Hāshim’s son is the renowned Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mir Ātish. He was, in the 18th year of Shāhjahān’s, a commander of 1,000, five hundred and ninety horse. Dārogah of the Topkāhāna and Kotwāl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balīk, Andkūh, received the title of Muṣṭamīd Khān,1 and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse, and Ākīta Begī. In the following year, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and also got the title of Qāsim Khān. He then served under Awrangzīb in Qadulahār, and was made, in the 28th year, a commander of 4,000, two thousand five hundred horse. In the next year, he destroyed Fort Sāntūr (سانتور), which the ruler of Srinagar had repaired. Later, he was made by Dārā Shikoh a commander of 5,000, five thousand shaspa-dushpas, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Ahmadābad (Gujrāt), whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Mālwa. Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain, and keep Prince Murād Bakrī in check. When the Prince left Gujrāt, the two commanders marched against him eīd Bāswārā; but when approaching Khāchrod, Murād suddenly retreated 18 kos, and joined, 7 kos from Ujjain, the army of Awrangzīb. The two chiefs had received no information of Awrangzīb’s march. They attacked him, however, but were totally defeated (near Ujjain, 22nd Rajab, 1068). In the first battle between Awrangzīb and Dārā, at Samgar,2 Qāsim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murābād as tayūl, as Rustam Khān-i Dakhnin, the former jāgīrdār, had fallen at Samgar. Qāsim was then charged with the capture of Sulaymān Shikoh. In the 3rd year of Awrangzīb’s reign he was appointed to Mathurā. 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 Awrangzīb’s order.

227. Mirzā Fāridūn, son of Muḥammad Quṭb Khān Bārlās (No. 31). He has been mentioned above, p. 364. His death took place at Udaīpur in 1023 (Tāzūk, p. 131).

228. Yūsuf Khān [Chak], king of Kashmir.

Yūsuf’s father was ʿAli Khān Chak, king of Kashmir. He died from a hurt he received during a game at chaugūn (p. 308), having been violently thrown off the pommel of the saddle (pesh-khāh-ji zīn). On his death, Yūsuf was raised to the throne (Akbarnamā, III, 237). He first surrounded

1 Succeeded by Kalyān, commander of 1,500, eight hundred.—B.
2 Vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1870, p. 275.
the palace of his uncle Abdāl, who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdāl was shot. A hostile party thereupon raised one Sayyid Mubārak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the *muydān* of Srinagar, where the ʿĪd prayer is said, Yūsuf 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 Mubārak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yūsuf’s uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year (Akbar, III, 288) the Emperor ordered several Panjāb nobles to reinstate Yūsuf. When the Imperial army reached Pīnjār, the Kashmirīs sued for mercy, and Yūsuf, 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, Ṣālīḥ Diwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shāykh Yaʿqūb-i Kashmirī, a trusted servant, with his son Ḥaydar to Kashmir, to remind Yūsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the Emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yūsuf sent his son Yaʿqūb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the Court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjāb; and Yaʿqūb, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Ḥakīm ʿAli (No. 192) and Bāhāʾ ʿd-Dīn Kambū to Yūsuf 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 Shāhrūkh Mīrzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The Imperial army marched over Pahlit, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (Akbar, III, 492). Shāhrūkh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmirīs raised Awdād Ḥusayn, and, soon after, Yaʿqūb, Yūsuf’s son, to the throne; but he was everywhere defeated. Information of Yūsuf’s submission and the defeat of the Kashmirīs was sent to Court, and at Srinagar the *khutba* was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar’s name. The cultivation of zafrān (p. 89) and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the
army returned with Yusuf Khan, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Tojar Mal was made responsible for Yusuf's person.

As Ya'qub Khan and a large party of Kashmiris continued the struggle, Qasim (No. 59) was ordered to march into Kashmir to put an end to the rebellion. Ya'qub was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yusuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jagir in Bihar (Abd al-Samad, III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Man Singh to Orissa, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jharkand and Kokra 1 (Chutiyā Nāgpur) to Mednipur (Abd al-Samad, III, 641).

Ya'qub Khan, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the Court had gone to Kashmir (p. 412).

Yusuf Khan is not to be confounded with No. 388.

229. Nur Qulij, son of Altun Qulij.

Altun or āltun is Turkish, and means "gold."

Nur Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khan (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to Idar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmir to Gogunda. In the fight with the zamāndār of Idar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sultan Murād against Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakim. In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khan, who had been made governor of Gujrat. He continued to serve there under Khānkhānān (No. 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to Court.

230. Mr Ābd al-Hay, Mr Ādil.

The Tābuqīḏ calls him Khwāja Ābd al-Hay, and says that he was an Amir. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468, 471.

231. Shāh Quli Khan Naraūji.

Abū l-Faqṣl says that Shāh Quli was a Kurd from near Baghālād. He

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1 Kokra was mentioned above on p. 438. It is the old name of Chutiyā Nāgpur, one of the parganas of which is still called Kokra or Khukra, as spelt on the survey maps. The Rāja, Col. Dalton informs me, once resided in Kokra, at a place in lat. 23° 20' and long. 88° 87', nearly, where there is still an old fort. Vide also Vīh Report (Madras edition, vol. I, p. 563; old edition, p. 417).

The Rāja of Kokra, who, in the 30th year, succeeded to Shāhārā Khān (p. 438) is called Mādhūrī. In the 37th year, Mādhūrī and Lakhmī Rāy of Kokra, served in Yusuf Khan's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrām Singh Shāhā of Kharakpūr (p. 446 and Proceedings A.S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Pūṛan Mal of Gūrbūr belonged (Abd al-Samad, III, 641).

Kokra is again mentioned in the Tābūqīḏ (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hill district between south Bihar and the Dakhan. It was run over in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrahim Khan Fatujaq, governor of Bihar, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rāja sent him as tribute. The then Rāja is called Durjān Sālī. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihar.

The Tābūqīḏ has (i.e.) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokra.
was an old servant of Humâyûn. In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he served under Khûz Khân (p. 394, note 1) in the Panjáb. He was much attached to Bayrâm. In the 11th year, he was sent to Gâdha, when Mâhdî Qâsim Khân (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The Tabaqât calls him a commander of 1,000.

His son, Pâdîshâh Qulî, was a poet, and wrote under the name of Jazîî. A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets.

232. Fârrukh Khân, son of Khân-i Kalân (No. 16).
He was mentioned on pp. 338 and 334. According to the Tabaqât, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Shâdîmân, son of Khân-i A’zam Koka (No. 21).
Vide above, p. 346.

He is not to be confounded with Haqîm ‘l-Mulk; vide below among the Physicians of the Court.

He was a learned man and a clever writer. He traced his origin, on his mother’s side, to the renowned logician Muhaqqîq-i Dawwânî. The historian Badî’oni was a friend of his. Akbar also liked him very much. In the 9th year he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khân of Gujrât. In the 17th year he brought I’timâd Khân (No. 67) and Mir Abû Turâb to the Emperor. He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire. Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to ‘Adil Khân of Bijâpur, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (Badî’oni II. 250). He was then made Fawjdâr of Sambhal. In the 30th year, when ‘Arab Bahâdur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Bareli, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels. In the same year he was made Sâdîr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bakhshî of the Shâba of Agra. He was then attached to the Dakhin corps of ‘Azîz Koka (No. 21), and received Handî, as jagîr. When ‘Azîz, for some reason, cancelled his jagîr, he went without permission to Court (35th year), but was at first refused audience. On inquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him.

He died at Handîa on the 27th Zi’Î Hija, 1003 (Badî’oni II. 403).

The Mirzâ-i Masjid, also called Pâdîshâhi Masjid, in Old Bareil, Mirzâ-i Muḥalla, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Haqîm was Fawjdâr of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the takhûllus of Dawâ’î.

Jânish Bahâdur was mentioned on p. 368. He was at first in the
service of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim king of Kābul. After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Yūsufzāi’s, and saved Zayn’s life in the Khaybar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khāngānān in Thathah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to Court. Later, he served in the Dakhin. He died in the 46th year (1069). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, Shujā‘at Khān Shādi Beg. He was made, in the 7th year of Shāhjahān’s reign, a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shād Khān. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Nāgr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1,500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, vide Shāh Quli Khān. Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrāt Khān, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000. In the 19th year he was with Prince Murād Baḵsh in Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kābul, vide Siwā Rām, and held, in the following year, an important command under Awrangzīb in the Qandahār expedition and the conquest of Bust. In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3,000, two thousand five hundred horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum. Two years later, in the 25th year, he served again before Qandahār, and was made, on Shāhjahān’s arrival in Kābul, a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse, with the title of Shujā‘at Khān. In the 26th year, he served under Dānā Shākhāb before Qandahār, and with Rustam Khān Bahādur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muḥammad Saṣid.

236. Mir Tāhir-i Mūsawi.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the Tabaqāt, Mir Tāhir is "the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Pašawi (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery". It would thus appear that Abū Ḥaṣan Faḵr makes no difference between the terms Raẓavi and Mūsavi (vide p. 414, under No. 61).

237. Mirzā ʿAlī Beg, ṢAlamshāhī.

He is mentioned in the Akbarname among the grandees who accompanied Mumcim to Bengal and Orṣā, and took part in the battle of Takara, (p. 406). After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mir Ṣakī, ʿAbdī Kor, Shihāb-i Badakhshān, and Kūjak Yaṣāwul, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered: they were all imprisoned, but Mir Ṣakī alone was executed. Akbarname, III, 262.

His epithet ṢAlamshāhī is not clear to me.
He must not be confounded with the more illustrious [Miraž ‘Ali Beg-i Akbarshâhî].

He was born in Badakhšân, and is said to have been a highly educated man. When he came to India he received the title of Akbarshâhî. In the 30th year, he commanded the Aḥādis on Shâhrukh’s expedition to Kashmir (p. 535).

Later, he served under Prince Murâd in the Dakhin. When the prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Şâdîq Khân (No. 43) occupied Mahkât. But new disturbances broke out under the Dakhin leaders, Aẓâdar Khân and ʿĀyn Khân, against whom Şâdîq sent a corps under M. ʿAli Beg. He suddenly fell on them and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (zānān-i akhāray). In consequence of this defeat, Khudâwând Khân and other Ambār of the Nizâmshâh marched against the Imperialists with 10,000 horse, but Şâdîq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took Fort Râhûtâra (راموترا) near Dawlatâbâd, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Paṭan on the Dodâvari, and took Fort Lohgadîh. “Both forts,” says the author of the Ma‘āṣir, “have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (misrūr shuda), and are so to this day.” Later, M. A. B. served under Abū ’l-Faḍl, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar. In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khânikhânân, in the Dakhin.

In the beginning of Jahângîr’s reign, he was made a commander of 4,000, jâjidâr of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmir. He served in the pursuit of Khusrâw (Tuzuk, p. 30). Later, he received a tuqâl in Audh. When Jahângîr went to Ajmîr, he went to Court. One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Muṣîn ‘d-Dîn-i Chihti. On seeing the tomb of Shâhbaẓ Khân (p. 439), 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 Râṣī 1, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five (Tuzuk, p. 163).

238. Râm Dâs, the Kachwâhâ.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (اوردت), and lived at Lânî (or Bañlî, vide p. 435). Râm Dâs was at first in the service of Rây Sâl Darbârî (No. 106), and was recommended by him to the Emperor.

The Tuzuk (p. 11) says he belonged to the aḥās-i Dâkî, a very doubtful term, as he belonged to Badakhšân. Perhaps we have to read aḥās-i dâl-dâl (p. 422).
His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Todar Mal was ordered to assist Mumtaz in Bihār, he was made his naib in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar’s favour by his regularity and diligence. He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace at Agra near Hatiyāpul, 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 Abdul Ilâh Khan to Gujrat and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Râja and a flag. Rantambhûr being assigned to him as jagîr (Tuzuk, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of Râja Karan. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahângîr wished to make an example of the Amirîs who had brought disgrace on the Imperial arms. He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amir right royally. Looking at Râm Dâs’s portrait, he said: “Now, when thou wert in Rây Sâl’s service, thou hadst a tanka per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Râjpûts think flight a disgraceful thing! Alas! thy title, Râja 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 (1623). 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 Khan’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 (१४), between Bânpûr and Kâkâpûr in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Râm Dâs. Vide also Tuzuk, p. 39, l. 3.

239. Muhammad Khân Niyâzi.

Abû ‘l-Faqî ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahângîr he rose to a command of 2,000. Like Mirzâ Rustam Şafawi and Abû
I-Hasan Turbatí, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muḥammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shāhḥāz Khān (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shāhḥāz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees per annum. Later, he served, under the Khānkhānān in the conquest of Thathah, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzā Jānu Beg (No. 47) near Lakhī, where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies. From that time, the Khānkhānān was his friend.

Under Jahāngīr, he took a leading part in the Dakhin wars, especially in the fights with Malik Āmbar near Kharkī, a famous battlefield (vide note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shāhjahān.

He died in 1037. The tāriḵ of his death is محمد خان أولا بعر,” “Muḥammad Khān, the saint, is dead.” He was a man of great piety. His day was carefully divided; religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qur’ān, 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 (khwāsīq) of him.

During his long stay in the Dakhin, he held Āshī (in the Warda district) as jāgīr, and made it his home. He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens. “At present,” says the author of the Maʿṣāgīr, “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 a tenth part of the old revenue. Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (bāz-i na-mānd ki rashīd-i āshīta bāshad).”

1 Vide Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, Vol. 1, p. 250.
2 "The Emperor Jahāngīr gave the Āshī, Amner, Paunār, and Tāhlīw (Barār) parças in jāgīr to Muḥammad Khān Nayātī. He restored Āshī, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Muḥsīr style. Muḥammad Khān was succeeded by Ahmad Khān, who died in 1081. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of Āshī. They are indeed striking monuments of art to find in such a remote spot as this. After the death of Ahmad Khān, the power of the Nayātīs gradually declined; in time Āshī itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Muḥarrī 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 Nawāb Wazīr Khān, one of its representatives in Āshī, the powers of an honorary magistrate.”

3 Khurja. A small octroi town in the Ārvi tahsil of the Warda district. It was founded some 250 years by Nawāb Muḥammad Khān Nayātī of Āshī.” Extracts from C. Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, second edition, 1870, pp. 7 and 236.
He was buried in Äšhtí. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyāzí Afghāns. If one of them died, he gave a month’s pay to his family; or, if he had no children, half a month’s pay to his heirs.

His son, Ahmad Khān Niyāzí, was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān’s reign a commander of 2,500 (Pādšahkhānāma, II, 386, 725).

240. Abū 'l-Muṣaffar, son of Ashraf Khān (No. 74).

From the Akbarnāma (III, 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chandīrī and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihār rebels (III, 373). In the 28th year he served in Gujrat (III, 423), and Bādā, (II, 323). Vide also under No. 74.

241. Khwāja Muhammad Husayn, Mir Barr.

He is the younger brother of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) and had the title of Mir Barr, in contradistinction to that of his brother. He came in the 5th year with Munṣim (No. 11) from Kābul to India. When dissensions broke out between Ghani Khān, Munṣim’s son, and Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Āḥtābeği (No. 66), whom Munṣim had left as his nāṭeb in Kābul, Ḥaydar was called to Court, and Abū ‘l-Fatḥ,1 son of Munṣim’s brother, was sent there to assist Ghani. Muḥammad Ḥusayn accompanied Abū ‘l-Fatḥ. He remained a long time in Kābul. After his return to India, he accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kashmir. His honesty and punctuality made him a favourite with the Emperor, and he was appointed Mir Bakhshwal (master of the Imperial kitchen) and was also made a commander of 1,000.

In the 5th year of Jahāngīr, he officiated for Hāshim (No. 226) as governor of Kashmir. On Hāshim’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.


He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. Bādā, (II, 323), calls him a native of Tabrīz, and says that his brother was Akbar’s teacher (ākhūnd). In 991, Abū ‘l-Qāsim was made Diwān of Gujrat.

243. Qamar Khān, son of Mir Abū ‘l-Latīf of Qazwīn (No. 161).

He served under Munṣim (No. 11) in Bengal, and was present in the battle of Takarɔ, (p. 406). In the 22nd year he served under Shihāb

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1 Abū ‘l-Fatḥ, who on p. 333, has erroneously been called Abū ‘l-Fatḥ, was the son of Fāzīl Beg, Munṣim’s brother. Bādā, (II, 56, has Fāzīl ‘l-Beg, but the Akbarnāma and the Muḥsin have Fāzīl.)
in Gujrat (Akbarn., III, 190) and in the 24th year under Toda Mal in Bihär. In the 25th year he took part in the battle near Sultanpur Bihari¹ (p. 400, and Akbarn., III, 305).

His son, Kawtab, fell into disgrace under Jahangir for some fault. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, vide Tuzuk, p. 219.

244. Arjun Singh.
245. Sabal Singh, sons of Raja Man Singh (No. 30).
246. Sakat Singh.

Some MSS. have Durjan ² 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 Abu 'l-Fazl has not entered the name of Bhato Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1,000, and was gradually promoted during Jahangir's reign to a mansab of 5,000. Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No. 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the Tuzuk.

Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Orissa. Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kābul. They died before their father.

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghans.

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 Man Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmat, Sakat, Bhim, and Kalyan Singh. The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians; nor are Bhato and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. Vide, 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History,' in the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

246. Muṣṭafā Ghilzāi.

A Sayyid Muṣṭafā is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrat, and was present in the battle nearMaisana, 15 kos S.E. of Paṭān, in which Sher Khan Fūlādi was defeated.

247. Naṣar Khān, son of Sa'id Khān, the Gakkhar.

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 232. Vide Nos. 170, 171.

¹ Or Bilahrit.—Ed.
² The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma (III, 642) has also Durjan, and (by mistake)-testing for Sabal Singh. The Suhán Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Man Singh.
The *Tubaqūt* calls him *Nāzar Beγ*, son of *Sājid Khān*, and says that in 1001 he was a Hazārī.

Mughul historians give the following tree of the Gakhhar chiefs:

- Sultan Tatār, the Gakhhar.
  - 1. Sultan Sārang
  - 2. Sultan Adam

- 1. Kamāl Khān
  - 2. Sād Khān
    - 1. Lashkarī
    - 2. Muḥammad Khān

Mubārak Khān (No. 171).

- Jalāl Khān (No. 179).
- Akbar Quli Sultan.
- Murād Quli Sultan.
- Allah Quli.

Jalāl Khān was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Quli, who then served at Kāngra, was made a commander of 1,000, and sent to Bangash (*Tuzuk*, pp. 307, 308).

Jahāngīr, after the suppression of Khusraw's revolt, passed on his way to Kābul through the Gakhhar district (*Tuzuk*, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahāt (1st Muharram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtās, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000,000 dāms, "which is equal to 4,025,000 rupees in Hindūstānī money, or 120,000 Persian tūmāns, or 1 ār. 2,175,000 silver Ḥāllās of Turānī money." After a march of 4½ kos, he came to Tīla, तिला in the Gakhhar dialect meaning "a hill". He then came to Dehi Bhakrāla, भकरा meaning "forest". The way from Tīla to Bhakrā passes along the bed of the Kāhan river, the banks of which are full of *kānīr*¹ flowers. He then came to Hatyā, which was built by a Gakhhar of the name of Hāthī (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakhars, *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1871). The district from Mārgala to Hatyā is called Pothwār; and from Rohtās to Hatyā dwell the Bhūngiyāl, a tribe related to the Gakhars. From Hatyā, he marched 4½ kos and reached Pakka, so called because it has a "pucka" surāi. Four and a half kos further on, he came to Kūrār, which means in the Gakhhar dialect "rugged". He then went to Rāwalpindi, which is said to have been built by a Hindū of the name Rāwal, पूर्वत meaning "a village", and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Rāwalpindi he went to Kharbūza, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (क्षर्बुळा). The Gakhars used

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¹ *Kānīr*, probably *kānā m.* "a species of olmander."—P.
formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kālāpānī, and to the Mārgaḷa pass, mār meaning “killing” and gāla “a caravan”. "Here ends the country of the Gakkharas. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not."1

The Pādīshāhīnāma (II, 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakkhar chiefs:—

1. Akbar Qulli Sultan, a commander of 1,500, 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shāhjāhān’s reign. His son Murād Qulli Sultan, was under Shāhjāhān, a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse (Pādīshāhīnāma, II, 410, 485, 512, 523, 565, 595, 655, 730).

2. Jabbār Qulli (brother of Jalāl Khān), 1,000, 800 horse.

3. Khizr Sultan (son of Nāzar Khān), 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year Shāhjāhān’s reign.

The Pādīshāhīnāma (I, p. 432) mentions these Gakkharas’ mules as famous.

The Muʿāṣīr-i Ṣulāmghīrī (p. 155) also mentions Murād Qulli and his son Allah Qulli. Allah Qulli’s daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, fourth son of Awrangzīb, on the 3rd Rajab, 1087.

248. Rām Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundela].

He is also called Rām Sāh, and was mentioned on p. 356. He was introduced at court by Šāhid Khān (No. 43), when Akbar was in Kashmir (1000). In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bīr Singh Deo, Rām Chand’s younger brother. In the end of the first year, he was attacked by ʿAbdullāh Khān, who moved his jāgīr from Kālpī to Üdchā. On the 27th Zī Qaḍa, 1015, Rām Chand was brought lettered to court; but Jahāngīr had his letters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Rājā Bāsī of Dhamerī. “He never thought that he would be treated so kindly” (Turuk, p. 42). But Üdchā was handed over to Bīr Singh Deo as a reward for the murder of Abū ʿl-Faḍl.

1 For the geographical details of this passage, I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Dalmerick. The Turuk has Fīlā of Tīla; Ḫāārī for Ḫāārīša, and the Persian word Ḧāūnān for Kāhān (कान), the name of the river near Ḫāārīša—a most extraordinary mistake; for Ḧāūnār or Gār, a village near Mandīyā; Ḧanāū for Pothūr. Mr. Dalmerick also says that the river near Ḫāārī or Ḫāārīša, is called Ḫāāl, and that near Rāwālīqūr is the Lāh, which forms a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Šobān. Sarā 4 Khāhrāsha is also called Sarā 4 Mādhūr.

On the same page of Sāyyid Ahmad’s edition of the Turuk, we have to read Ḫhāṭar and Dīla-ṭābī for Ḫāwar and Dīla-ṭābī. The Khāṭars occupy the district called Ḫhāṭar, and the Dīla-ṭābīs are found in the Chaus valley of the Indus. [Fide No. 373.—R.]

Pothūr is the country between the Ḫisām and the Šobān; but Jahāngīr extends it to the Mārgaḷa pass from Ḫāyā (30 miles from the Ḫisām).

2 So according to Mr. Dalmerick.
In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahāngīr married Rām Chand’s daughter at the request of her father (vide Tuzuk, p. 77; and also No. 225, note).

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh. Tuzuk, p. 112.

Muhammadan historians give the following tree of the Udchha Bundelas:

1. Bhārat Chand (died childless).
   2. Madhukar Singh (died 1000).

1. Rām Chand (died 1021).
   2. Hojaal Rāo (killed, p. 382).
   3. Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū ʿl-Fażl (died 1030).

A son: Bhārat.

   2. Pahār Singh.
   3. Chandr Man.
   5. Bhagwān Dās.

Debi Singh.

Bikramājit.

Subhān Singh.

Prithi Singh.

Śiwāl Singh.

The Maʿāṣir contains biographical notes of nearly all of them. Vide also Thornton’s Gazetteer, under Oorcha.

Benī Dās and Bhagwān Dās were killed by a Rājput in the 13th year of Shāhjahān’s reign. They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1,000, 600 horse, respectively.

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh. a commander of 1,500, 800 horse.

Vide Pādīshāhānāma, I, 172 (where another Bundela of the name of Suḥk Deo is mentioned), 205, 241, 308, 372, 425; II, 731, 734.

The Maʿāṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī mentions several Bundelas, as Satr Sāl, Jāswant Singh, Indarman (died 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (l.c., pp. 161, 163, 169, 273, 424). Vide also under No. 249.

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū ʿl-Fażl is often called in bad MSS. Nar Singh Deo. Thus also in the printed editions of the Tuzuk, the 1st volume of Pādīshāhānāma, the ʿĀlamgīrīnāma, etc., and in Elphinstone’s History. The temples which he built in Mathurā at a cost of 33 lacs of rupees, were destroyed by Awrangzib in 1080. (Maʿāṣir-i ʿĀlamgīrī, p. 95.)

The Dutch traveller De Laet has an interesting passage regarding Abū ʿl-Fażl’s death (De Imperio Mogul, Leyden, 1631, p. 290). He calls Bir Singh Badcoe BertiSingh Bundela.
249. Rāja Mukatman, the Bhadauriya.

Bhadaurāwar is the name of a district S.E. of Agra; its chief town is Hatkānth (vide p. 341, note 4). The inhabitants are called Bhadauryas. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted.

The next chief, Mukatman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a manṣah of 1,000. In 992, he served in Gujrat (Akbarnāma, III, 423, 438).

Under Jahāngir, we find a chief of the name of Rāja Bikramājī, who served under Šāh ‘Abdū’r-‘Rahmān, against the Rānā, and later in the Dakhin. He died in the 11th year of Jahāngir and was succeeded by his son Bhoj, Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk (p. 108) mentions a Bhadaurya chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash; but the name is doubtful.

Under Shāhjahān, the head of the Bhadauriya clan was Rāja Kishn Singh. He served in the first year under Mahābat Khān against Jihūjār Singh, and in the 3rd year against Khān Jahān Lodi and the Nizām ‘Uthman ‘I-Mulk, who had afforded Khān Jahān protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Daulatābād. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khān Zamān against Sāhū Bhoṣila. He died in the 17th year (1653).

In the Pādisahāṁnāma (I, b., 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1,000, 600 horse.

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh, grandson of Kishn’s uncle. He was made a Rāja and a commander of 1,000. In the 21st year, at a darbār, a must elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with its 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. Shāhjahān rewarded the bravery of the Rāja with a khānīkat, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lac which was the assessment of the Bhadaurāwar district. In the 22nd year he was made a commander of 1,500. In the 25th year he served under Awrangzib, and in the 26th under Dārā Shikoh, before Qandahār, where in the following year he died.

His son Mahā Singh was then made a Rāja and received a manṣah of 1,000, 800 horse. He served in the 28th year in Kābul. After Dārā’s defeat he paid his respects to Awrangzib, in whose reign he served against

1 So Pādisahāṁnāma, II, 732. The Meṣʿābir calls him Bad Singh or Bad Singh.
the Bundela rebels. In the 10th year he served under Kāmil Khān against the Yūsufzāis. He died in the 29th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (vide Maḥānī-i ʿĀlamgīrī, p. 226 and p. 228, where the B潢. Ind. edition has wrongly Rūdār Singh for Odat S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dakhin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chitor (i.e., p. 196).

250. Rāja Rām Chandr, zamīndār of Orisā.

Regarding him, vide Stirling's report of Orisā, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. His name occurs often in the narrative of Mān Singh's conquest of Orisā (37th year of Akbar's reign).

The province of Khurda (South Orisā) was conquered and annexed to the Dūḥi empire by Mukarram Khān (vide No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign (Tuzuk, p. 215).

251. Sayyid Abū ʿĪsā Kāsim, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir ʿAdil (No. 140).

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihār, and in the battle of Sultān-pūr Bīhārī; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzāis.

The Tārīkh Maḥīṣūmī (Dowson, Elliot's Historians, I, p. 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death of the Mir ʿAdil, viz. his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazān, 983, and his death there, 8th Shaʿbān, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abū ʿĪsā-Paštī, who is not mentioned in the Aṣīn. On the 9th Zī ʿĪ-hijjah, 985 (Feb., 1578), Istimād (No. 119) arrived at Bhakkar.

252. Daipat, son of Rāy Rāy Singh.

He has been mentioned above, p. 386.

XVIII. Commanders of Four Hundred.

253. Shaykh Fayzī, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor.

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abū ʿĪsā-Fayzī. Fayzī is his tuḥbūlūs. Towards the end of his life in imitation of the form of the tuḥbūlūs of his brother ʿAlīmī, he assumed the name of Fayyāzī.

Fayzī was the eldest son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor. Shaykh Mubārak (vide pp. 178, 195, 207, 219) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrah had settled in Siwastān, where he married. In the 10th century, Mubārak's father went to Hindūstān and settled at Nāgor. 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
Khaṭṭīb Abū ʿl-Fażl of Kāzurūn and Mawlānā ʿImād of Lāristān. In 950, Mubārak settled at Āgra. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shāh, he was a Mahdawī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar’s reign; he then became a Naqṭhibandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians, he inclined to Shiʿism. But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Fayzī and Abū ʿl-Fażl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shows that he was a man of comprehensive genius. Shaykh Mubārak wrote a commentary to the Qurʾān, in four volumes, entitled Maḥtaṣī “l-ṣuyūn,¹ and another work of the title of Ṫaṣāwī “l-kalām. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Žī Qaṣīda, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The tāriḵ of his death will be found in the words Shaykh-i kāmil.

Shaykh Fayzī was born at Āgra 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 Shaykh Abū ʿn-Nabī, the Ṣadr (p. 282), and applied for a grant of 100 bighas; but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shiʿism. But Fayzī’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. Fayzī’s bigoted enemies in Āgra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge and warned the governor of the town not to let Fayzī escape. He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak’s house; but accidentally Fayzī was absent from home. Mubārak was ill-treated, and when Fayzī at last came, he was carried off by force. But Akbar received him most favourably, and Fayzī in a short time became the emperor’s constant companion and friend. He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaykh Abū ʿn-Nabī.

In the 30th year he planned a khamsa, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsa of Nizāmī. The first, Markāz “l-adwār, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a jauḥūb (imitation) of Nizāmī’s Makhzan “l-sarār; the Sulaymān o Bīqīṣ and the Na’l Damān were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be jauḥūb of the Khusraw “Shirīn and Laylā Majnūn respectively; and the Haft Kishwar and the Akbarnāma, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the Haft Paykar and the Sikandarnāma. In the 33rd year he was made Malik “sh-Shu’wārā.

¹ Badāʾ, omI (III, 74) calls it Maḥtaṣī “l-ṣuyūn.
or Poet Laureate (Akbar., III, 559). Though he had composed portions of the Khamsa, the original plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the Nai Daman. Fayzi thereupon finished the poem and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master.

Fayzi suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Safar, 1004 (40th year). The tarik of his death is Fayzi-i 5 Ajam. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the Sawai-i ‘I-Ihâm, and the Mawarid-i-Kalâm, regarding which vide below the poetical extracts. His fine library, consisting of 4,300 choice MSS., was embodied with the imperial library.

Fayzi had been employed as teacher to the princess; sometimes he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badâoni, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 112, 113, 192, 194, 207, 216, 218; and Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakim Mîsrî.

According to Badâoni (III, 165) Hâkim Mîsrî was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwaja Shama\textsuperscript{a} d-Din Khawâfî (Nô, 159). He died in Burhânpur and was buried there.

Mîsrî is mentioned in the Akbarîna, III, p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abû ‘l-Fażl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abû ‘l-Fażl’s date with Badâoni’s statement; for Badâoni died in 1004 (Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, p. 143). But both Abû ‘l-Fażl and Badâoni speak of the Hâkim as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Īrij, son of Mîrzâ Khânkhânân (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahângîr he was made Sâhadâr of Barâr and Ahmadnagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik Āmbar, especially as Kharki.\footnote{Lachmul Narî, in Shafìq, the author of the Ḥaqiqat-i Hindustân, says that it was called Kharki from the Dakhin word ārj, which means ‘stony’; ‘a stony place’. It lies 5 kos S.E. of Daulatâbâd (the old Dhârâgâr and De,og of Ǧâlî-i d-Din Khîlî). Kharki under Jahângîr was called Pathâbâd. In 1024 a canal was dug from Kharki to Daulatâbâd. Its name was Chakhrâkârâ and the tarik of its completion is ārj or īrij (pr. a running benefit). Later Awrangzîb changed the name of Kharki to Awrangâbâd, under which name it is now known. Kharki was the seat of Malik Āmbar.}
for which victories he was made a commander of 5,000. In the 12th year he served under Prince Shāhjahān in the Dakhin.

It is said that he was a good soldier, but stingy, and careless in his dress. A daughter of his was married (2nd Ramāzan, 1026) to Prince Shāhjahān. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahān-afroz, was born at Āgra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Būrānpūr, at the age of 1 year 9 months (Padishāhnāma).

According to Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Irij’s tomb is at Būrānpūr. “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 Būrānpūr, 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 mansab of 400, which Abū l-Faţl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Raja Mān Singh (No. 30).
Vide above, under No. 244.

Vide p. 316.

It was stated (p. 316) on the authority of the Ma‘āṣir that he received the title of Sardār Khān, which had become vacant by the death of Takhta Beg (No. 193). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of Sarfarāz Khān. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Ma‘āṣir; for the title of Sardār Khān was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwāja Yādgār, brother of ‘Abd-Allāh Khān Firuz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116) when ‘Abd-Allāh Sarfarāz Khān was still alive.

The Ma‘āṣir also says that ‘Abd-Allāh accompanied his father to Gwālyār (p. 317); but the Tuzuk (p. 141) states that he was imprisoned in Rantambhūr, from where, at the request of his father, he was called to court.

358. ‘Ali Muhammad Asp.

Badā, oni says (II, p. 57) that “‘Ali Muhammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jūjak Begum, killed Abū l-Faţl Beg (p. 333).” In the 9th year he was in the service of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥākim, king of Kābul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 36th year (989) he served under Prince Murād against his former

[1 Charkum, Turk. — B.]
master *Akbarnama*, III, 345); in the 30th year (993) he served in Kābul (III, 487, 490). In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under ʿAbd-i-Matlab (No. 83) against the Tārikhs (III, p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnama* he is wrongly called ʿAli Muhammad Aṭif.

259. Mirzā Muḥammad.
A. Mirzā Muḥammad was mentioned on p. 399.

260. Shaykh Bāyazid [Muṣṭazzam Khan], grandson of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikri.
Bāyazid’s mother nursed Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) on the day he was born (*Tuzuk*, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar’s reign B. was a commander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000. After Jahāngīr’s accession he received a manṣab of 3,000 and the title of Muṣṭazzam Khan. Soon after he was made Şubahdār of Dīlī (l.c., p. 37), and in the 3rd year a commander of 4,000, 2,000 horse. On his death he was buried at Fathpūr Sikri (l.c., p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khan was son-in-law to Islām Khan Shaykh ʿAlī, ʿd-Dīn (another grandson of Shaykh Salīm), under whom he served in Bengal.1 He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kūch Ḥājū, and brought the zamīndār Parīchhit before the governor.2 At the death of his father-in-law, Muḥtashim Khan Shaykh Qāsim, brother of Islām Khan, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khan continued for one year in his office as governor of Kūch Ḥājū; but as he could not agree with Qāsim he went to court. Later, he was made governor of Orīṣā, and conquered the province of Khurdah (l.c., pp. 214, 215), for which he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse. He seems to have remained in Orīṣā till the 11th year (1029) when Ḥasan ʿAli Turkmān was sent there as governor (*Tuzuk*, p. 308). In the 16th year M. Kh. came to court and was made Şubahdār of Dīlī and Fawjdār of Mewāt (l.c., p. 352).

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1 Islām Khan was married to a sister of Abū ʿl-Fazl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islām Khan died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajbah, 1022 (*Tuzuk*, p. 126).

2 The Ḥādīshkhānī (II, 64) where Mukarram Khan’s expedition is related, distinguishes between Kūch Ḥājū and Kūch Bihār. The former was in the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign under Parīchhit, the latter under Lashchī Naḵā’in. Ḥājū is the name of a famous leader of the Kūch people, who, in ethnological works is said to have expelled the Kachvāhs and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descendants still exercise jurisprudence in Kūch Bihār Proper. Materials for a history of Kūch Bihār will be found in the *Aṣbārāt* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 208, annals of the 41st year); in the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr* (pp. 147, 220, 221, 223); in the *Ḥādīshkhānī*, I, 496; II, 64 to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the *Faḥ-i Jahām*; vide also *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. vii.; Stewart’s *History of Bengal*, p. 96; and above, pp. 315, 340, 343.
In the 21st year he was sent to Bengal as governor, vice Khânazâd Khân. 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. Ghabznû Khân, of Jâlor.

Ghabznû Khân was in the 40th year of Akbar’s reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the Pâdishâh-nâmâ (I, 167) as having served during the reign of Jahângîr against the Râna.

Bird, in his History of Gujûrât (pp. 124, 405), calls him Ghabznû Khân and Ghabznî Khân, and says he was the son of Malik Khanji Jâlori. Ghabznû Khân seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sulțân Muqaffar. The Khânkhânûn, on the 9th Muḥarram, 998, sent a detachment against Jâlor; but perceiving that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghabznû went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pâhâr was executed by Jahângîr. “When I came to Dih Qâziyân, near Ujjain, I summoned Pâhâr. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jâlor, 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.” (Ṣafar, 1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghabznû Khân is Nîgâm who died in the 6th year of Shâhjâhân’s reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (Pâdishâh-nâmâ, I, b., 313).

Ghabznû’s brother Firûz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (Pâdishâh-nâmâ, I, b., 319).

The Pâdishâh-nâmâ (II, 739) mentions also a Mujâhid of Jâlor, who in the 20th year of Shâhjâhân’s reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse.

262. Kijak Khvâjâ, son of Khvâjâ ʿAbdu’llâh.

The first volume of the Akbarnâmâ (p. 411) mentions a Kijak Khvâjâ among the grandees who accompanied Humâyûn to India. The third

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1 Wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pâdishâh-nâmâ (I, 167), Ghazulla Khân. Ghabznû’s jâqir, before Akbar’s conquest of Gujûrât, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nâgor and Mîrtha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 10 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abû ʿAbd Allâh, in his description of Sulha juûr, third book, mentions 3½ lacs of rupees, with 2,000 horse, as the jâqir of Jâlor and Sânehur (S.W. of Jâlor).
volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kįjak Khwāja, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohana in Bengal. Vide No. 109.

263. Sher Khān Mughul.

264. Fathu' Ilāh, son of Muḥammad Wafā.

He appears to be the Fathu' Ilāh mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 825) as the sharbatdār of the emperor. Akbar made him an Amīr. For some fault he was sent to the Dakhin; but as he got ill, he was recalled. He recovered and went on sick leave to Māndū, where he died (1008).

265. Rāy Manohar, son of Rāja Lōkaran.

Rāja Lōkaran belonged to the Shāykhwāt branch of the Kachhwāhs. He served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, against the Rānā, and went in the same year with Rāja Bīr Bār to Dongarpūr, the zamindār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar’s harem. In the 24th year he served under Tōdar 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 Mol Manoharnagar. In the 45th year he was appointed with Rāy Durgā Lāl (No. 103) to pursue Muzaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 516), who was caught by Khwāja Waisī.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr’s reign he served under Prince Parwīz against the Rānā, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1,500, 600 horse (Tāzuk, p. 64). He served long in the Dakhin and died in the 11th year.

His son Prithi Chānd received after the death of his father the title of Rāy, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (l.c., p. 160).

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mīrzā Manohar; vide my article, “A Chapter from Muhammadan History,” Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

266. Khwāja ʾAbd al-ʾṣamad, Shīrīn-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwāja ʾAbd al-ʾṣamad was a Shīrāzī. His father Khwāja Niẓām

1 The word dongar, which occurs in the names of places from Surath to Mālwa and Central India, is a Gond word meaning a forest. There are many Dongarpura, Dongargaw, Dongarīrā, Dongara, etc. Similarly, the word bīr in Mundār signifies a jungle, whence Birbhām (Western Bengal). Thus also Jhārkhand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutya Nāgpar. The above-mentioned Dongarpur lies on the N.W. frontier of Gujrat (Akhbār, III, 169, 170, 477).

2 The maps give a Manoharpur north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 29'.
"I-Mulk was Vazir to Shāh Shujāʿ of Shīrāz. Before Humāyūn left Iran he went to Tahrīz, where 'Abdul ʿṢ-Ṣamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. Humāyūn invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kābūl.

Under Akbar ʿA. was a commander of 400; but low as his mansab was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year he was in charge of the mint at Fathpur Sikrī (Akbarnāma, III, 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several şubas, he was appointed Diwān of Multān.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the Šūra† ʿl-ikhlās (Qurʾān, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (dānak-y khāshkhāsh). Vide p. 114.

For his son, vide No. 351.
267. Silhadi, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).
268. Rām Chand Kachhwāha.
Vide p. 422.

[Rām Chand Chauhān.] The Maʿārīf says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year he served under M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in Gujrat, and in the 26th year under Sultān Murād against M. Muhammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābūl. In the 28th year he was under M. Shāhrūkh in the Dakhin. In the fight, in which Rāja ʿAli 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. Bahādur Khan Qūrdār.
He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrat (Akbarnāma, III, 25), in the 26th in Kābūl (l.c., 333) and in the siege of Aṣir (1008).

The Pādīshāhnuṁa (I, b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abābakra and ʿUsmān, sons of Bahādur Khān Qūrbegī, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shājhahān.

270. Bānkā, the Kachhwāha.
He served in the 26th year in Kābūl (Akbarn., III, 333). His son Haridī Rām was under Shājhahān a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.

271. Mirzā Abū Saʿīd | sons of Sultan Ḥusayn Mirzā.
272. Mirzā Sanjar |
They were mentioned above on p. 328. Mirzâ Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mirzâ Sankar mentioned on p. 533, note 1.

273. ʻAlî Mardân Bahâdur.

The Tabaqât mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Quilj Khân (No. 42) at Idar, who was to go to Gujrat to see the ships off which under Sulṭān Khwâja (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khân Khânân in Sind,1 and in the 41st year in the Dakhin. Subsequently, he commanded the Talingâna corps. In the 46th year, he marched to Pâthri to assist Sher Khwâja (No. 176) when he heard that Bahâdur Khân Gilânî, whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingâna, 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 Abû ʻl-Faẓîl made peace, and ʻAlî Mardân was set at liberty. In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mirzâ Irij (No. 255) against Malik ʻAmbar.

In the 7th year of Jahângîr's reign he was attached to the corps commanded by ʻAbdul ʻIlâh Khân Fürûz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrat army over Nâsik into the Dakhin, in order to cooperate with the second army corps under Khân Jahân Lodi. ʻAbdul ʻIlâh 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, ʻA. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik ʻAmbar, 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 Karamul ʻIlâh served under Jahângîr (Tuzuk, p. 269) and was under Shâhjahân a commander of 1,000, 1,000 horse. He was for some time commandant of Fort Oâdîr, and died in the 21st year of Shâhjâhân's reign.

274. ʻRażâ Quli, son of Khân Jahân (No. 24).

Vide above, p. 351.


His father was a Shaykhzâda of Bâdâlon, and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salîm. Khûbû was a foster-brother of Jahângîr.2 When the prince was at Bâhâbâd in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khûbû the title of Quṭbâ ʻd-Dîn Khân, and made him Şābadîr of Bihâr.

1 Vide Dowson, Elliot's Historians, 1, p. 248.

2 Jahângîr says that Khûbû's mother was dearer to him than his own mother.
On his accession he made him Şübadär of Bengal, vice Mān Singh (9th Jumādā I, 1015; Tuzuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afkan ṢAlī Ḥīfizlu (vide No. 394) was tāwilār of Bardwān, and as his wife Mihrāʾ n-Nīsā [Nūr Jāhān] was coveted by the emperor, Qūṭb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however, refused to go. Qūṭb, therefore, went to Bardwān, sending Ghiyāsā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Qūṭb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men. On his approach, Q. lifted up his horse-whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan. "What is all this!" exclaimed Sher. Qūṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience. His men mistaking Qūṭb’s signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Qūṭb and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen. Qūṭb was a stout man, and seizing the protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel. Amba Khān, a Kashmīrī 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. 529, note 1). The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground. Qūṭb’s ‘d-Dīn was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyāsā to bring his effects and his family to Bardwān. He then was removed in a pālla. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpūr Sīkri and buried.

In 1013 he built the Jāmī mosque of Badā, on.

His son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of Kishwar Khān. He was for some time governor of Rohtās, and served in the beginning of 1021 against Urmān.

Iḥādiya, son of Kishwar Khān, is mentioned in the Pādīšāhnāma (T. b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Ziyāʾ-ʾa Mulk, of Kāshān.
The Akbarnāma (III, 490, 629) and the Tuzuk (p. 11) mention a Ziyāʾ-ʾd-Dīn.
The Hākim Ziyāʾ-ʾd-Dīn of Kāshān, who under Shāhjahān held the title of Rahmat Khān, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hāmza Beg Ghatrāghali.
He may be the brother of No. 203. The Akbarnāma (III, 255) mentions also a Ḥusayn Beg Ghatrāghali.

278. Mukhtār Beg, son of Ṭūhā Mūllā.
Mukhtār Beg served under Aṣgam Khān Koka (No. 21) in Bihār,
Gadha-Raja in (Abkarn., III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultân Mirâd in Malwa.

Naṣrâ Ilâh, son of Mukhtâr Beg, was under Shâhjahân a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year.

Fathâ Ilâh, son of Naṣrâ Ilâh, was under Shâhjahân a commander of 500, 50 horse (Pâdîshâhn., I, b., 318; II, 752).

Abû 'l-Fârî calls Mukhtâr Beg the son of Āghâ Mullâ. This would seem to be the Āghâ Mullâ Dawâtdâr, mentioned on p. 398. If so, Mukhtâr Beg would be the brother of Ghiyâšu'd-Dîn Ālî (No. 126).

The Āghâ Mullâ mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Āsaf Khân III (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Bâdi' u'z-Zamân, who under Shâhjahân was a commander of 500, 100 horse (Pâd., I, b., 327; II, 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. Haydar Ālî 'Arâb.

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afghanistan (Abkarn., III, 540, 548).

280. Peshraw Khân [Mihtar Sa'âdat].

Mihtar Sa'âdat had been brought up in Tabrîz, and was in the service of Shâh Tahmasp, who gave him as a present to Humâyûn. After Humâyûn's death he was promoted and got the title of Peshraw Khân.

In the 19th year Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihâr, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpati, the great zamindar (p. 437, note 2). When Jaglespâr, the stronghold of the Râja, was conquered, Gajpati ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshraw. 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 Râja, 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 restless, and the man who was in charge of P. fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the kalâsa (p. 135) 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 (Abkarn., III, 163). In the 25th year he served in Bengal (l.c., p. 289). Later he

Gajpati's brother, Bârîl Ŝâl, had been killed (Abkarn., III, 162).
was sent to Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahadur Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan of Khândesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Āsīr. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Málīgadh.

Jahāngīr made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the Farrūkh-khāna (Quartermaster).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahāngīr 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 Rūyayf is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the Farrūkh-khāna."

281.  Qāżī Ḥasan Qazwini.

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrat (Akbarnāma, III, 537, 554; where the Lucknow edition has Qāzi Ḥusayn), and later in the siege of Āsīr (i.e., III, 825).


He is not to be confounded with No. 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p. 380.

Juwaynī is the Arabic form of the Persian Gūjān, the name of a small town,1 in Khurāsān, on the road between Bīstām and Nishāpūr. It lies, according to the Maṭāzir in the district of Bayhaq, of which Sabzvār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets.

Mīr Murād belongs to the Sayyids of Juwaynī. As he had been long in the Dakhin, he was also called Dakhīnī. He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle-instructor to Prince Khurram. He died, in the 46th year, as Bakshī of Lāhor. He had two sons, Qāsim Khān and Hāshim Khān.

Qāsim Khān was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islām Khān, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the sūba. Later, he married Manija Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāngīr. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāngīr asked for a cup of water. The cup was so thin that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor it broke. Looking at Qāsim, J. said (metre Ramal):

كأسه نازك بن آب آرام تتوانست كرن
The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—

1. Fide Wüstenfeld's Yacut, II, 164
when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied:—

داعيد حالم رأ وحشمش نسب لثك خدع نكر
It saw my love-grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Šubadār of Āgra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dakhin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Bāgh-i Dahra (Āgra), which in honour of Jahāngīr had been called Nūr Mansīl, and was soon after made a commander of 5,000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, vide Fidā-i Khān.

As Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Shābān, 1041, or February, A.D. 1632 (Pādshāhī, I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son Ināyatul Ilāh and Allah Yār Khān to Hūgli. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power were liberated. One thousand Musalmāns died as martyrs for their religion.¹

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (l.c., p. 444). The Jāmī Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Āgrah was built by him.

283. Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī.

He served in the Dakhin (Akbarn., III, 830).


Maydānī is the name of an Afghān clan; vide No. 317. Banda ʿAlī served in the 9th year with Muhammad Ḥākīm of Kābul, who was attacked by Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān (No. 5) and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years he served in Kābul (Akbarn., II, 299; III, 477, 540).

The Akbarnāma (II, 209) also mentions a Banda ʿAlī Qurbegi.


He was mentioned above on pp. 336, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). Akbarn., III, 473.

¹ The siege of Hūgli commenced on the 2nd Zī Hijjah, 1041, or 11th June, 1632, and the town was taken on the 14th Rabī’ I, 1042, or 10th September, 1632. The village of Haldiār, mentioned in the Pādshāhī, as having for some time been the head-quarters of the Mongol army, is called on our maps Hokalpār, and lies N.W. of Hūgli.

The Portuguese church of Bandel (a corruption of bandar) bears the year 1599 on its keystone.
286. Zāhid
288. Yār [Muḥammad]

They have been mentioned above on p. 384. Zāhid, in the end of 1025, served against Dalpat (No. 252).

Regarding Zāhid, vide also a passage from the Ṭurāk-i Maṣrāmā translated Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I, 246.

289. ʿIzzat ʿIlāh Ghūjdāwānī.

Ghūjdūwān is a small town in Bukhārā.

The Akhūrnāma (III, 548) mentions a Qāzī ʿIzzat ʿIlāh, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghānān ī .

XX. Commanders of Three Hundred.

290. Āltūn Qulij.
291. Jān Qulij.

Two MSS. have Āltūn Qulij, son of Khān Qulij, which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khān. They are not the sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42), vide Nos. 292 and 293.

Āltūn Qulij is mentioned in the Akhūrnāma (III, 554) as having served in Baglāna with Bhrjī, the Rāja who was hard pressed in Fort Molher by his relations. Bhrjī died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. Sayf ʿIlāh [Qulij] ʿIlāh sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42).
293. Chīn Qulij

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish qulij, a sword. Sayf ʿIlāḥ was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) in Afghānān ī .

Regarding Mīrā Chīn Qulij, the Maṣrār says that he was an educated, liberal man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullā Muṣṭafā of Jānpūr, and was for a long time Pawjdār of Jānpūr and Banāras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mīrā Lāhaurī, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chīn Qulij in Jānpūr. He had not been long there when he interfered in government matters and caused disturbances, during which Chīn Qulij lost his life. His immense property escheated to the state; it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory.

In 1022, when Jahāngīr was in Ajmūr, he summoned Mullā Muṣṭafā, who had been the Mīrā's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm.
While at court he got acquainted with Mullā Muḥammad of Thathah, a teacher in the employ of Āṣafjāh (or Āṣaf Khaṇ IV; vide p. 398), 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 Lāhaurī was caught and imprisoned. After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (qanūnīyya). He had a house in Āgra, near the Jamna, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The Maqāṣir 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 Nakīr, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muḥammadians, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers if the dead man is found wanting in belief. When the man was dug out he was found dead. Another time, when with his father, in Lāhor, he disturbed a Hindū wedding-feast and carried off the bride; and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that they were not related to the Šabādār of Lāhor.

The other sons of Qulī Khān, as Qulījā ʿlāhī, Chin, Qulīj, Bālījā Q., Bayrām Q., and Jān Q., held mostly respectable mansābs.

The Tuzuk-i Jahāṅgīr relates the story differently. Both M. Chin Qulīj and M. Lāhaurī are described as wicked men. Chin Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Ṣafar, 1023; Tuzuk, p. 127) and received Jaumpūr as ʿāġīr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lāhaurī, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Aḥādī to Jaumpūr to bring him to court, when Chin Qulīj fled with him to several zamīndārs. The men of Janāṅgīr Qulī Khān, governor of Bihār, at last caught him; but before he was taken to the governor, Chin died, some say, in consequence of an attack of illness, others from wounds he had inflicted on himself. His corpse was taken to Jahāṅgīr Qulī Khān, who sent it with his family and property to Ḥāḥābād. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamīndārs (1024; Tuzuk, p. 148).

294. Abū ʿl-Fattāḥ Atālíq.

295. Sayyid Bāyazid of Bārha.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat (Aḥbarān, III, 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahāṅgīr’s reign (1031) he received the title of Muṣṭafā Khān (Tuzuk, p. 344).

In the 1st year of Shāhjahān’s reign he was made a commander of 2,000, 700 horse (Pād., I, 183). His name is not given in the list of grandees of the Pādīshāhīnāma.
296. Balbhadr, the Rāthor.

297. Abū `l-Ma`ṣali, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ṢAdī (No. 140).

298. Bāqir Anṣārī.

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt. In the 37th year he served under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīsā (Akbārn., III, 267, 641).

299. Bāyazīd Beg Turkmān.

He was at first in Munṣim's service (Akbārn., II, 238, 253). The Pādīshāhīnāma (I, b., 328) mentions Maḥmūd Beg, son of Bāyazīd Beg. Vide No. 335.

300. Shaykh Dawlat Bakhtyār.

301. Husayn, the Pakhlīwāl.

The story of the origin of his family from the Qārālūq under Timūr (vide p. 504) is given in the Tuzuk (p. 290). Jahāngīr adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief. At present they are common Panjābis (Lāhaurī-yī mabq) and speak Panjābi. This is also the case with Dhanūr" (vide No. 392).

Sulṭān Husayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above on p. 504. When Jahāngīr in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Husayn was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahāngīr promoted him to a mansab of 600, 350 horse.

Husayn died in the 18th year (end of 1032; Tupuk, p. 367). His command and the district of Pakhlī were given to his son Shādīmān.

Shādīmān served under Dārā Shikoh in Qandahār (beginning of 1052) and was in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse. Pādīshāhīnāma, II, 293, 733.

The Tuzuk (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhlī, and has a remark on the thick strong beer which the inhabitants made from bread and rice.

302. Kesū Dās, son of Jai Mal.

Vide No. 408. One MS. has Jau Mal, instead of Jai Mal. The Pādīshāhīnāma (I, b., 310) mentions a Rāja Girdhar, son of Kesū Dās, grandson of Jat Mal of Mīrtha. The Tuzuk frequently mentions a Kesū Dās Mārū (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).

303. Mīrzā Khān of Shāhāpur. One MS. has Jān for Khān.

304. Muṣaffār, brother of Khān ṢAlām (No. 58).

My text edition has wrongly Khān-i Ṣam for Khān ṢAlām.
305. Tulsi Dās Jādūn.
He served in 992 against Sultān Muẓaffar of Gujrat (Akbarn., III, 422). The Akbarnāma (III, 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jādo Rāja Gopāl. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the Tabaqāt as a commander of 2,000.

306. Rahmat Khān, son of Masnad-i ʿĀli.
Masnad-i ʿĀli is an Afghān title, as Majlis-i Majalis, Majlis-i Ikhtiṣār, etc. It was the title of Fattū Khān, or Fath Khān, a courtier of Islam Shāh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Ḥusayn Quli Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (Badā al-qānūn, II, 161). The Tabaqāt makes him a commander of 2,000. He seems to be the same Fath Khān whom Sulaymān Katarānī had put in charge of Rohtās in Bilār (Bud., II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Auld (Akbarn., III, 599).

A Rahmat Khān served in the 45th year in the Dakhin. Rahmat Khān's brother, Shāh Muḥammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307. Ahmad Qāsim Koka.
He served in 993 against the Yāsufsāris, and in 996 under Șādīq Khān, against the Tārkis (Akbarn., III, 490, 552).

The Tuzuk (p. 159) mentions a Yār Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308. Bahādur Gohlot.

309. Dawlat Khān Lodi.
He was a Lodī Afghān of the Shāhū-khayl clan, and was at first in the service of ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). When ʿAbdullāh Rāḥim (No. 29) married the daughter of ʿAziz, Dawlat Khān was transferred to ʿAbdullāh Rāḥim's service, and ʿAziz, in sending him to his son-in-law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (Khān Khānān)." Dawlat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrat (p. 355, l. 24, where for Dost Khān, as given in the Maṣūhir, we have to read Dawlat Khān), in Thatha and the Dakhin. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1,000. Sultān Dānyāl won him over, and made him a commander of 2,000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Shaḥbān, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (Akbarn., 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."

Dawlat Khān's eldest son, whom the Maṣūhir calls Maḥmūd, 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.
Dawlat's second son is the renowned Pir Khan, or Piru, better known in history under his title Khan Jahan Lodi. If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son.

Pir Khan, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the Mu'aṣir here calls Muhammad Khan, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh. Muhammad Khan died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sultan Danyal, who treated him like a friend, and called him "son". On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahangir's service, was made in the second year a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Salāhat Khan (Tavuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a mansab of 5,000, and received the title of Khan Jahan, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khan Khānān. Although Jahangir treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khan Jahan never got his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parviz, Rāja Mān Singh and Sharīf Khan (No. 351) were sent to the Dakhin to reinforce the Khan Khānān and matters took an unfavourable turn, Khan Jahan, in 1018, was sent with 12,000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahangir 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 Burhanpur, Kh. J. moved to Bālaghāt, where the imperial army was. At Mulkapur, a great fight took place with Malik Ambar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinis, lost heavily. The Khan Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bālaghāt. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dakhin corps, and Abū 'l-lāh Khan the Gujarāt army, upon Daoulatābād (under No. 273). Malik Ambar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khan Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and Abū 'l-lāh, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses. Kh. J. got short of provisions; his horses died off, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhanpur.

Kh. J. accused the Khan Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bijapur in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power. This Jahangir agreed to, and the Khan-i Aṣgam (No. 21) and Khan Alam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khan Khānān had been removed, the duplicity of the Amir remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The command
was therefore given to the Khán-i Aṣ'gam and Kh. J. received Thálner as jāgīr, and was ordered to remain at Ílichpūr. 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, Sháh ʿAbbās took Qandahār after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Sháh ʿAbbās, because kings should be opposed by kings. When he came to court, Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahār, and Kh. J. was ordered back to Multān to make preparations for the expedition. It is said that the Aфghān tribes from near Qandahār came to him in Multān, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankas, and each foot soldier two tankas per diem to keep them from starving; they were willing to go with him to Isfahan, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahāṅgīr would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Aфghāns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Sháhjahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken. The emperor several times ordered Kh. J. to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khán Sūr, 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 Ágra, and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khán-i Aṣ'gam, he was made governor of Gujrat, and when Mahābāt Khán was sent to Bengal, he was appointed atāliq to Prince Parwīz, whom he joined at Būhānpūr.

In 1635, the 21st year, Parwīz died, and the Dakhīn was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khán, son of Malik ʿĀmbar, to Bālāghāt. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Ḥamūd Khán Haibhī, the minister of the Nizām Sháh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of hūns though the revenue was 55 kuros of dāms (Pādishāh, i, 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdařs and Thānahdārs to give up their places to the agents of the Nizām Sháh and repair to Būhānpūr. Only Sipahdār Khán, who stood in Ahmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the emperor.

Soon after, Mahābāt Khán joined Sháhjahān at Junīr, and was honoured with the title of Sipahsālār. On the death of Jahāṅgīr, which
took place immediately afterwards, Shâhjahân sent Jân Nisâr Khân to Kh. J., to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Şâhadâr of the Dakhin; 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 Rohilâ and Fâzîl Khân, the Diwân of the Dakhin; Dâwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army. Shahryâr had proclaimed himself in Lâhor, whilst Shâhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipâhsâlâr on Mahâbat 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.

Shâhj. sent Mahâbat 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 Muzaффâr Khân MaSmûri. But he soon saw how mistaken he was. The Amîrs who had come with him, left him and paid their respects to Shâhj.; the proclamation of Dâwar Bakhsh proved to be a scheme made by Aşâf Khân in favour of Shâhj., and Kh. J. sent a vakîl to court and presented, after Shâhj.'s accession, a most valuable present. The emperor was willing to overlook past faults, and left him in possession of the government of Mâlwa.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhâr Singh, Kh. J. came to court and was treated by the emperor with great politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Shâhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Agra, and several parganas of his jagirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbâr, Mirzâ Lashkari, son of Mukhlîs Khân, 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 Islâm Khân to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an amân-nâma, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master. Shâhj. was generous enough to send him the guarantee; but though even Aşâf Khân 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 Şafar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight mouths, he fled from Agra. When passing the Hatyâpul Darwâza, he humbly threw the reins of his horse over

1 The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Awrangzîb in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture. MuNajîr-i SâliHî, p. 77.
his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honour; to rebel is not my intention." On the morning before his flight, Āṣaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Shāhj, 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 Dakhin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjab. He entered Mālwah, pursued by Ābdu'llāh Khān and Muẓaffar Khān Bārha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājā. But Jagrāj Bīkrāmājīt, son of Jhunjhūr Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumādah II, 1040), defeated it; and killed Daryā Khān (a commander of 4,000) and his son, Kh. J.'s best officers (Padishāhn, I, 339; I, b., 296). On arriving in Bānder,1 Kh. J. met Sayyid Muẓaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men. During the fight Māhmūd Khān, one of Kh. J.'s sons, was killed. On approaching Kālimār, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Ḥasan Khān, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Schōdā, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajah, 1040, he was again attacked by Ābdu'llāh Khān and S. Muẓaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mādhūr Singh with a spear. Before Muẓaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son Āziz to pieces (Padishāhn, I, 351). Their heads were sent to Shāhjahan at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh. J.'s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7,000 (Padishāhn, I, b., 293).

Several of Kh. J.'s sons, as Ḥusayn Āzmāt, Māhmūd, and Ḥasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Aṣlāt Khān, a commander of 3,000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muẓaffar had left his father and gone to court. Fārid and Jān Jahān

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1 So the Maḥāzir. The Bibi, Ind. Edition of the Padishāhnamā, I, 348, has Bandāh. So likewise for Sulaimān (Pālā, I, 290), the Maḥāzir has Lūjih (Gourdwarah), where Kh. J., after the fight near Dhulpūr and his march through the Bundela State, for the first time rested.

Bānder lies N.E. of Jhānū. Schōdā lies N. of Kālimār, on the Kan.
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 Mukhtas-ı Afsaḥānī, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khān Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called Tūrāk-ı Khān Jahān Lodi.

310. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Quraysh Sulṭān (No. 178).

311. Hasan Khān Miyāna.

He was at first a servant of Sādiq Khān (No. 43), but later he received a mansab. He died in the Dakhin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is Buhlāl Khān. He rose to a mansab of 1,500 under Jahāngīr (i.e., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of Sarbuland Khān. He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance. He served in Gondwāna.

At the accession of Shāhjahān, B. was made a commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and jāgīrdār of Bālapūr. He joined Khān Jahān Lodi on his march from Gondwāna to Bālāghāt. When he saw that Khān Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizām Shāh.

A grandson of Buhlāl, Abū 'l-Muḥammad, came in the 12th year of Awrangzib's reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of Ikhlās Khān (Ma*fā, al-Anāmīrī, p. 81).

For other Miyāna Afghāns, vide Pādīshāhīn, I, 241; Ma*fā, al-Anāmīrī, p. 225.

312. Tāhir Beg, son of the Khān-i Kalān (No. 10).

313. Khān Dās Tunwar.

He was under Akbar and Jahāngīr accountant (mushrif) of the elephant and horse stables. In the 7th year of J., he was made a commander of 1,000. A short time before he had received the title of Rāja (Tuzuk, p. 110).

314. Mān Singā Kachhwāha.

The Akbarnāma (III, 333, 335) mentions a Mān Singā Darbārī.

315. Mīr Gādā*i, son of Mīr Abū Turāb.

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmī Sayyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather, Mīr Ghīyāsudd Din, had come to Gujrat during the reign of Qutbudd Din, grandson of Sulṭān Aḥmad (the founder of Aḥmadābād); but he soon after returned to Persia. The disturbances, however, during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrat, where he arrived during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd
Bīgārā. Ḥe settled with his son Kamāl (dīn (Abū Turāb’s father) in Champānīr- Maḥmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (darsīya kūlāb). Kamāl (dīn also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family has for a long time been attached to the Sīlīsī-yi Maḥrībīyya, or Maqīrībī (Western) Sect, the “lamp” of which was the saintly Shaykh Ahmad-i Khattū. The name “Salāmī Sāyīrs” is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary salām, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abū Turāb was a highly respected man. He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrāt, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master. Thus he was instrumental in preventing Iktimād Khān (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar’s departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Iḥtiyār (l.-Mulk. Later, Akbār sent him to Makkah as Mir Ḥajj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begams. On his return he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (qudam-i sharīf, or qudam-i musārik); vide p. 207. The “turāk” of his return is khayr (l.-aqdām (A.H. 987)), or “the best of footprints”. The stone was said to be the same which Sāyīr Jalāl-i Buskārī at the time of Sultān Firūz had brought to Dīlī. Akbār looked upon the whole as a pious farse, and though the stone was received with great éclat, Abū Turāb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When Iktimād was made governor of Gujrāt, Abū Turāb followed him as Amin of the Sūba, accompanied by his sons Mir Muḥibb (l.lāh and Mir Sharīf (dīn.

Abū Turāb died in 1005, and was buried at Ahmadābād.

His third son Mir Gādā (l., though he held a mansāb, adopted the saintly

1 *مَرْحَبَ. This word is generally pronounced *مَرْحَب, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (gārā), because Maḥmūd’s army conquered on one day the forts of Champānīr and Jīnāgārī. But Jahāngīr in his “Memoirs”, says that *مَرْحَب means barāt-i barpašt, “having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,” which Sultān Maḥmūd is said to have had (Tazak, p. 212).

Champānīr, according to Bird, is also called Maḥmūdābād. The Maṣʿīr has Cham-pānīr-Maḥmūdābād.

2 Born a.h. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shirwāl, 849. Shaykh Ahmad lies buried at Sārībēj near Ahmadābād. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the sphere which he had, as one of the four Gujrāt Ahmad, in the foundation of Ahmadābād (founded 7th Zh Qaṣda, 813). Khawāṣir (l.l. Aṣfīl (Lāhor), p. 957.

Khartū, where Shaykh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Isā-bēj-i Maqīrībī (died a.h. 776) lies east of Nāgor.
mode of life which his ancestors had followed. In the 46th year he served in the Dakhin.

316. Qāsim Khwāja, son of Khwāja ʿAbd al-Bārī. Vide No. 320.


In MSS. he is often wrongly called Yād ʿAli.

The word nādā is an Arabic Imperative, meaning "call". It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

Nādā ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, maṣhar ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī.

Tajūd-hū ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, fi kullū ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī.

Kullī hammān ṣiyāḥī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, sa-yaujallī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī.

Bi-mubuwaṭi-kh yā Muḥammad, bi-nilāyītī-kh yā ʿAlī, ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī.

Yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī.

Call upon ʿAlī in whom all mysteries reveal themselves, Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish. Through thy prophetship, O Muḥammad, through thy saintliness, O ʿAlī.

O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī, O ʿAlī!

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name.

In the 20th year Nādi ʿAli served against Muḥammad Ḥākim, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kābul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Tārikā.

In the 6th year of Jahāngir's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500, chiefly for his services against the Kābul rebel Aḥdād. In the 10th year he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse: He died in the following year (1026); vide Tusuk, p. 172. His sons were provided with mansabs.

His son Bīzān (or Bīzān) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (i.e., pp. 307, 309).

The Pādīshāhīmā (I. b. 322) mentions a Muḥammad Zamān, son of Nādi ʿAlī ʿAlī, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nādi ʿAlī is not to be confounded with the Ḥāfṣ Nādi ʿAlī, who served under Jahāngir as Court Ḥāfṣ (Tusuk, p. 155, and its Dībāja, p. 19), nor with the Nādi ʿAlī who served under Shāhjahān (Pādīshāhīmā, II. 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.

318. Nil Kāntha, Zamindār of Ḍīsā.

319. Ghīyās Beg of Tīhrān [Ictimād al-Dawla].
His real name is Mirzâ Ghiyâs"a d-Dîn Muḥammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayâs, a corruption of Ghiyâs, not of Ayâz (أيّاس).

Ghiyâs Beg's father was Khwâja Muḥammad Sharîf, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of Hijrî. He was Vazîr to Tâtâr Sultan, son of Muḥammad Khân Shârafa d-Dîn Uglû Talû, who held the office of Beglar Begi of Khurâsân. After Tâtâr Sultan's death, the Khwâja was continued in office by his son Qazâq Khân, and on Qazâq's death, he was made by Shâh Tahmâsp Vazîr of Yazd.¹

Khwâja Muḥammad Sharîf is said to have died in A.H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwâja Mirzâ Ahmad, and Khwâjaq Khwâja. The son of Kh. Mirzâ Ahmad was the well-known Khwâja Amin Râżî (أمين رضی, i.e., of the town of Ray of which he was kalântar, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled Haft Isââm, A.H. 1002. Khwâjaq Khwâja had a son of the name of Khwâja Shâpûr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiyâs Beg was married to the daughter of Mirzâ qAlâ'â d-Dawlah, son of Aghâ Mullâ. After the death of his father, in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh. B. fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia. He was plundered on the way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode. On his arrival at Qandahâr, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihrân n-Nisa ("the Sun of Women"), a name which her future title of Nûr Jahân has almost brought into oblivion.² In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Mas'ûd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiyâs Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fathpûr Sîkri, Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year he was made Divân of Kâbul, and was in course of time promoted to a mânşâb of 1,000, and appointed Divân-i Buqûtât.

¹ The Dîhâja (preface) of the Tarâk (p. 29) and the Iqâbaâfinn (p. 34) agree verbatim in Ghiyâs Beg's history. They do not mention Qâsâq Khân. For Yâsî of the Mu'âsâir, Sayyîd Ahmad's text of the Tarâk has Marâz; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the Iqâbaâfinn has خویش "he made him his own Vazîr."

² The words son of are not in the Mu'âsâir, but in the Tarâk and the Iqâbaâfinn. Two Aghâ Mullâs have been mentioned on p. 398, and under Nos. 278, 419, and 376.

³ It is said that Nûr Jahân at her death in 1555 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A.H. 964; hence Ghiyâs Beg's flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

⁴ It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nûr Jahân was married by Jahângîr (in 1620), she must have been as old as 34 (Solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

⁵ Where he had some distant relations, as Ja'far Beg (No. 98).
Regarding Mihrābūn-Nisā's marriage with All Quli, vide No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, Ghīyās Beg received the title of Istīmād-ud-Dawla. In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharif, joined a conspiracy to set Khusraw at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharif was executed, and Istīmād himself was imprisoned. After some time he was set free upon payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. At the death of Sher Afkan (under 275) Mihrābūn-Nisā was sent to court as a prisoner "for the murder of Qutbūd-Din", and was handed over to Rūqaiyya Siṭān Begūm, with whom she lived "unnoticed (ba-nākâmī) 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 Maḥall, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān.3

Ghīyās, in consequence of the marriage, was made Vakil-ī kul, or prime-minister, and a commander of 6,000, 3,000 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, Ghīyās fell ill. The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kāṅgra Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying. Pointing to the emperor, Nūr Jahān asked her father whether he recognized him. He quoted as answer a verse from Anwār:

آکّه تابی بنی USPS. امران اکر حاضر بود در جعیب عالم آرا پس به بید مبتی

"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 (Rābi‘ 1, 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 Zī Qaṣda, 1030).

Ghīyās Beg was a poet. He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we saw, showed itself a few hours before he died. He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful Shīkasta hand. Jahāngīr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand muṭarrīb-i yūqūts.4 He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. "Chains,

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1 Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather; vide p. 497, No. 278.
2 The Tuzuk and the Iḥālānak have Rūqaiyya Siṭān Begūm (p. 309). The Muṣafīr has Salīma Siṭān Begūm (p. 309). The Iḥālānak (p. 36) has wrongly ین. for ین.
3 In accordance with the name of her husband Nūr-ud-Din Jahāngīr.
4 As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison, so was the cornelian (ghīyāf) (mercat 1—P.) supposed to possess exhilarating properties. Muṭarrīb means an exhilarative.
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 showed much boldness in demanding them.¹

His mausoleum near Āgra has often been described.

Nūr Jahān's power over Jahāngīr 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 khushba (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty. Thus her name was invariably mentioned on farmāns, and even on coins. The jāgīrs which she held would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30,000. A great portion of her zamindāris lay near Rāmīr, S.K. of Ajmīr (Tuzuk, p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dā, Dīlārām, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of "Ṣadr of the Women" (ṣadr-i anāb), and when she conferred lands as sayyāḥāls, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Ṣadr of the empire. Nūr Jahān is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave outfts to is estimated at five hundred. She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the ʿsṭr-i jahāngīrī (a peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her dudāmī for peshuāz (gowns), her pichṭoliya for orhās (veils), her bāḍla (brocade), kinārī (lace), and farāh-i chandānī are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahāngīr's death and the capture of Shāhryār, fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Shīr Afnān) Lāḍlī Begūm, in marriage. She had no children by Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.²

She died at Lāhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwāl, 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (Pādīshāhī, II, 475).² She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

¹ So the Tuzuk and the Iqlāhimā.
² Dūdāmī, weighing two dāmā; pīchtoliya, weighing five tolas. The latter was mentioned on p. 101. Farāh-i chandānī carpets of sandalwood colour.
³ Elphinstone has by mistake 2 lacs per annum. The highest allowance of Begūms on record is that of Mumtāz Mahūl, viz 10 lacs per annum. Vide Pādīshāhī, I, 96.
⁴ In the Pādīshāhīānum, Nūr Jahān is again called Nūr Mahūl.
like Salīma Sultan Begum and Zebu 'Nisā Begum wrote under the assumed name of Maḥfī ḥ.

Ghiyāṣ Beg's sons. The fate of his eldest son Muḥammad Sharīf has been alluded to. His second son, Mirzā Abū 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān (IV), also called Āṣaf-jah or Āṣaf-jahī, is the father of Muntāz Maḥall (Tāj Bibi), the favourite wife of Shāhjāhān whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II. He received from Shāhjāhān the title of Yamin 'd-Dawla and Khān Khānān Sipahsālār, and was a commander of 9,000. He died on the 17th Sha'ban, 1051, and was buried at Lāhor, north of Jahāngīr's tomb. As commander of 9,000 du-aspa and ās̱a-aspa troopers, his salary was 16 krores, 20 lacs of dāmas, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jāgirs 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 mulhurs, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, etc., and 23 lacs of other property. His palace in Lāhor which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dārā Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his three sons and five daughters. The rest escheated to the State.

Āṣaf Khān was married to a daughter of Mirzā Ghiyāṣu 'd-Dīn Āli Āṣaf Khān II (p. 398).

His eldest son is the renowned Mirzā Abū Ṭalib Shāista Khān, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E.I. Company. Shāista was married to a daughter of Īrij Shāh Nawāz Khān (No. 255), son of Ābd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, by whom he had, however, no children. He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzīb's reign. His eldest son, Abū Ṭalib, had died before him. His second son was Abū 'l-Fath Khān. One of his daughters was married to Rūhū 'llāh (I), and another to Ŭāl-Faqār Khān Nūṣrat-jang.

Āṣaf Khān's second son, Bahmaniār, was in the 20th year of Shāhjāhān, a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (Pādishāhān., II, 728).

Ghiyāṣ Beg's third son is Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-jang, who was the governor of Bihār (vide note to Kokra under No. 328) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Shāhjāhān's rebellion. His son had died young and was buried near Rājmahāl, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibrāhīm Khān was married to Ḥāji Hūr Parwar Khānum, Nūr Jahān's maternal aunt (khālū). She lived up to the middle of Awrangzīb's reign, and held Kol Jalālī as āltamghā.

1 Also called Muḥammad Ṭalib. Fide Pādishāhān., II, 248.
An Ahmad Beg Khan is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nur Jahân's brother. He was with Ibrahim Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhâkâ, where he handed over to Shâhjâhân 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Shâhjâhân's accession he received a high mansab, was made governor of Thathah and Siwistân, and later of Multân. He then returned to court, and received as jagir the Parganas of Jâis and Amethi, where he died. In the 20th year of Shâhjâhân's reign he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 horse (Pâdishâhân, II, 727).

A sister of Nur Jahân Manja Begum was mentioned under No. 282.

A fourth sister, Khadija Begum, was married to Hákim Beg, a nobleman of Jahângîr's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable:

1. Khwâja Muhammad Sharif
   (d. 984).

2. Khwâja Mirza Ahmad.

3. Khwâja Khwâja
   Mirza Amâh-i Râkî
   (author of the
   Half Iqâlim).

Khwâja Shâpûr.

1. Asâh Muham-
   mad Tâhir, Beg Iâtimâd
   (d. 1031).

2. Mirza Ghyâs
   d-Dawla

3. Muhammad Sharif
   (executed)

4. Nûr Jahân
   (wife of
   Khwâja Khwâja
   (d. 1055).

5. Ibrahim Khan Fath-
   jang (left
   no children).

6. Two daughters

1. Asâh Muham-
   mad Tâhir, Beg Iâtimâd
   (d. 1031).

2. Mirza Abû 'l-
   Hasan Asaf
   Khan (IV)
   (d. 1051).

3. Two daughters

4. Nûr Jahân
   (wife of
   Khwâja Khwâja
   (d. 1055).

5. Ibrahim Khan Fath-
   jang (left
   no children).

6. Two daughters

320. Khwâja Ashraf, son of Khwâja Asâh Abû 'l-Bâri.

One MS. has Sharaf for Ashraf. Vide No. 316.

321. Sharaf Beg, of Shirâz.

322. Ibrahim Quli, son of Ismâ'il Quli Khan (No. 46).

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

323. Abû 'l-Fath, son of Muzafrar, the Mughul.

324. Beg Muhammad Toqâbât.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrât and was present in the fight near Maisâna, S.E. of Pûtan, in which Sher Khân Fâlâlid was defeated, and also against Muzaffar of Gujrât (Akbarnâma, III, 423).

It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharif.
Regarding Togbät', vide No. 129.

325. Imám Quli Shighálti.
The Akbarnāma (III, 628) mentions an Imám Quli, who, in the 37th year served under Sultān Murūd in Mālwa.

The meaning of Shighálti is unclear to me. A Muḥammad Quli Shighálti played a part in Badakhšān history (Akbarn., III, 132, 249).

326. Sāfдар Beg, son of Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (No. 66).

A Sāfdar Khān served, in the 21st year, against Daudā of Bundi (vide under No. 96).

327. Khwāja Sulaymān of Shirāz.
He has been mentioned on p. 383 and under No. 172.


Mirzā Barkhurdār was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250. His father (No. 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat.1 This Bihār Zamindār was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy peskhāsh, 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 Jahlāmīr was fond of him, he released him after his accession,2 and made him Qūshbegī, or superintendent of the aviary.3 In the fourth

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1 Dalpat is called in the Akbarnama ʿUjainiyā, for which the MSS. have various readings, as ʿUjainiyya, etc. Under Shāhjāhān, Dalpat's successor was Rājā Pratāb, who in the 1st year received a mansab of 1,500, 1,000 horse (Pādshāhān., I, 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the ʿUjainiyyā Rājas was Bhōjpūr, west of Arā and north of Bhārām (Sasram), a pargana in Sakhir, Rohātā, Bihār, Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shāhjāhān's reign, when ʿAbd al-ʿLāh Khān Frūzjāng besieged and conquered Bhōjpūr (8th 21-Hajja, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shāhjān's order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to ʿAbd al-ʿLāh's grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the Pādshāhānīs (I. b., pp. 271 to 274).

The maps show a small place of the name of Pratāb near Bhōjpūr.

It is said that the Bhōjpūr Rājas call themselves ʿUjainiyās, because they claim descent from the ancient Rājas of Ujjain in Mālwa.

In the 17th year of Shāhjāhān, Dārnīghār ʿUjainiyya is mentioned to have served in the second expedition against Pālāmāw; Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

2 If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnama, 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 (Akbarn., III, 825).

3 Grand Falconer or superintendent of the qūşkhānā or mews.—P.
year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khan Alām (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Shah Ābbās of Persia sent Yādgār Āfīl Sulṭān Tālīsh as ambassador to Āgra, 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 Ālamārā-i Sīkandarī, the most splendid embassy that had ever appeared in Persia. In consequence of a long delay at Hirāt and Qum, caused by the absence of the Shah in Azarbājān on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one-half of the suite were sent back. In 1027 the Shah 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. Jahāngir was so pleased that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5,000, 3,000 horse.

The author of the Pādishāhānīma (I, 427), however, remarks that B. did not possess the skill and tact of an ambassador, though he had not stated his reasons or the source of his information.

On Shah Jahan's accession, B. was made a commander of 6,000, 5,000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bhār, vide M. Rustam Safawi. But as he was given to koknār (opium and hemp), he neglected his duties, and was deposed before the first year had elapsed. In the fifth year (end of 1041), when Shah J. returned from Burhānūr to Āgra, B. was pensioned off, as he was old and given to opium and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (Pādishāhānī, I, 426). He died a natural death at Āgra. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwaja Barkhudār, a brother of Ābdū 'Ilaḥ Khān Firūz-jang.

B.'s brother Mirza Ābdū 's-Subhān (No. 349) was Fawjdār of Hāhābad. He was then sent to Kabul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Āfrīdīs (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

Ābdū 's-Subhān's son, Sherdād Khān Bahādur, was killed in the last fight with Khān Jāhān Lodī at Sekhālāh (vide under No. 309). Pādishāhānī, I, 349.

329. Mir Maṣūm of Bhakkār.

Mir Maṣūm belongs to a family of Tirmizi Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bhāhar, and settled at Qandābār, where his ancestors were mutawallīs (trustees) of the shrine of Bābā Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mir Sayyid Safāī, settled in Bhakkār, and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd (vide under No. 47). He was related by marriage to
the Sayyids of Swistān. Mir Maṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mullā Muḥammad of Kingrī, S.W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrat, where Shaykh Is-haq-i Fāruqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwāja Nizām ‘d-Dīn Ahmad, then Diwān of Gujrat. Nizām was just engaged in writing his historical work, entitled Tabaqāt-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 mansāb. 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 1,000.

From the Akbarnāma (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 Maisāna, and in the final expedition against Muẓaffar in Kachh.

M. M. is well known as a poet and historian. He wrote under the poetical name of Nāmī. He composed a Diwān, a Maṣnawī entitled Maṣdan ‘l-aṣbār in the metre of Nizām’s Makhzan, the Tārikh-i Sindhi, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called Muṣrifāt-i Maṣṣāmī. The author of the Riyya‘ ‘sh-Shu‘Sarā says that he composed a Khamsa, and the Taqī by Taqī (vide under No. 352) says the same, viz., one maṣnawi corresponding to the Makhzan, the Hūsan o Nāz to the Yūsuf Žulaykha, the Pari Sūrat to the Laili Majnūn, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnāma. Bādā‘ounī (died 1004) only alludes to the Hūsan o Nāz, though he gives no title (III, 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyya‘ ‘sh-Shu‘Sarā says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Iṣfahān and Tabriz, 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 Āgra, on the Jāmī Mosque of Fatehpūr Sikri, in Fort Māndū (vide under No. 52 and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Dibāja, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the
side of the entrance to Salim-i Chishti's shrine at Fatehpur Sikri, the last words of which are:—"Said and written by Muhammad Ma'sum poetically styled Nami, son of Sayyid Safa*i of Tirmiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Baba Hasan Abdal, who was born at Sabzwar and settled at Qandahar." Dowson, in his edition of Elliot's Historians, mentions Kirmán as the residence of Sayyid Safa*i, and gives (I. 239) a few particulars from the Tarikh-i Sindh, regarding the saint Baba Hasan Abdal, who lived under Mirza Shahrubh, son of Timur. The town of Hasan Abdal in the Panjáb, east of Atak, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Sakhar 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 Satyasur (سياصر). "It is one of the wonders of the world, and its Tarikh is contained in the words کندی دریانی, water-dome, which gives a.h. 1007.

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 (mutanaz). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jagir lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Tarikh-i Sindh, was Mir Buzurg. He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusraw's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it. Jahangir 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 Chaukinaeis, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahangir is said to have left Mir Buzurg in possession of his father's property. He was for a long time Bakshah of Qandahar, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Suhahdars. 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 Dakhin; but as his jagir 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 Multan.


His title of Mir Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 292).

332. Shâh Muhammad, son of Sa'âd Khân, the Gakkhar.
For his relations, vide under No. 247.
333. Rahîm Qâlî, son of Khân Jahân (No. 24).
334. Sher Beg, Yasâwulbashî.
Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnâma (III, 623).

XXII. Commanders of Two Hundred.

335. Ittikhar Beg, son of Bâyazîd Beg (No. 299).
He was alive in the end of A.H. 1007 (Akbarn., III, 804).
336. Pratâb Singh, son of Râja Bhagwân Dâs (No. 27).
He was mentioned under No. 160.
337. Husayn Khân Qazwînî. Vide No. 281.
338. Yâdghur Husayn, son of Qâbîl Khân (No. 137).
He was mentioned under No. 137. In the 31st year he served under Qâsim Khân in Kashmir. The Yâdghur Husayn mentioned in the Tuzuk (p. 146) may be the same. He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahângir's reign, to a command of 700, 500 horse, for his services in the Dakhin. Vide also Padishâhnâma, I, b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.
He is not to be confounded with Khwâja Yâdghur, a brother of 'Abdu'llâh Khân Firuz-jang.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat and Kachh against Fath Khân, the younger son of Amin Khân Ghori and Muzaflâr, and in the 36th year against Muzaflâr and the Jâm. Akbarn., III, 553, 621.

340. Muhammad Khân Turkmîn.
341. Niâzî 'd-Din Ahmad, son of Shâh Muhammad Khân (No. 95).
He is not to be confounded with the author of the Tabaqût.
342. Sakat Singh, son of Râja Mân Singh (No. 30).
Vide No. 256.
343. 'Imád 'l-Mulk.
The Akbarnâma mentions a Qâzî 'Imád 'l-Mulk, who in the end of 984 (31st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. Sharîf-i Sarmâdî.
He was a poet. Vide below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.
345. Qârâ Bahr, son of Qârâtaq.
Qârâtaq, whose name in the Akbarnâma is spelled Qurâtaq, was killed by Gajpatî in the same fight in which Farhang Khân, son of Farhat Khân (No. 145), was slain (No. 145).
346. Tātar Beg, son of ʿAlī Muhammad Asp. (No. 258).
347. Khwāja Muhīb ʿAlī of Khawāf.
Vide No. 159, note.

Ardīsīn is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, 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. Badaʿwī (III, 169) and the Tuzuk (p. 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life.

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrat and Kachh. Akbarn., III, 283, 418, 620. Under Jahāngīr he was made a commander of 3,000, 1,000 horse (Tuzuk, p. 37). The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Ilahībād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Hakim's death reached J., on the 22nd Jumādā I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from qurḥāt‐yi shush, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (yaktawarī) 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. ʿAbd bʾs‐Sabhān, son of ʿAbd bʾr‐Rajmān, Duldāy (No. 186).
He was mentioned under No. 328.
350. Qāsim Beg of Tabriz.
He served in the 36th year under Sulṭān Murād in Mālwa, and died on the 23rd Ahān (end of) 1007; vide Akbarn., III, 628, 803. Vide below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. Sharīf (Amīr bʾUmarā), son of Khwāja ʿAbd bʾʿSamaḍ (No. 266).

Muḥammad Sharīf was the school companion of Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Ilahībād in rebellion against Akbar, Sharīf was sent to him to advise him; but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendency over Salīm, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom should he obtain the throne. When a reconciliation had been effected between Salīm 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 Jahāngīr, true to his promise, made him Amīrī ʿI-Umāra, Vakīl, entrusted him with the great seal (ṣūk) and allowed him to select his jagir 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 Amīrī ʿI-Umāra and a commander of 5,000. My father never did more.”

Sharīf seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghāns from India; but the Khān-i Aṣ̄am (No. 21) warned Jahāngīr against so unwise a step. Though Sh.’s position at court was higher than that of Mirzā ʿAzīz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upset, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill ʿAzīz for the part he had played in Khusrāw’s rebellion. But ʿAzīz was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharīf, and invite him to his house. The Khān-i Aṣ̄am did so, and invited him and the other Amūrs. At the feast, however, he said to him, in the blandest way, “I say, Nawāb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father Abī ʿS̄amād, the Mūllā, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in.” Khān Jahān (vide under 309) and Mahābat Khān could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall; and when Jahāngīr heard of it, he said to Sh., “The Khān cannot bridle his tongue; but don’t fall out with him.”

In the second year, Sh. accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kābul, but fell so ill that he had to be left in Lāhor, Āsaf Khān (No. 98) being appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khān Khānān (No. 29). It is said that illness deprived him of the faculty of memory, and Jahāngīr was on the point of making him retire, when Khān Jahān interceded on his behalf. He was again sent to the Dakhin, 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 Diwān. His takhallus is Fārisī (Badasani, III, 310).

Sh.’s eldest son, Shāhāb Khāb, died when young. A Sarāzī near Lakhnau, about a kos from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mirzā Gul and Mirzā Jārī Ḥāh used to play with Jahāngīr at chess and nard; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jārī Ḥāh was married to Miṣrī Begam, a daughter of Āsaf Khān (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Āsaf’s death, Jahāngīr made him divorce his wife,
and married her to Mirzā Lashkari (No. 375), son of Mirzā Yusuf Khān (under No. 35).

Both brothers followed Mahābat Khān to Kābul, where they died.

332. Taqiyya of Shustar.

Taqiyya is the Irānī from for Taqī. The Tabaqat calls him Taqī Muḥammad. Badāʾonī (III, 206) has Taqiyyuʿ d-Din and says that he was a good poet and a well-educated man. At Akbar’s order he undertook a prose version of the Shāhānāmah. He is represented as a “murīd” or disciple of Akbar’s Divine Faith.

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr’s reign (1017) when he received for his attainments the title of Muḥarrir Khān (Tuzuk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition we have to read Shuṣhtarī for the meaningless Shamaheiri).

Taqiyya is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyy of Balkh (a village near Isfahān), who, according to the Mirʾ-ʾūn L.ʿ Alaw, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign to India. He is the author of the rare Taṣkira, or Lives of Poets, entitled Ārafaṭ o Āraṣāṭ, and of the Dictionary entitled Surma-yi Sulaymānī, which the lexicographer Muḥammad Ḥusayn used for his Burhān-i Qāṭī.

333. Khwāja ʿAbd u ʿSamaad of Kāshān.

334. Ḥakīm Lutfuʿullāh, son of Mullā ʿAbduʿr-Razzāq of Gilān.

He is the brother of Nos. 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers. Badāʾonī (III, 169) calls him a very learned doctor.

335. Sher Afkan  
336. Amān “ilāh” sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

Amān “ilāh died in the 45th year of Akbar’s reign at Burhānpūr.

“He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine-drinking.” Akbarānāma, III, 835.

337. Salīm Quli  
338. Khalīl Quli sons of Ismāʿīl Quli Khān (No. 46).

339. Wāli Beg, son of Pāyanda Khān (No. 68).

He served under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir.

340. Beg Muhammad Uighūr.

341. Mir Khān Yasawul.

When Akbar during the first Gujrāt war (p. 480, note 2) had left Patan for Chotāna (Rajab, 990) it was reported that Muḥaffar of Gujrāt had fled from Sher Khān Fūlādī and was concealed in the neighbourhood; vide under No. 67. Akbar therefore sent Mir Khān the Yasawul and Fard the Qarawul, and afterwards Abū ʿl-Qāsim Namakīn (No. 199) and Karam ʿAlī, in search of him. Mir Khān had not gone far when he
found the chatr and sāyabān (p. 52) which Mużaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Mużaffar himself in a field. Mir Khan took him to Akbar.

362. Sarmast Khan, son of Daṣtam Khan (No. 79).
363. Sayyid Abū 'l-Hasan, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir ʿAdl (No. 140).
364. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Wahid, son of the Mir ʿAdl’s brother.
366. Sakrā, brother of Rānā Pratāb.

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udai Singh, son of Rānā Sānkū (died A.H. 934). When his brother Pratāb, also called Rānā Kikâ, was attacked by Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahângīr’s reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Pārwiz against Rānā Amrâ, Pratāb’s successor. In the end of the same year he served against Dalpat (vide under No. 44), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2,500, 1,000 horse. He received, in the 11th year, a mansâb of 3,000, 2,000 horse.

The Akbarnâma 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 Khân Zamân when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mirzās. He therefore resolved to punish the Rānā, and on a hunting tour in Pargana Bârī 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. Udaipūr was invaded, and Chitor surrendered.

367. Shâdi Be Uzbak  
368. Baqi Be Uzbak  

They have been mentioned above. From the Akbarnâma (III. 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jagîr in Handia, where he rebelled and perished (36th year).

369. Yûnân Beg, brother of Murâd Khân (No. 54).

Some MSS. have Mirzâ Khân for Murâd Khân.

370. Shaykh Kabir 1 or Chishti [Shujâʿat Khân, Rustam-i Zamân].

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1 He is not to be confounded with another Shaykh Kabîr, who in the 23rd year served in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kâbûl; and in the 32nd year, against the Târîkā under Maṣjit Khân (No. 83). He died in the 36th year, in the war with the Jâm and Mużaffar of Gujrat (Akbarnâma, III, 283, 408, 541, 621, where the Lucknow edition calls him the son of Makmûl Khân).

2 Khâtî Khân calls him wrongly (I. 273) Shujâʿat Khân and Rustam Khân.
The Ma‘ṣūr calls him "an inhabitant of Mau". He was a relation of Ḥāfiz Khān-i Chishti, and received the title of Shujā‘at Khān from Prince Salīm, who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He served under Khān Jahān (vide under No. 309) in the Dakhin as harāneal, an office which the Sayyids of Bārāh claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with Ḥusmān. During the fight he wounded ḤU’s elephant, when the Afghan chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Wali Khān, Ḥusmān’s brother, and Mamrez Khān, Ḥusmān’s son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kābir, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh. K. to Ḥāfiz Khān in Jahāngirangar (Dhākkā), 6th Ṣafar, 1021 (Tuzuk, p. 104).

Jahāngir gave him for his bravery the title of Rustam-i Zamān. The Ma‘ṣūr says that Ḥāfiz Khān did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K., had given the Afghāns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road they were executed by Ṣaḥib-i Ḥāfiz 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 Ḥāfiz Khān appointed Sh. K. to Oriṣa, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Ḥusmān’s relations.

Note on the death of Ḥusmān Lohānī.

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of Ḥusmān. Khwāja Ḥusmān, according to the Makhdam-i Afghānī, was the second son of Miyān Ḥsā Khān Lohānī, who after the death of Qutlū Khān was the leader of the Afghāns in Oriṣa and Southern Bengal. Qutlū left three sons—Nasīb Shāh, Lodī Khān, Jamāl Khān. Ḥsā Khān left five sons, Khwāja, Sulaymān, Ḥusmān, Wali, Ibrāhīm. Stewart makes Ḥusmān a son of Qutlū (History of Bengal, p. 133). Sulaymān “reigned” for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Bāja Mān Singh (vide No. 244) held lands near the Brāhmaputra, and subjected the Rājas of the adjacent countries. Ḥusmān succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Oriṣa and Sātgāw, 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 Dḥākā, or "hills of Dḥākā" (Tipārah's), the vilayat-i Dḥākā, or District of Dḥākā, and Dḥākā itself. The fight with ČUĀN took place on Sunday, 9th Muḥarram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612, at a distance of 100 kos from Dḥākā. My MS. of the Malkhan calls the place of the battle Nek Ujjāl. Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrikhā river" in Orīsā, which is impossible, as Shujā'at Khān arrived again in Dḥākā on the 6th Safar, or 26 days after the battle. According to the Tuzuk, Islām Khān was in Dḥākā when the fight took place, and Wali Khān submitted to Shujā'at, who had been strengthened by a corps under ČAbdul's-Salām, son of Muṣāẓlām Khān (No. 209); but the Malkhan says that Islām besieged Wali in the Mahalls where ČUĀN lived, between the battlefield, and Dḥākā, and afterwards in the Fort of Dḥākā itself. Wali, on his submission, was sent to court with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from ČUĀN, received a title of jāgīr, and was made a commander of 1,000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the Mā'ṣarī, 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, Islām Khān'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 Afghān prisoners.

The Malkhan also says that ČUĀN, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favour, was carried off by Wali in a litter and buried on the road. When Shujā'at came up to the place where he had been buried, he had ČUĀN's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

ČUĀN is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Loët (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: Rex (Jahāngīr) codem tempore misit Tseziad ghanum Chiech zoden (Shujā'at Khān Shaykhsāda) ad Tzalanghamun (Islām Khān) qui Bengalaie praeceperat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae (Orīsā) mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annos regionem quae Odium et Daeck (between Orīsā and Dḥākā, i.e., the Sunderbans) interiacerat, tenterat et limites regni incursuerat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit. Daeck oppugnaturum. Tzalanchanus autem praeceperit adversus ipsum.

1 According to Primep's Useful Tables, the 9th Muḥarram was a Monday, not a Sunday, Tuzuk, p. 102.
2 There are several Ujyāls mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Mahmūdābād (Bosnah) and Sirkār Bāzākh (Mymensing-Bogra).
(Usman) Tzesiad chamum, una cum Mirza Iftager et Ethaman chano (Itikhâr Khân and Ihtimâm Khân) et alii multis Omearuweis, cum reliquis copis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftager et Mieick Zilayier (Mirkhal Jalâr—not in the Tuzuk) tam acrem impressionem decreunt, ut hastes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferociissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regi vicissim cedere cogeretur, et Efftager caederetur; Tzesiad guamus autem et ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetu ferocius bellica. declinati, se e suo defecit, et eum pretergit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subsidere tur, et regis passim fugam cespecerent; actumque fuisset de regis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisse: miles quidem saecius humi jaciens, cum Osmano, qui elephanto vehebatur, oculum globo trajeicit, et quo vulnera paulo post expravisset, eum morte militibus ilius ut fuerunt consernati ut statim de fuga cogetaret. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restituitur, creatum proelii Tsealanchano perscrivere: qui biduo post ad locum remit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzesiatagano e vulnera defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem (Walt Khân) et biduam atque liberus Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daeck Bengulae metropolis est reversus, misit ad regem Anno . . . (the year is left out).

De Laët says that Shuja' at Khân died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The Moeâbir says that he was on horseback when Usman's elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls Gajpati, and Stewart Bukhta (?), knocked him over, but Sh. quickly disentangled himself and stuck his dagger into the animal's trunk.

The Makhzan says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.

372. Mirza Sharif, son of Mirza *Alâ* 'd-Din.
373. Shukrâ 'llâh [Zafar Khân], son of Zayn Khân Koka (No. 34).

He was mentioned above on p. 369. 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 Khân.

1 The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khân (p. 497), Itikhâr Khân, Sayyid Âdam Bârâ, Shaykh Ashhe, brother's son of Muqarrab Khân, Mu'tamid Khân, and Ihtimâm Khân, as under Shujâ'at's command. Sayyid Âdam (the Tuzuk, p. 132, 1, 4 from below, has wrongly Sayyid Âqam), Itikhâr, and Shaykh Ashhe were killed. Later, *'Âdelâ*s-Salâm, son of Mu'âgâm Khân (No. 260) joined and pursued Usman.
As his sister was married to Jahāngīr (vide under No. 37, and note 2, to No. 225) Z. Kh. was rapidly promoted. When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Lāhor for Kābul, he halted at Mawza' Ahrošī, near Fort Aṭak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khātars (p. 506, note 2) and Dilahāk (note to No. 247). Zafār was appointed to Aṭak, vice Aḥmad Beg Khān (No. 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Lāhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners. On Jahāngīr's return from Kābul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a manges of 2,000, 1,000 horse. In the 7th year he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse, and governor of Bihār. In the 10th year he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 500 horse, and then served in Bangāsh. "Nothing else is known of him." Māqāhir.

From the Tuzuk (p. 343) we see that Zafar Khān died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāngīr made his son Saʿādat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Saʿādat Khān, his son. He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a commander of 1,500, 700 horse. In the 5th year after Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3,000 horse. He again served in Kābul, and under Murād Balkhshī in Balkh and Barakshshān, was made commandant of Tirmiz and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subḥān Quli Khān, ruler of Bukhārā (19th year). Later he served in the Qandahār wars, was in the 29th year Fawjdār of Upper and Lower Bangāsh, and two years later commandant of Fort Kābul.

In 1069, the second near of Awrangzīb's reign, he was killed by his son Sherullāh. Mahābat Khān, Šāhahdār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. Mīr ʿAbdullāh Mūmin, son of Mīr Sama̱rquandī.
Mīr Sama̱rquandī was a learned man who came during Bāyrām's regency of Āgra. Bāḍtirī, III, 149.
375. Lashkari, son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35).
Vide above, p. 405, and for his wife under No. 351.
376. Agha Mullā Qazwīnī, Vide No. 278.
377. Mūhammad ʿAlī of Jām.

1 The Māqāhir has "Amīrī"; the Tuzuk, p. 48, "Amīri". I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. The Khātars and Dilahākks are estimated in the Tuzuk at 7 to 8,000 families.
Jām is a place in Khurāsān, famous for its Bābā Shaykhī melons. It has given name to the two poets Pār Bahā and the renowned Ṣāḥib-ı-Rahmān Jāmī.

378. Mathūra Dās, the Khatri.
379. Satthura Dās, his son.
The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sultān Murād in Kābul. Al born., III, 333.

381. Kallā, the Kachhwāhā.
He served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul.

382. Sayyid Darwish, son of Shams-ī Bukhāri.
A Shaykh Junayd served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) in Gujrat. He was killed in the Khaibar catastrophe (Ak born., III, 190, 498).

He was mentioned under No. 149. In the 36th year he served against the Jām and Muqafar of Gujrat.

His father Raffī 'd-Dīn was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Agra in 954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Muḥsin 'd-Dīn, author of a commentary to the Qurʾān entitled Tafsīr-i Mašā'ī.

385. Fath Khān, superintendent of the leopards.
He was in charge of hunting the leopards.

386. Muqim Khān, son of Shujaat Khān (No. 51).
He served in the siege of Asīr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin. Ak born., III, 825, 865.

387. Lāla, son of Rāja Bīr Bār (No. 85).
The *Akbarnāma* (III, 865) calls him the eldest son of Rāja Bīr Bār. *Vide* under 85.


389. Habī Yasāwul.

Habī is an abbreviation of Habīb.

390. Haydar Dost, brother of Qāsim ʿAlī Khān (No. 187).

391. Dost Muḥammad, son of Bābā Dost.

392. Shāhrukh Dantūrī.

Dantūr, Dhatūr or Dhantāwar, is a district near the Kashmir frontier. The *Tuzuk* (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhatūr, during Akbar’s reign, was ruled over by Shāhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahāngīr’s) by his son Bahādur. Bahādur was a commander of 200, 100 horse, and served under Mahābat in Bangash.

393. Sher Muḥammad.

He served in 993 in the Dakhin, *Akbarnāma* III, 472.

A Sher Muḥammad Divāna was mentioned on p. 332. He had at first been in the service of Khwāja Muṣazzam, brother of Akbar’s mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaumpūr, engaged with the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Sher Muḥammad Divāna plundered several places in Pargana Samānā, the fawjdar of which was Mullā Nūr ʿd-Dīn Tarkhān. The Mullā had left his vakil Mīr Dost Muḥammad in Samānā. Sh. M. D. invited him and treacherously murdered him at the feast. Plundering several places he went to Māler, when he was surprised by the Mullā at a place called Dhanūrī in Samānā. 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, *Akbarnāma* II, 332.

394. ʿAlī Qullī [Beg. Istajlū, Sher Aftan Khān].

He was the safarchī, or table-attendant of Ismāʿīl II, king of Persia. After his death he went over Qandahār to India, and met at Multān, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), who was on his march to Thatha. At his recommendation, he received a manṣūb. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihrān Nūsā (the future Nūr Jāhān), daughter of Mīrza Ḥiyāṣ Ṭahrānī (No. 319). Ḥiyāṣ’s wife had access to the imperial harem, and was on her visits often accompanied by her daughter. Prince Salīm saw her, and fell in love with her, and Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her quickly to ʿAlī Qullī.

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1 Fī ḵū Cunningham’s Geography of Ancient India, p. 131. It lies on the Dow river, near Nawshahr.

2 Safar-chī.—P.J.
Ali Quli accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rānā, and received from him the title of Sher Afkar Khān. On his accession, he received Bardwān as tuylū. His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khābū (No. 275) was related on p. 551. The Māfāsir says that when he went to meet the Šušahār, his mother put a helmet (dubalgha) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go.

Ali Q.'s daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihrn 'n-Nisā, was later married to Prince Shahrūr, Jahāngīr's fifth son.

Jahāngīr, in the Tuzuk, expresses his joy at A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell". Khāfi Khān (I, p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nūr Jahān's mother. According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Qutb 'd-Dīn's men, but, wounded as he was, managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands. But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihrn 'n-Nisā 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 Bahram Saqqā (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwān.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahān killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tuzuk, p. 186) and Nūr Jahān requested Jahāngīr to let her shoot them. She killed two with one bullet each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafas. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment:

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman she is in the array of men a zan-i sher afkan," i.e., either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (afkan) tigers (sher).

395. Shāh Muhammad, son of Masnad-i 5 Ali.
Vide Nos. 306 and 385.

396. Sanwaldās Jādon.
He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p. 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul. In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bāhī. 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 Rāja Gopāl Jādon’s brother (vide No. 305) and Abū 'l-Faḍl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. Akbarn., III, 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwāja Zahiru 'd-Din, son of Shaykh Khalilu 'llāh.
He served in the 31st year under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin.
His father is also called Shāh Khalīlu 'llāh. He served in the 10th year against Khān Zamān, and under Mumīm Khān in Bengal and Orīsā, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p. 407).
Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mir Khalīlu 'llāh of Yazd and his son Mir Zahiru 'd-Din, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngir came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhor. The history of this noble family is given in the Ma'ādir.

398. Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim of Nīshāpūr.
399. Hāji Muhammad Ardistānī.
400. Muhammad Khān, son of Tarson Khān’s sister (No. 32).
401. Khwāja Muqīm, son of Khwāja Mīrākī.
He served under Aziz Koka in Bengal, and returned with him to court in the 29th year. In 993 he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Tāhir Sayfī 'l-Mulk (No. 201) in Fort Ghorāghat by several Bengal rebels. In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made Bakhshī. Akbarn., III, 418, 470, 610.

Vide Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians, I, pp. 248, 251.
402. Qādir Quli, foster-brother of Mirzā Shāhrukhī (No. 7).
He served in the 36th year in Gujrat. Akbarn., III, 621.
403. Firūz, a slave of the emperor Humayūn.
Badā’oni (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humayūn, who brought him up with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Ghāzi Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144).
Badā’oni also says that he was a Langā.
404 Tāj Khān Khatriya. Vide No. 172.
He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.
406. Mir Sharīf of Kolāb.
407. Pahār Khān, the Balūch.
He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjān Hādā (No. 96),
and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was *tuyāddār* of Ghāzipūr, and hunted down Maṣūm Khān Farangkhūdī, after the latter had plundered Muhammadābād (*vide* under No. 175). In the 28th year he served in Gujrat, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisānā, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fulādī was defeated. *Akbarnāma*, III, 160, 355, 416.

Dr. Wilton Oldham, C.S., states in his "Memoir of the Ghazepoor District" (p. 80) that Fawjdār Pahār Khān is still remembered in Ghāzipūr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest.

408. *Keshā Dās*, the Rāthor.

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year) he served in Gujrat. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salim (*vide* under No. 4). From the *Akbarnāma*, III, 623, it appears that he is the son of Rāy Rāy Singh's brother (No. 44) and perished, in the 36th year, in a private quarrel.

409. Sayyid Lād Bārha.

In 993, Sayyid Lād served with the preceding in Gujrat, and in the 46th year, in the Dakhim.

410. *Nasir Maṭin*.

Maṭin (माटिन) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rājpūts, chiefly inhabiting Sārhind and the Bahat Duṣāb. "The only famous man which this tribe has produced is ʿĪsā Khān Maṭin. He served under Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh." *Maṭāsir*.

411. Sāṅgā, the Pūwar.

412. Qābil, son of ʿAtīq.

413. Ādwaṅd | Zamindārs of Oṛīṣā.

414. Sundar

415. Nūram, foster-brother of Mirzā Ibrāhīm.

He served in the 31st year against the Afghāns on Mount Terāh, and in 1000, under Mān Singh in the expedition to Oṛīṣā. *Akbarnāma*, III, 532, 642.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant.

The above list of grandees includes the names of such Mansābdārs 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

Do. 120 ............................................ 1
Do. 100, or Yūzbāšis .................. 250
Do. 80 ............................................. 91
Do. 60 ............................................ 204
Do. 50 ............................................ 16
Do. 40 ............................................ 260
Do. 30, or Tarkushbands .............. 39
Do. 20 ............................................ 250
Do. 10 ............................................ 224

[Total, 1,388 Maṇṣābdārs below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to maṇṣābs or promoted to higher dignities. Many Arabs 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 Vakūs, or prime-ministers:—

Bayrām Khān (No. 10); Munṣim Khān (No. 11); Arga Khān (No. 15); Bahādur Khān (No. 22); Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khān Khānān Mirzā Khān (No. 29); Khān-i Aṣṭam Mirzā 6 Koka (No. 21).

The following have been Vazīrs or ministers of finances:—

Miḥṣ Azīs 7 Ilāh Turbatī; Khwāja Jalālu d-Dīn Mahmūd 2 of Khurāsān (No. 65); Khwāja Muḥsin 8 d-Dīn Farangkūdd (No. 128); Khwāja 6 Abdū l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān (No. 49); Vazīr Khān (No. 41); Muṣaffar Khān (No. 37); Rāja Tūdar Mal (No. 39); Khwāja Shāh Mansūr of Shirāz (No. 122); Qulī Khān (No. 42); Khwāja Shamsu d-Dīn Khawāfī (No. 159).

The following have been Bakhsbās:—

Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khwāja Tāhir of Sijistān (No. 111); Mawlānā Ḥabī Bihzādī; Mawlānā Darwish Muḥammad of Mashhad;

1 Abū 'l-Fazl's list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged
2 The MSS. and my text have wrong Muṣīm for Mahmūd.
3 Some MSS. have Ḥāf instead of Ḥabī (an abbreviation for Ḥabīb).
Mawlānā ʿIshiqī, 1 Muqīm of Khurāsān (No. 410); Sultān Mahmūd of Badāghšān; Lashkar Khān (No. 90); Shāhābūz Khān (No. 80); Rāy Purukhāt; Shaykh Fard-i Bulhārī (No. 99); Qāẓī ʿAli of Baghād; Jaʿfar Beg ʿAsaf Khān (No. 98); Khwāja Nizām ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad; 2 Khwājagī Fathu ʿIllāh (No. 258).

The following have been Ṣadr 3:—

Mir Fatḥu ʿllāh; Shaykh Gādāʾī, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i Kambū; Khwājagī Muhammad Šālīb, descendant in the third generation from Khwāja Ṣabd-i ʿllāh Marwarī; Mawlānā Ṣabd-i Bāqī; Shaykh Ṣabd-i ʿn-Nābī; Sultān Khwāja (No. 108); Ṣadr Jahān (No. 194).

Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar’s Maṣṣābādār.

The principal facts which Abū ʿl-Fażl’s list of Grandees discloses are, first, that there were very few Hindūstānī Musulmān in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service, most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghāns; secondly, that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindū Amirs, as among the 415 Maṣṣābādār there are 51 Hindūs.

The Maṣṣābādār who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mir Shāh Abū ʿl-Maʿālī; Khwāja Maʿṣūm, brother of Akbar’s mother; Bābā Khān Qāshāl; Maʿṣīm i Kābulī (p. 476, note); ʿArab Bahādur; Jābārī, etc. But there are also several left out, as Khīr Khwāja (p. 394, note 2), Sultān Ḥusayn Jalāʾir (vide under No. 64), Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar (vide p. 507), Mir Geśū (p. 464), Nawrang Khān, son of Quṭb ʿd-Dīn Khān (No. 28), Mirzā Qulī (p. 418), Rāja Akṣarān (under No. 174), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abū ʿl-Fażl’s list with that in the Tabaqāt, or the careful lists of Shāhjāhān’s grandees in the Pādīshāḥnāma, we observe that Abū ʿl-Fażl has only given the maṣṣāb, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (tābīnān). In other words, Abū ʿl-Fażl has merely given the ṣāli rank (p. 251). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizām ʿd-Dīn in the Tabaqāt, which may advantageously be given here. Nizām gives only maṣṣābādār of higher rank, viz.:—

1 Regarding him vide Akbarnāma, III, 210. He was of Ghaznī.
2 The Historian.
3 Vide pp. 250 to 283. Regarding Mawlānā Ṣabd-i Bāqī, who was Ṣadr in the fifth year, vide Akbarnāmah, II, 143.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Khān Khānīn Bayrām Khān</td>
<td>No. 10. Manṣab, 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mirzā Shāhrukh, 5,000</td>
<td>7; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tardi Beg Khān</td>
<td>12; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Munṣim Khān</td>
<td>11; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam, 5,000</td>
<td>9; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mirzā Khān Khānīn</td>
<td>29; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ʿAli Qulī Khān Zamān</td>
<td>13; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Adham Khān</td>
<td>19; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mirzā Shāraṭ ʿd-Dīn Husayn</td>
<td>17; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Shams ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Khān</td>
<td>15; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Muḥammad ʿAzīz Kokultāsh, 5,000</td>
<td>21; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Bahādur Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>No. 22; 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās</td>
<td>31; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Shihāb ʿd-Dīn Ahmad Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>26; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Saʿid Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>25; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Pīr Muḥammad Khān</td>
<td>20; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 5,000</td>
<td>27; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Mān Singh, 5,000</td>
<td>30; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Khwāja ʿAbdū ʿl-Majīd Ḍāṣaf Khān, maintained 20,000 horse</td>
<td>49; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>SīkJandar Khān Uzbek ²</td>
<td>48; 3,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>ʿAbdū ʿl-Ḥān Khān Uzbek</td>
<td>14; 5,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Qiyā Khān Gung ²</td>
<td>33; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td>18; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Zayn Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td>34; 4,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Shujāʿat Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>31; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 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 Ābū ʿl-Fāzī shared, of the names “Muḥammad” “ʿAbdū ʿl-Majīd” “Khān.”

2 Mentioned in the Tabaqāt as belonging to the Uṣūrī ʿl-kibār, “the great Amirs,” i.e., probably, the commanders of 5,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the Tabaqāt.</th>
<th>In Abū l-Fazl’s list.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30. Shāh Budāgh Khān</td>
<td>No. 52; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbak, 4,000</td>
<td>64; 2,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Tarsā Muhammad Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>32; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Vāzīr Khān, 5,000</td>
<td>41; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Muhammad Murād Khān 1</td>
<td>54; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Ashraf Khān</td>
<td>74; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Mahdī Qāsim Khān 2</td>
<td>36; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Muhammad Qāsim Khān</td>
<td>40; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Khwāja Sultān ʿAlī</td>
<td>56; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Rāja Todar Mal, 4,000</td>
<td>39; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Rāgawī, 4,000</td>
<td>35; 4,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Mīrzā Qulī Khān 1</td>
<td>not in theĀ’in; vide p. 418.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Muḥaffar Khān</td>
<td>No. 37; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Ḥaydar Muhammad Khān, 2,000</td>
<td>66; 2,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Shāhām Khān Jalāʿīr, 2,000</td>
<td>97; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Ismāʿīl Sultān Dildāy</td>
<td>72; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Muhammad Khān Jalāʿīr 2</td>
<td>not in theĀ’in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Khān-i Ālam, 3,000</td>
<td>No. 58; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Qutb ʿd-Dīn Muhammad Khān,</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>maintained 5,000 horse</td>
<td>28; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, 4,000</td>
<td>107; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Qulī Khān, 4,000</td>
<td>42; 4,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. Muhammad ʿAllī Khān, 4,000</td>
<td>43; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Mīrzā ʿUmar Beg, 3,000</td>
<td>47; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān, 3,000 5</td>
<td>46; 3,500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>54. Iḥtimād Khān Gujrātī, 4,000</td>
<td>67; 2,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Rāja Rāy Singh, of Bikānīr and</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagor, 4,000</td>
<td>44; 4,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Sharīf Muhammad Khān, 3,000</td>
<td>63; 3,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>57. Shāh Fakhr ʿd-Dīn, Naqābāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khān, 1,000</td>
<td>88; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Habīb ʿAlī Khān</td>
<td>133; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Shāh Qulī Mahram, 1,000</td>
<td>45; 3,500.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Menthioned in the Tabaqat as belonging to the Usmāna-i khār, "the great Amirs." I.e., probably the commanders of 5,000.
2 He got insane. Tabaqat.
3 MS. 1,000.
In the Tabaqat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Description</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<td>60</td>
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<td>Muṣin 'Abd-Din Ahmad</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Iṣtimād Khán Khwajasārā</td>
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<td>119</td>
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<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Dastam Khán</td>
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<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Kamāl Khán, the Gakkar</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tahir Khán Mir Farāghat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Sayyid Ḥāmid of Bukhārā</td>
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<td></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>Sayyid Maḥmūd Khán, Bārha</td>
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<td></td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>Sayyid Ṭāhir Khán, Bārha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Qara Bahādur Khán</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>179</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Baiq Muḥammad Khán Koka</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Maṣṣūm Khán Farānkhūdī</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>Nawrangi Khán</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Shāh Muḥammad Khán Atga</td>
<td></td>
<td>younger brother of Shamsī</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>d'Dīn Atgah</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>Matlab Khán</td>
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<td>83</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Shaykh Ibrāhīm</td>
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<td>'Ali Quli Khán</td>
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<td>Tolak Khán Qūchin</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fattā Khán Afghān</td>
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<td>not in the Aṣīn; vide p. 354</td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Khwāja Jahān Khurāsānī</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Abū'l-Faḍl's list.

not in the Aṣīn; vide p. 466.
No. 128; 1,000.

not in the Aṣīn; vide p. 507, and under No. 247.
No. 94; 2,000.
No. 78; 2,000.

not in the Aṣīn; vide p. 354.

not in the Aṣīn.
No. 83; 2,000.

not in the Aṣīn; vide No. 385.
not in the Aṣīn; vide under [No. 385].

1 The MSS. of the Tabaqat also have wrongly Rustum Khán.
2 MS. Bahādur Khán.
3 This is probably a mistake of the author of the Tabaqat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Title/Position</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Amount (Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl</td>
<td>kept 5,000 horse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Muḥammad Qāsīm Khān</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>Muẓaffar Husayn Mirzā</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Rāja Jagannāth</td>
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<td>3,000</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>Rāja Ṭṣkaran</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>Rāy Lonkar</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>Mādhūr Singh</td>
<td>&quot;brother of R. Mān Singh;&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Sayf Khān Koka</td>
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<td>Muḥārak Khān, the Gakkhar</td>
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<td>Bāz Bahādur Afghān</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>Mīrāk Khān Jinkjān (?)</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>Sayyid Qāsim Bārha</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>Rāja Kangār</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Muḥammad Husayn Lashkār</td>
<td>kept 2,000 horse</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Husayn Khān Tukriyah</td>
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<td>Jalāl Khān, the Gakkhar</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ʿĪṣābār Khān, Eumuch</td>
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<td>Khwājāh Tāhir Muḥammad</td>
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<td>Tātār Khān</td>
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<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Moṭh Rāja</td>
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<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Miḥtar Khān Khāṣa Khayl</td>
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<td>110</td>
<td>Saḥdar Khān, Khāṣa Khayl</td>
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1. The same as No. 37 on p. 508.
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<td>112</td>
<td>Farhat Khan Khalsa Khayl</td>
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<td>Khanjar Beg Chaghta</td>
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</table>

1. MS. 1,000.
2. He died in the explosion of a mine before Chiter.
3. *He belongs to the old Amirs of the present dynasty. He was an accomplished man, excelled in music, and composed poems. There exists a well-known Mazawi by him, dar badi akhbara, on the subject of dancing girls.* Tabaqat. Vide Akbarnâma, II. 82.
### In the Tabaghat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<td>Salim Khan, 1,000</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>Sayyid Chhajhu Bahrja</td>
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<td>Hajji Muhammad Sistani, 1,000 (f)</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>Kakan Ali Khan, 1,000</td>
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<td>Naqib Khan, 1,000</td>
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<td>Beg Nurin Khan, 1,000</td>
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<td>Shimul Khan Qurchi, 1,000</td>
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<td>Sayyid Abul Ilah Khan</td>
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<td>Dost Khan 8</td>
<td>not in the A\textsuperscript{8}\textsuperscript{in}</td>
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<td>Ja'far Khan Turkmans, 1,000</td>
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</table>

1 He was a servant of Humayun. In Akbar's service he rose to a command of 1,000, and died at Lahour. One MS. calls him Ali Dost Khan Nusrat, the other has Barbagi, an unusual title for the Mughal period.
2 "Muhammad Zamani is the brother of Mirza Yusuf Khan (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and was killed in Gadhwa." Tabaghat.
3 According to the Tabaghat, he was dead in 1000. Viole, Ahsenwans, II. 98, 108.
200. 284, 287.
4 He is not to be confounded with Mirza Khurram (No. 177).
5 Mujahid Khan was the son of Musahib Khan, one of Humayun's courtiers. He was killed at Konmahmir. Ahsenwans, III. 146, 168.
6 He was the khal, or maternal uncle, of the author of the Tabaghat, and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kasmir.
7 One MS. calls him , the other . "He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and is now dead."
In the Ṭabaqāt.

169. Rāy Manohar . . . . . No. 265 ; 400.
170. Shaykh ʿAbduʾr-Rahim of Lakhnau . . 197 ; 700.
171. Mirzā Abū ʿl-Muṣaffar . . . . . 240 ; 500.
172. Rāj Singh, son of Rāja Āskaran . . 174 ; 1,000.
173. Rāy Patr Dās . . . . . 196 ; 700.
175. Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī . . . 239 ; 500.
176. Rām Dās Kachhwāha . . . . . 238 ; 500.
177. Mir Abū ʿl-Qāsim . . . . . 251 ; 500.
178. Khwāja ʿAbduʾl-Ḥay, Mir ʿAdil . . . . . 230 ; 500.
179. Shamsuʾd-Dīn Husayn, son of Aṣ'ām Khān . . . . . 163 ; 1,000.
180. Khwāja Shamsuʾd-Dīn Khāwāfī . . . . 159 ; 1,000.
181. Mir Jamaluʾd-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū, 1,000 . . . . . 164 ; 1,000.
182. Shaykh ʿAbduʾllāh Khān, son of Muhammad Ghaws, 1,000 . . . . 173 ; 1,000.
183. Sayyid Rājū Bārha, 1,000 . . . . 165 ; 1,000.
184. Medni Rāy Chauhān, 1,000 . . . . 198 ; 700.
185. Mir Tāhir Ragawi, brother of M. Yūsuf Khān . . . . . 236 ; 500.
186. Tāsh Beg Kābull . . . . . 172 ; 1,000.
187. Aḥmad Beg Kābull; keeps 700 horse . . . . . 191 ; 700.
188. Sher Khwāja . . . . . 176 ; 800.
189. Muhammad Quli Turkmān . . . . 203 ; 600.
190. Mirzā ʿAlī Almshāhī . . . . . 237 ; 500.
191. Wazīr Jamīl . . . . . 200 ; 700.
192. Rāy Bhoj, 1,000 . . . . . 175 ; 1,000.
193. Bakhtyar Beg Turkmān . . . . . 204 ; 600.
194. Mir Ṣadr Jahān . . . . . 194 ; 700.
195. Hasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmāri . . . . . 167 ; 1,000.
196. Shādmān, son of ʿAzīz Koka . . . . 233 ; 500.
197. Rāja Mukatmān Bhadaurya . . . . . 249 ; 500.
198. Bāqī Safarcho, ʿAbduʾl-Tāhir Khān Fatūghat . . . . . not in the Āʾīn; vide No. 94.

---

1 "He is the brother of ʿAlmshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms." 
2 Ṭabaqāt. This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded under No. 237. 
3 Or Safar-ṣāḥī!—P.
In the Tabaqāt.

199. Faridān Barlās . . . . No. 227; 500.
200. Bahādur Khān Qurdār, a Tarīn Afgān . . . . , 269; 400.
201. Shaykh Bāyazīd-i Chishti . . . 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abū 'l-Faẓl classes among the commanders of 400. Niṣām, however, adds the following note to his own list—"Let it be known that the title of Amīr is given to all such as hold Mansābs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank."

The Historian Bādā'oni has not given a list of Amīrs, 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 Amīrs, as Niṣām 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 Mansabdārs whose names Abū 'l-Faẓl has not given, because the A'in list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar's reign, the most famous are Mahābat Khān, Khān Jahān Lodī (vide under No. 309), and 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz-jāng.

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahāngīr's reign; but the Dutch traveller De Laët, in his work on India (p. 151) has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahāngīr's Mansabdārs, which may be compared with the lists in the A'in and the Pādishāhnāma (II, 717). Leaving out the princes, whose mansabs were above 5,000, we have:—

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<tr>
<td>of</td>
<td>(A'in)</td>
<td>(De Laët)</td>
<td>(Pādishāhnāma)</td>
</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>4,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>500</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>114</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>249</strong></td>
<td><strong>439</strong></td>
<td><strong>563</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 400          | 18                | 73                        | not specified.               |
| 350          | 19                | 58                        | not specified.               |
| 300          | 33                | 72                        |                               |
| 250          | 12                | 85                        |                               |
| 200          | 81                | 150                       |                               |
| **Total**    | **163**           | **438**                   |                               |

| 150          | 53                | 242                       |                               |
| 120          | 1                 | 0                         |                               |
| 100          | 250               | 300                       | not specified.               |
| 80           | 91                | 245                       |                               |
| 60           | 204               | 397                       |                               |
| 50           | 16                | 0                         |                               |
| 40           | 260               | 298                       |                               |
| 30           | 39                | 240                       |                               |
| 20           | 250               | 232                       |                               |
| 10           | 224               | 110                       |                               |
| **Total**    | **1,388**         | **2,064**                 |                               |

The number of Āḥadīs under Jahângîr, De Laët fixes as follows:

- Chahâraspas       : 741
- Sıhaspas          : 1,322
- Duaspas           : 1,428
- Yakaspas          : 950

4,441 Āḥadīa.
Under Shâhjâhân, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mansâhs above 5,000. There is no Hindu among them. De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amîrs were Hindus. But we may compare the lists of the Ātîn and the Pâdishâhnâma.

We find under Akbar:

- Among 252 mansabdârs from 5,000 to 500: 32 Hindus.
- Among 163 mansabdârs from 400 to 200: 25 Hindus.

Under Shâhjâhân (20th year of his reign), we have:

- Among 12 mansabdârs above 5,000: No Hindus.
- Among 580 mansabdârs from 5,000 to 500: 110 Hindus.

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the Pâdishâhnâma. Regarding other facts connected with the relative position of Hindus and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my "Chapter from Muhammadan History," Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

Ātîn 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 (wazar) 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. Shaykh Mubarak of Nāgor.¹

Vide under No. 253. The Tabaqat also mentions a Shaykh Mubarak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubarak of Gwālyār.

2. Shaykh Nizām.

Abū ‘l-Faḍl either means the renowned Nizām ‘d-Dīn of Amethi, near Lakhnau, of the Chishtī sect, who died a.m. 979; or Nizām ‘d-Dīn of Nārān, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaykh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtī, and died at Jaunpūr in 970.


Died at Ahmadābād in 998. The Tabaqat mentions a contemporary, Shaykh Wajih ‘d-Dīn Gujrātī, who died in 995.

5. Shaykh Rukn ‘d-Dīn.

He was the son of Shaykh ‘Abd ‘l-Quddūs of Gango. Bādā‘ounī saw him at Dīlī at the time of Bayrām’s fall.


7. Shaykh Jalāl ‘d-Dīn.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (khalīfa) of ‘Abd ‘l-Quddūs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaykh Ilāhīya.

Ilāhīya is Hindūstāni for the Persian Ilāhī, “given (diyā) by God,” “Theodore.” He lived at Khayrābād and died in 993.


“Mawlānā Ḥusain ‘d-Dīn Surkh of Lāhor. He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious.” Tabaqat.


He belongs to Aṣgampūr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of ‘Abd ‘l-Quddūs. Died in 995.

11. Shaykh Panjū.

He was wrongly called Bechū on p. 110, note 3. He died in 969.

Bādā‘ounī, II, 53.


He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Ḥusayn, who taught in Humāyūn’s Madrasa at Dīlī. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

¹ The notes are taken from the Tabaqat, the third volume of Bādā‘ounī, and the Mīr ‘al ‘Aṣām.
Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaykh Rukn ʿD-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar (the bow maker).
23. Shaykh Amān ʿIlāh.
24. Khwāja ʿAbd ʿsh-Shahīd.

He is the son of Khwāja Aḥrār. Vide No. 17 and No. 108. He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand. He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jagir in Pargana ʿJamālī, in the Bāri Duāb, where he maintained two thousand poor.

25. Shaykh Mūsā.

He was a smith (āhangar), and performed many miracles. He died in the beginning of Akhār’s reign, and was buried at Lāhor. The elder brother of Shaykh Saltīm-Shīsh Ṭājī also was called Shaykh Mūsā; vide under No. 82. Vide also below, No. 102.


The Ṭabaqūt calls him Shaykh Yusuf Harkun Majgūb of Lāhor.
29. Shaykh Burhān.
He lived as a recluse in Kālpī, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water. He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Qurān. He was a Mahdawi. He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell.

Shaykh Kipūr Majgūb of Gwālīar, a Husaynī Sayyīd, was at first a soldier, then turned a huṣūb, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

32. Shaykh Šaḥād.
He is called Jhannīwāl from Jhannī near Lāhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sitpūr in Multān, where Šaḥādād was born. Badāʾoni (III, p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

1 Badāʾoni (III, p. 131) mentions a Zayn ʿD-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.
33. Shaykh Salim-i Chishtî.
He was a descendant of Shaykh Farid-i Shakarganj, and lived in Fatḥpur Sikrî highly honoured by Akbar. Jahângîr was called after him Salim. He died in 979. Several of his relations have been mentioned above.

34. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawš of Gwâlyâr.
*Vide* No. 173.
35. Râm Bhadr.
36. Jadrûp.

*Third Class.*—Such as know philosophy and theology.¹

37. Mir Fathu'llâh of Shîrâz.
*Vide* pp. 34, 110, 208, 284. His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of Fârîqî; *vide* Badâ'sonî, III, 292. His two sons were Mir Taqi and Mir Sharîf.

38. Mir Murtażâ.
He is not to be confounded with Mir Murtażâ, No. 162. Mir Murtażâ Sharif of Shîrâz died in 974 at Dîhill, and was buried at the side of the poet Khusraw, from where his body was taken to Mashhad. He had studied the Hadîs under the renowned Ibn Ḥajâr in Makkah, and then came over the Dakhîn to Āgra. *Vide* Akbarnâma, II, 278, 337.

He came in 968 from Mâwara 'n-nahr to Āgra. *Bad.*, II, 49. He died in Kâbul in 970; *l.c.*, III, 152.

40. Ḥâfiz of Tâshkand.
He is also called Ḥâfiz Kumakî. He came in 977 from Tâshkand to India, and was looked upon in Mâwara 'n-nahr 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 Gujrât to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazirship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. *Vide* Badâ'sonî, II, 187.

41. Mawlânâ Shâh Muḥammad.
*Vide* p. 112; *Bad.*, II, 295, II.

42. Mawlânâ Alâs'n-d Dîn.
He came from Lâristân, and is hence called Lârî. He was the son of Mawlânâ Kamâl'n-d Dîn Ḥusayn and studied under Mawlânâ Jalâl Dawwânî Shâfiî. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a darbâr he placed himself before the Khân-i Aṣgam, when the Mir Tozak

¹ Muqâl o maqâl, pr. that which is based on reason (taṣlî) and traditional testimony (maqâl).
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 4,000 bighás as sayyūghāl in Sambhāl, where he died.

43. Ḥakīm Miṣrī. Vide No. 254.

44. Mawlānā Shaykh Husayn (of Ajmīr).

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Muṣīn-i Chishti of Ajmīr, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions. Badāʿonî, III, 87.

45. Mawlānā Miẓr Kalān.

He died in 981, and was buried at Āgra. He was Jahāngīr's first teacher. Bad., II, 170.

46. Ghāzī Khān. Vide No. 144.

47. Mawlānā Ṣādiq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Ṭabaqāt calls him Mullā Ṣādiq Ḥalwāʾi. Badāʿonî (III, 255, where the Ed. Bibl. India has wrongly Ḥalwānī) puts him among the poets.


Vide No. 41. This seems to be a mere repetition, Other Histories only mention one Mawlānā of that name.

*Fourth Class.*—Such as know philosophy (ṣaqlī kalām). 1


50. Mawlānā 'Abdul 'l-Bāqî.

He was a Ṣadr; vide pp. 232, 528 [and AKBARNĀMA, II, 143].

51. Mīrzā Muṣīlī.

He was an Uzbek, came from Māwarā 'n-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmi' Masjid of Muṣīnā 'd-Dīn Farankhūdī (vide No. 128) at Āgra. He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. Vide Bad., II, 187.

52. Mawlānāzāda Shnkr.

53. Mawlānā Muḥammad.

He lived at Lāhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badāʿonî (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muṣīt.

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1 This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Ābū Ḥaḍrāt Ṭaha'ī evidently takes it in a wider sense, as he includes the doctors in this class.
Abū 'l-Faḍl, however, means perhaps Mawlānā Muḥammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shī'ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abū 'l-Faḍl, to 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 Sūrat. Murādī. But Badā'wī tells quite a different story; vide p. 198.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qāsim Beg.

Vide No. 350, p. 112. The Tabaqāt also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the Saqī'īsulūm.

55. Mawlānā Nūrī 'd-Dīn Tarkhān.

Vide under No. 393. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawalli of Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī, where he died.

The Tabaqāt says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Maṭāṣir, he was born in Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābār, and was a private friend of Humāyūn's, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to Ṣirāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the takhballuṣ of "Nūrī". He is also called "Nūrī of Saṣidūn", because he held Saṣidūn for some time as jāgūr. Akbār gave him the title of Khān, and later that of Tarkhān, and appointed him to Samānāh.

56. Nārāyān.
57. Madhūbhut.
58. Sribhat.
59. Bhāum Nāth.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Bāsūdev Misr.
63. Bāmanbhut.

64. Bidyānīwās.
65. Gurbanāth.
66. Gopināth.
68. Bhāṭṭāchārīj.
69. Bhagirat Bhāṭṭāchārīj.
70. Kāshi Nāth Bhāṭṭāchārīj.

Physicians:

71. Ḥakīm Misrī. Vide No. 254.
72. Ḥakīm 'l-Mulk.

His name is Shams 'd-Dīn and, like several other doctors of Akbār's court, he had come from Gīlān on the Caspian, to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innova-

1 The title carried with it none of the privileges attached to it; vide p. 393. The Maṭāṣir has some verses made by Nūrī on his empty title.
tions commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died.

73. Mullā Mir.

The Tabaqāt calls him Mullā Mir Tabīb of Hairāt, grandson of Mullā ʿAbduʾ ʿl-Ḥay Yazdī.

75. Ḥakīm Zanbil Beg. Vide No. 150, p. 490.
77. Ḥakīm Ḥasan.

He also came from Gilān. His knowledge, says Badāʾonī (III, 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man.

78. Ḥakīm Aristū.
79. Ḥakīm Fathī ʿllāh.

He also came from Gilān, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy. He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qānūn. In the first year of Jahāngīr’s reign he was a Commander of 1,000, three hundred horse (Tuzuk, p. 34). The Fudishāhnāma (I, b., 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His grandson, Fatūn ʿllāh, was a doctor at Shājahān’s court.

80. Ḥakīm Masīḥī ʿl-Mulk.

He came from the Dakhin, where he had gone from Shirāz. He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sultān Murād. He died in Mālwa.

81. Ḥakīm Jalālī ʿl-Dīn Muẓaffar. Vide No. 348, p. 582.
82. Ḥakīm Lutfī ʿllāh. Vide No. 354, p. 584.
83. Ḥakīm Sayfī ʿl-Mulk Lang.

Badāʾonī and the Tabaqāt call him Sayfī ʿl-Mulāk. Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of Sayfī ʿl-Ḥukmā, “the sword of the doctors.” He came from Dāmāwand, and was in Āgra during Bayrām’s regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and wrote under the takhlīṣ of “Shujāʾī.” He is not to be confounded with No. 201, p. 528.

84. Ḥakīm Ḥumām. Vide No. 205, p. 529.
86. Ḥakīm Shīfāʾī.

The Mīrī mentions a Ḥakīm Shīfāʾī, who in his poetical writings calls himself Muẓaffar ibn-i Muḥammad Al-ḥusaynī As-shīfāʾī. He was born at Ḣūṣaynābād, and was a friend of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Ṣafawī. He died in 1037. There is a copy of his Masnawi in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 795).
87. Ḥakīm Niṣmatu 'llāh.
88. Ḥakīm Dawāṭī.

Dawāṭī was also the takhallus of No. 85.
89. Ḥakīm Ṭalab ʿAli.
90. Ḥakīm ʿAbdu'r-Raḥīm.
91. Ḥakīm Rūḥu 'llāh.
92. Ḥakīm Fakhrud-Dīn ʿAli.
93. Ḥakīm Is-hāq.
94. Shaykh Ḥasan, and 95. Shaykh Bīnā.

Shaykh Ḥasan of Pānīpat, and his son Shaykh Bīnā were renowned surgeons. Instead of "Bīnā", the MSS. have various readings. The Moʿāṣir has Phaniyā, the Ṭabaqūt Bhaaniyā.

Shaykh Bīnā's son is the well-known Shaykh Ḥasan, or Hassū, who under Jahāngīr's rose to great honours, and received the title of Muqarrab Khas. Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight. Hassū was physician to Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. After his accession, he was made a commander of 5,000 and governor of Gujrat, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Sūrat. He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled. In the 13th year (1027) he was made governor of Bihār, and in the 16th, governor of Āgra. In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, he was pensioned off, and received the Pargana of Kayrāna, his birthplace, as jāgīr. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharaftud-Dīn of Pānīpat, and died at the age of ninety. In Kayrāna, 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 Kayrāna mangoes, according to the Moʿāṣir, have since been famous in Dīhilī.

Muqarrab's son, Rizqū 'llah, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800. Awrangzēb made him a Khas. He died in the 16th year of Awrangzēb.

Muqarrab's adopted son is Masīhā-ʾi Kairānawi. His real name was Šaʿadu 'llah. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sītā. Rāmchandra's wife.

96. Mahādev.
97. Bhīm Nāṭh.
98. Nārāyīn.
99. Siwājī.1

1 The Ṭabaqūt mentions a few other Hindī doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar's reign, viz. Bhirāū, Durgā Mal, Chandr Sen ("an excellent surgeon"), and Illī (one MS. has Abd).
Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naqīl).  

100. Miyān Hātim.  
He lived at Sambhal. The historian Bādā`i, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hātim died in 969.  

He was Muftī of Dīlī and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambū.  

102. Mawlānā `Abdullāh-i-Qādir.  
He was the pupil of Shaykh Hāmid Qādirī (buried at Hāmidpūr, near Mūltān), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Mūsā, regarding the right of succession. `Abdullāh-i-Qādir used to say the nafl-prayers in the audience-hall of Fathpūr Sikrī, 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 `Abdullāh-i-Qādir went back to Uchh. Shaykh Mūsā did better; he joined the army, and became a commander of 500. Vide below, Nos. 109, 131.  

The Misrī at mentions a Mawlānā `Abdullāh-i-Qādir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar’s age.  

103. Shaykh Ahmad.  
The Tabaqat mentions a Shaykh Hāji Ahmad of Lāhor, and a Shaykh Ahmad Hāji Pālādi Majgūb of Sind.  

This is the title of Mawlānā `Abdullāh-i-lāh of Sūltān pūr, author of the Aṣnaf-i-Abūyā, and a commentary to the Shamāl-i-tūs-i-Nabī. Humayūn gave him the titles of Makhdūm-i-Mulk and Shaykh-i-Islām. He was a bigoted Sunnī, and looked upon Abū-i-Faḍl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrāt after his return from Makkah.  

105. Mawlānā `Abdullāh-i-Salām.  
The Tabaqat says, he lived at Lāhor and was a learned man.  
The Misrī at mentions another Mawlānā `Abdullāh-i-Salām of Lāhor, who was a great lawyer (faqīh) and wrote a commentary to Bāzāwī. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shāhjahān’s reign.  

106. Qāḍī Shadrī-i-Dīn.  
Qāḍī Shadrī-i-Dīn Qurayshī Abbaṣ of Jālindhar was the pupil of Makhdūm-i-Mulk (No. 104). He was proverbial for his memory. He was attached to dervishes and held such broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic. When the learned were driven

1 As religious law, Hadīs, history, etc.  
2 Voluntary prayers.
from court, he was sent as Qāżī to Bharāch, where he died. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrat.

107. Mawlānā Saʿadu ʾllāh.

He lived at Biyana, 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. Mawlānā ʾAḥqāq.

He was the son of Shaykh Kākū, and lived at Lāhor. Shaykh Saʿadu ʾllāh Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.


110. Mīr Nūr ʾllāh.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Ḥakīm Abū ʾl-Fath. He was a Shīʿah, but practised taqīya among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Ḥanīfa. When Shaykh Muʿīn Qāżī of Lāhor retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction. After Jahangir's accession, he was recalled. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word and was executed.

111. Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʾl-Qādir.

He was Akbar's teacher (ażhūnd). Vide No. 242, p. 342.

112. Qāżī ʿAbdu ʾl-Sāmī.

He was a Miyyānkhālī and according to Badāʿoni (II, 314) played chess for money and drank wine. Akbar made him in 990, Qāziyyu ʾl-Quzāt, in place of Qāzi Jalālī ʾd-Dīn Multānī (No. 122). Vide Akbarnāma, III, 593.

113. Mawlānā Qāsim.

The Tabaqāt mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār.

114. Qāżī Ḥasan. Vide No. 281, p. 359

115. Mullā Kamāl.

The Tabaqāt mentions a Shaykh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salīm.


117. Mullā ʾAḥam. Vide p. 159; note.

He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled Fawātih ʾl-Wilāyāt. Bad., II, 337.


He was the son of Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh ʿAbdu ʾl-Qudīfūs

1 Miyānkālī is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā.
of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Ḥadīṣ. When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brähman, the details of which are related in Badāʾonī (III, 80) led to the Shaykh’s deposal.

Badāʾonī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the Mīrāt in 992. ʿAbd-ʾn-Nabi’s family traced their descent from Abū Ḥanīfa.

119. Shaykh Bhik.

The Ṭabaqāt has also “Bhik”, while Badāʾonī (III, 24) has “Bhikan”. Shaykh Bhik lived in Kākor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaykh Abū ʾl-Fath.

Shaykh Abū ʾl-Fath of Gujrāt was the son-in-law of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawī. He was in Āgra at the time of Bayrām Khān.

121. Shaykh Bahāʾu ʾd-Dīn Muftī.

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man.


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. Shaykh Ziyāʾu ʾd-Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyāʾu ʾl-llāh were intended; vide No. 173.


125. Shaykh ʿUmar.


127. Mawlānā Jamāl.

The Ṭabaqāt has a Mulla Jamāl, a learned man of Multān. Badāʾonī (III, 108) mentions a Mawlānā Jamāl of Alī, which is said to be a Maḥalla of Lābor.

128. Shaykh Ahmadī.

Shaykh Ahmadī Fayyāz of Amethī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Niẓāmī ʾd-Dīn of Amethī (p. 607).

129. Shaykh ʿAbd-ʾl-Ghani.†

He was born at Badāʾon and lived afterwards in Dihlī a retired life. The Khān Khānān visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh ʿAbd-ʾl-Wāḥīd.

† Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk (p. 91, 1, 11 from below) mentions that Jahāngīr when a child read the Ḥadīṣ under “Shaykh ʿAbd-ʾl-Ghani”, whose fate is related in the Khamsā, “This is a mistake for ʿAbd-ʾn-Nabi” (No. 118).
He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the 
Nuzhat u' l-Arīvāh, and several treatises on the technical terms (iṣṭā'īhāt) 
of the Šāfs, one of which goes by the name of Samābāl.
The Tabaqūt mentions a Mullah Ismā'īl Muftī of Lāhor, and a Mullah 
Ismā'īl of Awadh.
133. Mullah Abdū 'l-Qādir.
This is the historian Bada'oni. Abū Ḥaḍrī also calls him Mullah in 
the Akbarnāma.
134. Mawlānā Šadr Jahān.
This seems a repetition of No. 131.
135. Shaykh Jawhar.
136. Shaykh Munawwar.
Vide p. 112. He was born at Lāhor, and was noted for his memory 
and learning. He is the author of commentaries to the Masābīq u' l-anwār 
(Hadīs), the Badi' u' l-bayān, the Irshād-i Qāżī, etc. When the learned 
were banished from court, he was imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he 
died in 1011.
His son, Shaykh Kabir, was also renowned for his learning. He died 
in 1026, in Ahmadābād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great 
Ahmadābādī saint Shāh 'Alām. Mīrṣād.
137. Qāsi Ibrāhim.
Vide pp. 181, 183, 198. Bada'oni and the Tabaqūt mention a Hāji 
Ibrāhīm of Āgra, a teacher of the Hadīs.
139. Bijaī Sen Sūr.
140. Bhān Chand.

A* in 30 (continued).

THE POETS OF THE AGE.

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right 
to say a few words about them. Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible 
realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius. But 
many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter 
it away from a wish to possess inferior stores: 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. Poets 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 dīwān, or have written a maznavī. I shall now enumerate the best among them.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz-i Fayzī.

(Vide p. 548.)

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 Malik "sh-shu'arāʾ or king of the poets. He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Fayzī, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyāzī, as he himself says in his "Nal Daman":

Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was "Fayzī".
But as I now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the "Fayyāzī" of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love). His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius. He was

1 i.e., gives men something valuable.
2 Saints perform wonderful actions (kurūmat), prophets perform miracles (muṣṣalat). Both in miracles, but the muṣṣalat are less in degree than the muṣṣalat. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry "kurūmat, kurūmat," "a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!": De Laèt.  
3 (a) hazāli of Mashad (vide below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Fayzī got it. Under Jahāngir Tālib of Amul was malik "sh-shu'arāʾ, and under Shāhjahān, Muhammad Jān Qudi and, after him, Abū Tālib Ka'īm. Awrangzīb hated poetry as much as he hated history and music.
4 "Fayz" is an Arabic word meaning "abundance": "Fayzī would be a man who has abundance or gives abundantly. Fayyāzī is the intensive form of Fayzī, giving super-abundantly. Fayyazī, originally, is the abstract noun, "the act of giving superabundantly," and then becomes a title.

The form of fayyāzī agrees with the form of ʿAllāh Abū Ḥ-Ṣaṣāl's iṣḥādūz, and some historians, as Bādāʾi, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of ʿFayzī to Fayyāzī.
eminentely distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāqīn* "U-ilhām*" ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the Qur'ān in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the *Sawāqīn* "U-ilhām*" contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,* and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends, and foes; and the poor were comforted in his dwelling. As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead* of loftiness. He cast no admiring glance on himself. Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy; what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart. He studied medicine deeply, 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.* But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

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1 I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the *Manūrids* "U-ilhām*, became the latter also is written *sawāqīn*, without the use of dotted letters. The *Manūrids* was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madras and Maulawī Muhammad Ǧall of Bāmpār. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words *lām*, *sād*, *Gām*, *l-hām*, *Adam*, *Muḥammad*, *kābān* "Rah, abī "Ishān, etc., and possesses little interest. Fazī displays in it his lexicographical abilities.

2 This is the 112th chapter of the *Qur'ān*, which commences with the words *Qul huwa *U-ilhām* abad. The letters added give 1002; Fazī, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever *tāriqāb* was found out by Mīr Ḥaydār Muḥammad* of Kāshān, poetically styled Kafṣī. Vide below, the 31st poet.

3 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.

4 Thārā, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *sulām*. Abū ʿI-Fazī wishes to say that Fazī was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.

5 Abū ʿI-Fazī kept his promise, and collected, two years after Fazī's death, the stray leaves of the *Marbāz* "U-dawat* (p. 548) regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abū ʿI-Fazī in the 3rd book of his *Makhtūbāt*. The same book contains an elegy on Fazī's death.

MSS. of Fazī's *Nāl Dāmān* are very numerous. His *Disān* exclusive of the *Qadīs*, was lithographed at Dihl, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubābī (by Fazī), which shows that the words *Dīnās* + Fazī contain the *tāriqāb*, i.e., A.H. 571, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The *Mīr ārā* "U-šādām* says that Fazī composed 104 books. Bādī's *Oni* estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abū ʿI-Fazī at 50,000. The *Akbarshah* (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Fazī's works. Dāghistānī says in his *Rāgā* - *ak-šuferā* that Fazī was a pupil of Khādīja Muḥāy Yāsīn* of Mashhad, and it seems that Abū ʿI-Fazī has for this reason placed Saḥīh* immediately after Fazī. The same writer remarks that Fazī is in Persia often wrongly called Fazī-ye Dāhshū.
not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write
down some of his verses.

Extracts from Fayzī's Qasidas (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 dress of human understanding is unfit to be used
as the philosopher’s stone.

8. Man’s so-called foresight and guiding reason wander about
bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.

9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first
letter of the alphabet of Thy love.

10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being,
is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.

11. Mere beginners and such are far advanced in knowledge are
both eager for union with Thees; 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 1 of saints?

14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my rest-
lessness (qatrub) 2 will end in madness.

1 Literally, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.

2 My text has firot; but several MSS. of Fayzī’s Qasidas have qatrub, which signifies
incipient madness, restlessness of thought.
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).\(^5\)

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,\(^4\) 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, misleading the wise, are the fond 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 (الاسمر اکسری).

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (masthanī)\(^3\) thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets.

7. Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor; set 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.

\(^5\) 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.

\(^3\) This is a pun. Musterī also means Jupiter, one of the planets,
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 seest 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 (farbhah) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (miyân) 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.

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 shows no friendship.

23. * There is no one that understands me; for were I understood,

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* i.e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.

* Proud, in Persian farbhah, pr. fat. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The Pun on farbhah and sāgān cannot be translated.

* As a hypocrite does.

* The next verses are fâkhriya (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 Bâalaï, to erect in Alexandria a tower 300 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,
I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander.

24. My heart is the world, and its Hindūstān 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 masterpiece 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 sūjā in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Fāzīn's Ghazals.

1. Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne; in noble aspirations I excel any army.

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 Sulaymān.¹

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.
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 Fayzī; 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 handmaiden.

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 Fayzī, 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.1

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 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 Khusraw:

I have become thou, and thou hast become I,
I am the body and thou art the soul,
Let no one henceforth say
That I am distinct from thee and thou from me.
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 footstep is concealed; I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.  

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.

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.

1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine; they made Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain.

2. What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet? Even Masiw and Khizr are envious (of me) and struggle with each other to possess it.

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 pears 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, show 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.

4 Masiw (the "Messiah") and Khizr (Elie) tasted the water of life (đhā'i 'aṣğāt). 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 Masiw and Khizr would fight for it.
Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love: they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison.¹

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. Fayzi, have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims, who go to the Ka’ba; indeed, I am a step in advance of them.²

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.³

1. I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper.
2. I show 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.
2. Break the spell which guards thy treasures; for men who really know what good luck is have never tried their good fortune with golden chains.⁴

¹ Vide, p. 573, note 4. 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.
² Fayzi is ahead of his co-religionists.
³ The beloved boy of the poet has been carried off. Fayzi 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.
⁴ To the true Sufi existence and non-existence are indifferent: he finds rest in Him. But none can find this rest unless he gives away his riches,
The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen, for I have carried my book (bayāz) to the white dawn of morn.¹

O Fayżi, is there anyone in this world that possesses more patience and strength than he who can twice walk down his street?²

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'ba with stones from Mount Sinai!

2. The wall (haftam) of the Ka'ba is broken, and the basis of the qibla is gone, let us build a faultless fortress on a new foundation!³

1. Where is Love, that we might melt the chain of the door of the Ka'ba, in order to make a few idols for the sake of worship.

2. We might throw down this Ka'ba which Hajjāj has erected, in order to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery.⁴

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 Fayżi, 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.

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to

¹ Observe the pun in the text on sunde, bayāz, and saعامود.
² The street where the lovely boy lives, Can anyone walk in the street of love, without losing his patience?
³ If the lattices (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, İslām would be pulled down; for Muhammadians would have no qibla left, i.e., no place where to turn the face in prayer.
⁴ When a man is in love, he loses his faith, and becomes a kāfir. Thus Khusraw says—Kāfir-i Ẓahhār, sard mawslumān darbār əst, etc., "I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with İslām?" So Fayżi 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.
Zulaykhā! It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands.¹

I cannot show ungratefulness to Love. Has he not overwhelmed me with—sadness and sadness?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed: it introduced Thy form through an aperture so small as the pupil of my eye 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 the companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) "hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents)."²

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind. What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded, whilst the caravan travels fast onwards?

This night thou tookest 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 Fayżi, I am so high-minded that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven.

¹ When Zulaykhā, wife of Potipher, had fallen in love with Yūsuf (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 summoned Yūsuf. They saw his beauty and exclaimed, "Mā kawm kawmnū?"
² "He is no man (but an angel)!" and they suddenly grew so incontinent, that from lest they made cuts into their hands with the knives which Zulaykhā had placed before them.
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
foolhardiness 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 shows 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'ba will be forgiven for the sake of the
dust of Christian churches."

1. Behold the garb of Fayzi's magnanimity! Angels have mended
its hem with pieces of the heaven.
2. The most wonderful thing I have seen is Fayzi's heart: it is at
once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver.

The look of the beloved has done to Fayzi what no mortal enemy
would have done.

1. The sins of Islam are as worthless as the dust of Christianity. On the day of resurrec-
tion, 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.
1. The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdas; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love).

2. Walk on, Fayżī, 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 inquire 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

1. If Laylī² had had no desire to be with Majnūn, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel?

2. If anyone prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Ḥaram [the temple of Makkah]?

3. Love has robbed Fayżī 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 A lover has no patience; hence he tears the collar of his coat.
² Each man shows in his own peculiar way that he is in love. Laylī rode about in a restless way; some people show their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah; I worship idols.
1. Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the 'Id, and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs of the last thirty days.

2. Take Fayżi's Dīwān to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free-thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.

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 Fayżi'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'ba; for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment.

Extracts from the Rubā'īs.

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call ḥūf unūn [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? 4

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 by day once 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.

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1 The 'Id 'Iftar, or feast, after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramażan, Fayżi, like a bad Mahammasan, has not fasted, and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden), and thus make up for his neglect.

2 Done by me by not having fasted.

3 Fayżi means the heart.

4 A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the Mīr 'al jā'ā'lam to the poet Yahiya of Kāshān, who, during the reign of Shāhjahān was occupied, with a poetical paraphrase of the Pālāshkhānuma.

If I call thee, a king of Islam "one without equal" it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Then art the shadow of God, and like daylight.
It is clear that no one has two shadows.
Thy old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God.¹

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,² give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

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.³

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 surma-sellers.⁴

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.⁵

O Fayzi, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door.⁶
Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes.

O Fayzi, 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.

¹ This is a strong apotheosis, and reminds one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome.
² Kings receive a light immediately from God; vide p. III of Abu l-Fazl's Preface.
³ Mahbub, pl. of mahbura, according to the Bahār-i Ājam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of haft jash (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.
⁴ Lovers are silent in polite society. Surma is the well-known preparation of lead or antimony, which is applied to eyes to give them lustre.
⁵ The disciples of Akbar's divine faith have burnt the Qur'ān. They are different from the Čelâlîs faqûdîs, the learned of the age.
⁶ Articles to be conveyed away are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Fayzi wishes to leave the house of his old nature.
A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing. Cut off a piece from thy heart,¹ and put it on thine eye.

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinth bed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech.
I sit upon this throne as the Sulaymān of speech; hear me speaking the language of birds.²

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave the body, as long as the heart remains!
A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is kushtu.³

O Fayzī, 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 thy 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 on the ocean with a handful of dust.
I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate; he is killed that throws himself on me.

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dregs; 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.
He held the office of a magistrate ⁴ and turned to poetry. He made himself widely known. His manners were simple and pure.

¹ For thy heart is pure and transparent.
² Solomon understood the language of the birds.
³ Kushtu, pr. killed, is prepared quicksilver, as used for looking-glasses. The lover must die before he can find rest.
⁴ My text has ardbī. Ardbī is the plural of rabb, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense ofSaleh, or rīkṣaṣṭ, the head man of a place, Germ. Amtmann; hence ardbī, the office of a magistrate.
2. Khwāja Husayn Sanʿāʾi of Mashhad.¹

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 Ṭuḥāʾ l-quds is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].²

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

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

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.

¹ The author of the Ṭaḥkumaṭiy ǧī Āzor says that Khwāja Husayn was the son of Ǧhānayt Mīrzā, and was in the service of Suhbā ʿl-Dīn Muhammad of Mashhad, and the Ǧī Āzor of the Ātshkada is a bad reading for Ṭaḥkumaṭ iy ǧī Āzor.

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 Abū ʿl-Faḍl's extracts confirm. Neither does Badāʾiʿ (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The Ṭabaqāt again praises his poems. The Ṭabaqāt ʿl-ʿĀlam says that "he was in the service of ʿl-Dīn Muhammad of Mashhad, and the ʿl-Dīn of the Āshkada was a bad reading for Ṭabaqāt iy ʿl-ʿĀlam," and accused the poet of having originally written it in honour of ʿl-Dīn Mīrzā, Sanʿāʾi died to Hindustān, and was well received at court. He died at Lahī in A.H. 1000. His Divān Shāfhānānā, and Shāh Mūsa, are well known." Sprenger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 278) says that he died in 996. The Ṣaḥābāt-i Ṭabānī states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mīrzā Bāqir, son of Mīr Ǧārābāhshāh. It was mentioned on p. 619, note 3, that Fāryāl looked upon him as his teacher.

² Ruḥā l-quds, the spirit of holiness. Maryam, the Virgin Mary.

³ So strange is the boy whom I love.

⁴ This verse is unintelligible to me.
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.¹

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.²

O sober friends, now is the time to tear the collar; but who will raise my hand to my collar?³

The messenger Desire comes again running, saying⁴...

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'ba, expect to fine 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 Sanā'ī'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 inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted; friendliness was stamped upon his forehead.⁵

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. Zulaykha 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 [Yūsuf] 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.

¹ Or we may read āwuđum instead of āwīnum, when the meaning would be, “the huntsman has given me quarter on account of the leanness arising from my moulting.” [This second reading is too far fetched and for practical reason may be dismissed—P.]

² There are four verses after this in my text edition, which are unintelligible to me.

³ The poet has no strength left in him to raise his hand to his collar. Vide p. 630, note 1.

⁴ The remaining hemistich is not clear.

⁵ The Ferdowsī calls him Mr. Huznī, and says he left Persia with the intention of paying his respects at court, but died on his way to India. His verses are pretty. The Ashabkanda (p. 101 of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Junābūd, and was a merchant. The Haft Iftar says he was pupil of Qāsim-ī-Kāhī (the next poet).
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 Maḥmūd, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman.¹

1. Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart; the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to show 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 Huznī, 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 "Huznī, what is smoke like?"²

I hear, Huznī, 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 Huznī was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4. Qāsim-i Kālī.²

He is known as Miyān Kālī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people 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

¹ Ayáz was a slave of Maḥmūd of Ghāzni, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Maṣnawi entitled Maḥmūd o Ayáz.

² Kālī, "gracey," is his taqāllūs. Ḥanūmān (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 Qūra, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of façâs; he wrote on music, and was clever in tārīkh and riddles. He had visited several Shāhīps of renown, among them the great poet Jāmī (died a.m. 869). But he was a free-thinker and was found of the company of wandering faqirs, prostitutes, and sodomites. "He also loved dogs, a habit which he may have contracted from Payši,"
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 for terrestrial goods in prayer to God's throne.

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.

Kāhlī wrote a Maqālī, entitled gul-afshās, a reply or jumâh, to the Bestān, and completed a hâshâ. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Humâyûn and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The Ataškâda-yi Āzar (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him "Mirzâ Abâ 'l-Qâsim of Kâbul", and says that he was born in Turkistân, and brought up in Kâbul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur, accompanied the army of that conqueror, and settled at last in Turkistân. Kâhlī was well received by Humâyûn.

The same work calls him a Qâsīmīn Sayyid—"a term not known to me. Hence, instead of "Mirzâ" we should read "Mir".

The Hâfiz Firdaus has a lengthy note on Kâhlī. Amin of Ray (p. 512) says that Kâhlī's name is Sayyid Najâv 'd-Dîn Muhammad, his kunya being Abâ 'l-Qâsim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jâmi, and afterwards Hashîm of Kirmân, who was called Shah Jahângir. He went via Bâhawk to Hindustân. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pugilist, and would not mind fighting 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 Khwâjas do, whose formula is "beck dar dam, nazar bar gudam, khudot dar orjusam, safar dar manam." "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 fitl, or elephant, was to occur (Abâ 'l-Fatâ 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 Bânâras, as he was fond of Bâhûd âr Khan (No. 22). Subsequently, he lived at Agra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it "Madrâsâ" (7). He died on the 2nd Rabî' II, 988. Fâyżâ's târîkh (Rabî'ây metre):

Maulânâ Qâsim of Bughârâ, a pupil of Kâhlī expressed the târîkh by the words :


Abâ 'l-Fatâ calls him Miqâs Kâhlî, Miyânkâl (side p. 615) is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bughârâ.

1 Khizr is the "Wandering Jew" of the East.
2 A verse often quoted to this day in India.
2. Wherever I go I, like the elephant, throw dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head.

3. The elephant taming king is Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets.

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. Ghazālī of Mashhad.¹

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Ṣūfīs.

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 anyone; for this is blameworthy.

¹ Badāʾi’sī (III, 170) says that Ghazālī fled from Irān to the Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khān Zamān (No. 13, p. 335) to Jaunpur, 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 Mālik ʿAbd-Shaqqā. He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrat war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar’s orders, he was buried at Sarnath, near Ahmadābād. Fāyż’s clever ta’zhil on his death is thus: “the year 980.” At his death he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The Miṣrī of ʿAlī mentions two books written by him, entitled Aṣr-i Maktūm and Bāshākī’s T-banīt, to which the Haft Iqṣām adds a third, the Miṣrī of T-Kuyūd. Badāʾi’sī and the Miṣrī estimate his verses at 40 to 50,000; the Haft Iqṣām at 70,000; the Tahqīq Akbarī at 100,000. The Aṣr-i Aṣr (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 4,000 verses, and that he died from Penia during the reign of Tahmāsp-i Safawī. Fide Spengler’s Catalogue, pp. 61, 144, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazālī’s works. Spengler calls him Ghazālī, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his chamāns should prove the doubtful.

Badāʾi’sī relates a story, that Khān Zamān sent him one thousand rupees to the Dakhin with a couplet, for which said Bad, III, 170, where the aṣr-i aṣr refers to the i in Ghazālī’s name, because it stands for 1,000.

The Haft Iqṣām mentions another Ghazālī.

² This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badāʾi’sī (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazālī’s Dīwān.
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. In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom, no genealogical tree is required.

2. For such a thing as love is, a man must possess something peculiar: the sweetheart is jealous—he must possess decorum.

1. The king says, "My cash is my treasure." The Şûfi says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff."

2. The lover says, "My grief is my old friend." I and my heart alone know what is within my breast.

1. If thy heart, whilst in the Kašba, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Kašba 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. ٞUrfî of ٠Shirāz.³

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.

³ The Maḥṣūr-i Kābulī (MS. Ac. Soc. Bengali, p. 537) says that ٞUrfî's name was Khwâja Suyyîdî (سُعیْد) Muhammad. The inālîs ٞUrfî has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Dârogha to the Magistrate of Shirâz had to look after Sharâ'â'î and ٞUrfî matters. He went by sea to the Dâkhîn, where, according to the Hâft I'lis, his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fâthpûr Şirî, where Hâkim ٠Abî 'l-Fath of Gilân (No. 112) took an interest in him. When the Hâkim died, ٞUrfî became an attendant on ٠Abî 'r-Rahîm Khân Khânân, and was also introduced at court. He died at Lâhor, in Shawwâl, a.h. 999, according to the Hâft I'lis and several MSS. of the Tūbatî, of dysentery (i-lâlîf). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 16,000 verses, which at the Khân Khânân's order were arranged by Sirâj of Isfâhân. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Sâhâr of Isfâhân, and buried in its holy ground at Najaf (Sarzâhâ). 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 tâbînî of his death.

ٞUrfî, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qasîlas, 279 ('basals, 700 Qitâs and Râḥâs; see also Spranger's Catalogue, p. 599.

The Tashkhrâ by Qâli Quîlî Khân-i Dâghistânî calls ٞUrfî Jamâlî qâ-Dîn, and says that he was much liked by Prince Safîm towards whom ٞUrfî's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

ٞUrfî was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. Radâ'în says (III, 298), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Fâyûl, who spent the revenue of
Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale; for that heart knows something.

If someone cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy; for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy.

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmin remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn.

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm; my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose.

1. It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low; for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic.
2. Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato; an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst.

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent; their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears.

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble; if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore.

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of 'Urfi for the homeliness of his well-known poems.

his jagir in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Pazyri. Hakim Hasili (vide under 205) preferred 'Urfi's ghazals to his odes. Hiz Masrawi, Majmu'at 'I-Akhbar, is often wrongly called Majmu'at 'I-Afihar.

One day 'Urfi called on Pazyri, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-born children of his family". Pazyri replied, "Their names are 'Urfi" (i.e., well known). Mubarak (God bless us), rejoined 'Urfi, to the intense disgust of Pazyri, whose father's name was Mubarak.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 128) states on the authority of the Taqizna Himachal-Bahar that 'Urfi's name was Khwaja Sayfi, a mistake for Sayfi. The Asadkhane also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muhammad. Taqi's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is in the dates.

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.

O 'Urfi, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindūs 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 thyself.

'Urfi has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open. He did not knock at another door.

To pine for the arrival of young spring shows 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 Zalykha'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 Shaykh and Brāhman shall be scrutinized,
2. Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown.

1. O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events, and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,
2. Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain; be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders.

1. O 'Urfi, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?
2. Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee. Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee; but hast thou taken it with thee?
7. Mayī of Hirāt.

His name was Mirzā Quli. He was of Turkish extraction, and lived in the society of gay people.

Since I have become famous through my love, I shun all whom I see; for I am afraid lest my going to anyone 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 carelessness people tie a string to the foot of a bird, even if it be 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."

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1 The Naṣīr mentions 979 and Taṣfi 983, as the year in which Mayī came to India (Spengler, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The Ṭūṣkāda says, he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāvāštānī, he belonged to the Jalāyr clan, lived under Tahmīs, and was in the service of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, after whose death he went to India. The Tabaqat-i Aḵbarī says that he was in the service of Nawrang Khān (pp. 334, 529); and Ḥadīṯonāl adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Malwa when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the Ṭūṣkāda says that he was one of his favourite poets,
1. Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything; for every one of them has from a beggar become a Croesus 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 Qazvin.

He is a man of profound thought, has learnt a good deal, and describes very well the events of past ages. As an accountant he is unrivalled. From his knowledge of human nature he leans to mirth and is fond of jokes. He was so fortunate to obtain the title of Āṣaf Khān, and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty.¹

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 an 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 show me thy face so bold, Happiness! Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.

¹ His biography was given above, No. 98. Vide also Ḥabībūn-nā, Jahānşāh, p. 51; Dabestān, p. 387. His taqaddum was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abī l-Faḍl’s extracts. The Maqānib by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mīrzā Zeyn ‘l-Abīdīn, regarding whom vide above, p. 433, and Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 120, where for 1212 read 1211.
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. Whoe'er has been in thy company 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.

The morning zephyr, I think, wafts to me the scent of a certain sweetheart, because Jacob keeps his closed eye turned towards a caravan.\(^3\)

A new rose must have opened out in the garden; for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning.

9. Khwa'ja Husayn of Marw.\(^2\)

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humayun, and was also during this reign highly favoured.

1. The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings.
2. Creation's preface is a sheet of my book; the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen.

10. Hay'at of Gilan.\(^3\)

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.

\(^1\) Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph. One day he smelled the scent of Joseph's coat, which a messenger was bringing to Egypt. When the coat was applied to his eyes, he recovered his sight.

\(^2\) Khwa'ja Husayn was a pupil of Mawlana Khâme M. Din Ibrâhim and the renowned Ibn Hajar of Makkah (Haft Iqâlas). Abû 'l-Fašî's remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Husayn's Odes on the birth of Jahângir and Prince Murâd, given in full by Badâ'în (II, pp. 120, 122) for which the Khwa'ja got two lacs of tukhs.
The odes are peculiar, as each hemistich is a chronogram.

The Mu'ahdir-i Rabînî says that Mullâ Hay'âtî was born at Rasht in Gilân and belonged to the dânishgâhî, i.e., common people of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Hâkim Abû 'l-Fath-i Gilânî (No. 112) at Court, got a jagir, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khân Khâmain in the Dakhin wars, and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhanpur where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the Mir'âd-i tâhib was called Masjid-i Mullâ Hay'âtî. He was still alive in 1624, when the Mu'ahdir-i Rabînî was composed.

The Tabâqat and Badâ'în praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the ahl-i garda'î-i dardnâmâs, i.e., he was a man of feeling and sympathy. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) translates this, "He was a friend of Dardmand."
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 waylaid.

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 bazaar.

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 Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet.
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. 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. I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate.

2. Perhaps I may go a step back to myself; it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself.

11. Shikebi of Isphahān.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life.

1 The love of the moth for the candle seems to be a very ancient idea. Psalm xxxix. 11. Thou rebukest man and castest his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight; viz., the fire, where the word Kā‰nūd 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 Muṣ’al-i Rāhīṃ says that Mullah Shikēbī was the son of Zahir-i Dīn Ābīd ‘Allī Imām of Isphahān. He studied under Amīr Taqī-i Dīn Muḥammad of Shīrāz, but left his native town for Hīrāq when young, and became acquainted with the poets Sanā‘ī, Mayyī, and Wali Dāshī Bayātī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khān Khānān.

The Muṣ’al-i Rāhīṃ says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhin to Agra, where Maḥābāt Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Isphahān; but Jahangīr would not let him go, and appointed him Sār of Dīhī. He died there at the age of sixty-seven, in 1623, the tābir of his death being 999-1000. Another Chronogram, given by the Haft Jālīm, 10,000 rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Muṣ’al-i Rūmī mentions a Ma‘nawi on the conquest of Thatha (a.s., 999-1000), for which Jānī Beg and Ābī ‘Urūmī gave him one thousand Ashrafī. I do not know whether this Ma‘nawi is the same as the Ma‘nawi written by Shikēbī in the Khayraw Shīrīn metre. [The As. Soc. of Bengal has a Ma‘nawi of the Kallīghāt Sān, in Shikēbī’s handwriting.]
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.

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 Spiced. People even nowadays put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. *Vide p. 140, note 1.*
12. Anis Shāmlū.¹

His real name is Yol Quill. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure
manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, viz., that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments.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 Maqāla-i Rahīm says that Yol Quill Beg belonged to the distinguished clan
of the Shāmlū Turkmen. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to ʿAlī Quill
Khān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Hirāt, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebl
and Mahvī. He wrote at first under the tajqallus of Jāḥi; but the Persian prince Sulṭān
Ibrāhīm Mīrzā gave him the name of Anīs, under which he is known in literature. When
Hirāt was conquered by ʿAbd-Ilāk Khān, king of Turkistan and Mawarāʾnahr, Anīs
was captured by an Ushak soldier and carried off to Mawarāʾnahr. He then
went to India, and entered the service of Mīr ʿAbd-ʾRahīm Khān Khānīn, who made
him his Mīr ʾArz, and later his Mīr Rahīm. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity
in the war with Šahīl-i Ḥalvātī (p. 356). His military duties allowed him little leisure
for poetry. He died at Būchānpūr in 1014. There exists a Mānawī by him in the Khurram-
Shirin metre, also a Diwān, and several Qasidas in praise of the Khān Khānīn.

The Calcutta edition of the Aḥsākshār-i Aʿṣar (p. 19) calls him wrongly ʿAlī Quill Beg,
and his Hirāt patron ʿAlī Naṣīr Khān, after whose death he is said to have gone to India.
² i.e., our garments are always tucked up (Arab. tasāmīr), 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 for ever in the ambush.


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.

Every place, whether nice or not, appears pleasant to me; I either rejoice in my sweetheart, or grieve for him.

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1 The heart should not ask, but patiently love.

* Muhammad Husayn Najiri of Nishapur left his home for Kachan, where he engaged in poetical contests (sawâdârâ) with several poets, as Fahmi, Hâtîm, etc. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mirâj-âdîrî-rahîmân Khân Khanân. 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 Ahmadábâd in Gujrat, where he died in 1022. The Tarzuk (p. 91) says:—" I [Jalâluddîn] had called Najiri of Nishapur to court. He is well known for his poems and poetical genius, and lives [end of 1019] in Gujrat where he is a merchant. He now came and presented me with an enamour in imitation of a Qasida by Anwârî. I gave him one thousand rupees, a horse, and a dress of honour." The
If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, the 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, Nasirî, 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.

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.

MaSa'îr-i Raqîmî says that Nasirî was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Agra in 1022 a.h., at Ahmadâbâd, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mu'tsâr 'î-Sâlih, he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. How esteemed he was as a poet may be seen from a couplet by the great Persian poet Sâyîb, quoted by Dâghistânî:

O Sâyîb, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Nasirî?

The Târikh of Nasirî's death lies in the hemistich "Az dâ'awatu 'l-Hassan 'î-Xâja'm, Âh!" "The Hassan of Persia has gone from this world, alas!"—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Hassan. This gives a.d. 1022; the other târikh, given by Dâghistânî, marks a.d. 1023. The same says, "where is the centre of the circle of conviviality," only gives 1021. unless we count the hassân in a.d. 1022, which is occasionally done in târikhs. Dâghistânî also mentions a poet Sawdâl of Gujarât, a pious man, who was in Nasirî's service. On the death of his master, he guarded his tomb, and died in a.d. 1031.
1. From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which Ka'bā swore, into a Farangi Church.
2. The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road.
3. The ship of love alone is a true resting-place; step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters.
4. Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody.


He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khīzīr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the bazaar 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 that 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.


His name is Shaykh Yaṣqūb. He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences. He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn 'Arabī, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

1 Bahram's takhallus is Seppul, i.e., water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khīzīr (Elisha). Khīzīr 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 Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Azarbaijan, Erivan, Tihran, Fars, and Nishapūr.

Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān near Calcutta.

Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, send me "Arabic and Persian Inscriptions," Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871, pt. 1, pp. 231 to 255.

2 Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, Yaṣqūb's teacher, was a pupil of Muhammad Aqaš Hājī, and died in Syria in 956 or 958.

Shaykh Yaṣqūb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Hajar, the great teacher of the Hadīth, and then came to India, where he was held in high esteem.
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 boy has brought the love-sick man into a strange position; from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

16. Sabāhi, the Chaghtaī.¹

He was born in Kābul. Once he slept in the bedroom of ʿAmīr Khūsraw, 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 me of my wretched state?

as a learned man and a poet. He was liked by Humāyūn and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badāʿoni. His death took place on the 12th Ẓī ʿAṣād, 1009, and Badāʿoni found as taṣrīḥ the words Shaykh-i umum bād, "he was the Shaykh of nations." A complete Khawāṣ, a treatise on the Muʿannad, or riddle, and numerous Sūfīstic Ruhā is 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 Qurʾān, and had just received permission from Akbar to return to Kashmir, when he died. Vide above, p. 101, and under the poets.

His takhallus is variously given as sayyāfī and surfi. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badāʿoni (III, 148). Both words occur as takhallus; thus there was a Qāṭī Sayyāfī, encomiast of Firūz Shah. Vide also poet No. 21.

¹ Sabāhi means "a man that drinks wine in the morning." The real name of the poet is not given in the Taziras to which I have access. Badāʿoni says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the Mirzā T.-C. Amin calls him a rind (profligate). He died at Agra in 973, and Faysal found as tārīkh the words سوگی میں خواہ "Sabāhi, the wine-bibber." Dāḏestānī says, he was from Samarqand, and the Maukkadeh calls him "Badāshshāni," but says that he is known as Humāyūn, or from Hīrāt.

² The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Badāʿoni, III, 150, under Âtashi.

³ If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from Aṣaff, Jāmi's pupil, who has a verse:

دل بے طریق وہ ہی جس کھوڑی ر
پاہر گزردہ نقاشہ نہیں پھیچنے ر

Vide also poet No. 21.
17. Mushfiqi of Bulhara.
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. Hindustan is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar-sellers.
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the chira and the takauhija.

18. Salihi.

His name is Muhammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Nizam ‘I-Mulk of Tus.

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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Sadā’u (III, 328) says that he was originally from Marc, and came twice to India.

For his Qasidas, some called him “the Salma’m of the age”; and Daghstani says that under Ābā’ ilāh Khān he was Malik ‘Abd-’A’zam. According to the Haft Iqans, he was born and died at Bulhara. Sprenger (Catalogus, p. 308) says, he was born in 945, and his second Divān was collected in 983. From the Akbarnāma, we see that Mushfiqi was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patan in the end of 983. He died in 994 (Vānhrī’s Bokhārī, p. 301).

This verse is a parody on the well-known Ghazal, which Ḥāfiz sent from Shīrāz to Sulṭān Ghīyās of Bengal (Metre Mūzātī).

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets.
When this Persian sugar (the poem) reaches Bengal.

Abū ’I-Fażl has meddled with Mushfiqi’s verse; for the Haft Iqans gives instead of ʿaḍā’ as-i digar the words himāl i ad-i qipā; hence the verse is “India’s flies are (black) like the black Indians, wearing like them a big turban (chira) and a takauhija.” This means, of course, that the Indians are like flies. The takauhija was described above on p. 94; the big head of a fly looks like a turban, and its straight wings like the straight Indian coat (chispān). It may be that Abū ’I-Fażl substituted the words ʿaḍā’ as-i digar, the “dear ones of the country”, with a satirical reference to the “learned”, whom he always calls ʿulamā’ al-ʿarib min Party binti “turban-wearing empty-headed”, in which case we would have to translate “the simplest of the country.”

The verse is better given by Sadā’u (III, 329).

Sprenger (Catalogus, p. 50) calls him wrongly Muhammad Mir Buq. The Altshakado and the MSS. have Muhammad Mirak; and thus also his name occurs in the Maṣāīr-i Balkhī.
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, Šâlib, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mazhari of Kashmir.¹

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ʿIraq. 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 Layli’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 ʿIraq he was in company with Muḥtašam and Wahshi. After his return to India, Mazhari was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahār of Kashmir, which employment he held in 1004 (Rabiʿ ʿawal). He had turned Shiʿah, and as his father was a Sunni, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazhari died in 1018. All Tazkiras praise his poems.

² The eyes of the beautiful boy are crocus-like or almond-shaped; the chin is like an apple; the black locks, like swordblades—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.
20. Mahwi of Hamadân.¹

His name is Mughlis. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.

1. Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart.
2. Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so.

1. You said that my condition was low from love-grief. A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant.
2. Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

1. O Mahwi, beckon to a friend, and ring the bell of the caravan.
2. The stage is yet far and the night is near. O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

1. A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings.
2. Thy luck is excellent, go away: love is a place where misery is required.

1. O Mahwi, do not sing a song of the passion of thy heart, do not knock at the door of a single house in the street.
2. Thou hast seen this strange world, beware of speaking of a friend.

¹ Mir Mughlis, according to the Ma'āṣir-i Răhīmī, was born in Assāhābād (Hamadân), and went, when twelve years old, to Arābdū, where he studied for four years at the "Astām-yi Safawiya". From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalā, and Hirat, Mawland Shīkhī and Anīdī (pp. 648, 649) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (mashhīdīna) with Mawland Shāhī (a). He embarked at Bandar Jārin for Indīa, and was patronized by the Khān Shāhān. After receiving from him much money, he went back to Īrāq, where the author of the Ma'āṣir saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbalā, and returned to Hamadân, where he died in 1018. He lies buried in the Mawṣūlān of the Sayyids at Assāhābād. The author of the Ma'āṣir edited Mahwi's Ruḥānī is during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Mahwi is best known as a Ruḥānī writer: Aḥš. 3-Paštī's extracts also are all Ruḥānīs.

The Anukhanda says that he is often called Kishārpīr, because he was long in that town.

The Mūṣṭī mentions a Mahwi whose name was Mir Maḥmūd, and says that he was for twenty-five years Aẖār's Munshi.

He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.

My dealer in roses wishes to take his roses to the bazaar, 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'ba, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias.

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself.

That which I desire is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qarārī of Gilān.

His name is Nūrādīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him: he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū'l-Fath, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humān as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

1 The MSS. of the Aṣ'īr call him "Sayraf " but the metre of several verses given in the Ma'āṣīr Râhîn shows that his真实 is " Sarfi ".

According to the Ātashkhāda, his name is Salah'ādīn, and he was a relation of Salmān of Sāwah. He was a pupil of Muhāshim of Kāshān. The author of Hafiz Ḫātim says that he was a most amiable man and marvellously quick in composing târîghy. He lived in the Dakhin, and went to Lâhor, to present Akbar with a Qâsidâ; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The Ma'āṣīr Râhîn states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadâbād, made Fayzi's acquaintance in the Dakhin, and went with the Khân-i Âgam (p. 543) to Makkah. According to Bâra's account, he came with the Historian Naṣîmūdīn Ahmad from Gujârat to Lâhor, and accompanied Fayzi to the Dakhin, where he died. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 392) gives his name Čâhâhidân; but the Ātashkhâda (the only work in which I have found his full name) has Salah'ādīn.

2 The road of love (the ideal Ka'ba) is as difficult as the road to the Ka'ba 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 Nūrādīn Muhammad came in 983 with his brothers Abū'l-Fath (p. 488) and Humān (p. 529) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Nūrādīn 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 cameleers, 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 story of Napoleon I, who in Egypt had often to form squares against the hostile cavalry, and then invariably gave orders to place the
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, of, what God forbid, 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 rise 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 Brahmanical thread.2

2. To be far from the bliss of non-existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence. O Lord! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non-existence.

1. 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.

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1. donkeys and the savans in the middle] Akbar, to punish him; sent him on active service to Bengal, where he perished in the disturbances, in which Muṣaffar Khān (p. 373) lost his life. Isābāvī, II. 311; III. 312.

2. Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ is sarcastic in referring to Nūr al-Dīn’s monomania. Nūr al-Dīn wished to say that Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ was a man of intense worldliness (tāhāf al-dinā) and Humān longed for the pleasures of paradise as the reward of virtue (tablīf ‘l-khārijī), whilst he himself was a “true lover” (tablīf ‘l-mushīkh, one who feels after God).

The Ḥasanābādī adds that Nūr al-Dīn had been in Gālūn in the service of Khān Ahmad Khān, and that he went, after the overthrow of Gālūn, to Qaswīn.

* Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.

* Love has made the poet a heathen.
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.

23. 'Itābī of Najaf.

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 restlessly from thy street!
2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmān.
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'ba candle at the idol temple's fate.
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 Though in reality the beautiful boy murdered me.

2 Sayyid Muhammad of Najaf had lived for some time in the Dakhin, honoured as a poet, when he went to Hindūstān, and paid his respects to Akbar at Allahābād. He looked bold and eloquent (bādak u māhasirī). When asked whether he had in the Dakhin made satires on Shāh Fāṭeḥ 'Ilāh, he said, "In the Dakhin, I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fāṭeḥ 'Ilāh, was annoyed, impressed 'Itābī, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and 'Itābī was sent for ten years (or according to the Tāleqān, for two years) to Fort Gwāliyār. At the request of Prince Salim and several courtiers, he was at last released, and ordered to come to Lāhor. But he was as bad as before, the emperor gave him 1,000 rupees, and ordered Qāuli Khān (p. 380) to send him from Sīrat to Hījār, but 'Itābī escaped, went to the Dakhin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever kāthī and letter-writer. Bādāʿī, III, 276.

The Ātashkāda says that he came from Gulpāgān (or wājīl). Dīghīštānī calls him "Mr Ćībāt." Ćībāt means "worthy of reproach."; compare cumulātī.

3 The Tāleqān ascribes this verse to a poet called Buqā'ī 'd Dīn, whose takbūhāy is not given in my M5.
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.\(^1\)

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 caravan\(^2\) has no bell to sound the hour of starting.

In a realm where the word "faithfulness" produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings\(^3\) 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. If thou art resolved to break my heart, is it worth while to ill-treat thy lovers?

24. Mullâ Muhammad Sâfi of Mâzandarân.\(^4\)

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.

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\(^1\) In allusion to the gurgling noise in the neck of the bottle.
\(^2\) The caravan of love.
\(^3\) The messenger, because he comes from the beloved boy, and the letter, because it declines the request of a rendezvous.
\(^4\) According to the Mir\(^5\)-âtî l-Álam, Mullâ Muhammad was called "Sâfi," from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed "Sâfi sâlihi," so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of "a simplicton." Mulânâ Muhammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ahmadabad, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jilâlî, Bukhârî. The Mir\(^5\)-âtî and the Haft Iqîsâ, praise his verses, and the former quotes from a Sâphâda of his. The Atashkada wrongly puts him under Isfahân, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mullâ Jâmi—which is impossible.
1. O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune.

2. If it be possible pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter.

1. You asked me, "How are you, Muhammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand," said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet."


His name is Sayyid ʿAli, and he is the son of Mir Mansūr. 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 Kaʿba 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.


His name is Sharīf.

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view. Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life.

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1 Judāʾī had been mentioned above on p. 107. He had the title of "Nādir-i-Mulk", and had already served under Humāyūn. He left a Diwan; but he has also been accused of having stolen Ashkī’s Diwan (vide below, the 37th poet).

2 The Āstashkadā and Taqī’s Ta’kira mention another Judāʾī of Sāwah.

3 Muhammad Sharīf, Waqūṭī belonged, according to the Maʿṣūr-i-Ruhānī, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishāpur. His mother was the sister of Amir Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time away master under Shah Tahmāsp. He died in 1602.

4 Badāʾīnī (III, p. 378) says, that Sharīf was a relation of Shihāb Khān (p. 352). "His name was Muhammad Sharīf. Alas, that so impure a man should have such excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than that of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharīf-i ʿĀmilī, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharīf-i Sarmadī, mentioned below, No. 52—two archheretics in the eyes of Badāʾīnī]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Baṣārīs (p. 362, note 1) nor to the Sabābīs, he holds an intermediate place between these accused and damned sects; for he strenuously fights the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (bandekā), One day, he came to me at Bāmbar on the Kashmir frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmir. Seeing large blocks of..."
1. I do not care for health. O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!
2. I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart.

27. Khurawi of Qā'īn.

He is a relation of [the poet] Mīrzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābid, in Khurāsān]. He writes Shikasta 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 surma for my eyes.

The lions of the Haram should not stain their paws with my blood. O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat.

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery; for the word "rest" is not used in the language of this realm [love].

28. Shaykh Rahā't.4

He traces his descent from Zain'4 d-Dīn Khāfi. He pretended to be a Ṣūfī.

rocks of several thousand men 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 Imāms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent hāfiz and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in a. h. 1092.

1 Health is the equivalent of "indifference to love".

2 Qā'īn is between Yārud and Hīrat. Daghistanī calls him Sayyid Amir Khurawi, and says that he excelled in music. According to Ṣadūq, his mother was Mīrzā Qāsim's sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr).

3 His name is Mawālnā Sā'dī d-Dīn, of Khāfī, see Khwāfī (p. 493). The Aṭā'khāda quotes the same verse as Abū 'l-Fazl. Ṣadūq says, he left a well-known dīwān. In Daghistanī, two Rahā't are mentioned: one Mawālnā Rahā't, "known in literary circles"; and another Rahā't from Ardistanī. Spranger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him Ṣadūq; and says that, according to the Naṣīrīs, he died in 1090.

4 Zayn' d-Dīn Khāfi, from whom Rahā't traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shawkān, a. h. 538. He was first buried at Mālab (or Bālah), then at Darwīshābād, then at Hīrat. His biography is given in Jāmī's Nafāḥīt 'l-Umā, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zayn' d-Dīn Tā'hāfī, mentioned above.
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’i of Isfahān, ¹

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. ²

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yūsuf. Let a man
buy what he does not require! ³

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.

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; ⁴ 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. Shaykh Sāqī. ⁵

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jazā‘ir. He has acquired some
knowledge.

¹ Baddā‘us says (III, p. 385) that Wafā’i was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lāhor,
and entered the service of Zayn K̲hān (p. 367). According to the Atashkada, he belonged
to the Qumāna Kurds, and was brought up at Isfahān; his Rhubarbs are good. Dāghistāni
calls him a Turk, and states that Wafā’i at first was an ulūkhāsh (a man who irons clothes).
From a fault in his eye, he was called Wafā’i Bīgi kār. ‘The blind Wafā’i.’
² ‘His impudent flattery was proverbial.’ Dāghistāni.
³ As, for example, love, grief.
⁴ i.e., a place where man is not protected, because he does not expect an arrow from
that side.
⁵ Baddā‘us also calls him Jazā‘irī, i.e., from the islands. His father, Shaykh Isrāhīm,
was a distinguished lawyer and was looked upon by the Shi‘a as a Mājmū‘ah. He lived
in Māshhad, where Sāqī was born. Sāqī received some education, and is an agreeable
poet. He came from the Dakhin to Hindustān, and is at present (in 1004) in Bengal,
1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sāqqi, and like the Kāśha, 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. Raffi of Kāshān.

His name is Ḥaydar. He is well acquainted with the ṣūra poetica and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and tārikhs.

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 rechuse 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. Ghayratī of Shīrāz.

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.

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1. His full name, according to Taqī-yi Aḥwālī, is Amir Baḥšī Bāy-dīn Ḥaydar. He was a Tabākī Shayyād of Kāshān. The Muḥāsan-i Ḥāfizī states that he left Persia in 989 on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrat in company with Khwāja Ḥamīdī “illāhī” to Lāhore, and was well received by Akbar. For the tārikh, mentioned above on p. 619, note 2, Fāyżī gave him 10,000 rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mukrān coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lakhs of rupees, but also (as Bābī and gently remarks) the copies of Fāyżī’s poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Spruner (Catalogue, p. 53) says that Ḥaydar 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 Khān Khānān alone, he got, at various times, about a lākh. After some time, he again returned, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makka and Madīna, where he stayed four years. In 1013, he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh Ǧabhās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the Ātashkadeh he died in a. m. 1032, the tīrāḥ of his death being the Arabic words, “mā bih mālik fi anāk,” His son, Mir Ḥāfiz-i Ṣanjar, is mentioned on the next page; and Tāhir-i Naṣrābādī mentions in his Ta’kīra another son of the name of Mir Maḥfūz, a friend of Mullā Ḥawī. MSS. often give his name wrongly Raffi.

2. The Ātashkadeh says that Ghayratī travelled about in Črāq, went to Hindūkush, and lived after his return in Kāshān, where he fell in love with a boy of a respectable family. From fear of the boy’s relations, he went to Shīrāz, where he died.

3. Because the heart only was broken.
The present age asks God for a mischief-maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer.¹

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 Musalmāns.

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.

I saw the heart of another full of grief, and I became jealous; for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions.²

33. Ḥālati of Turān.

His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man.

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.

¹ That is, my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men.
² 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.
³ Rashid says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of Wāliūr, Yādgār traced his descent from Sulṭān Sanjār; but the Tabassāf calls him a Chaghtāli. He served in Akbar’s army.
⁴ His son Jalāl Khān had the taḥnīn of Baqā‘ī, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself Ṭusī‘ī, ‘the blackguard.’ He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault,” and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lāhār, where he was executed by the Kottāl.
⁵ The Abbārāmah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 486) says that Yādgār served in 993 in Kābul. He is not to be confounded with Mir Ḥālati of Gānūn.
34. Sanjār of Kāshān.¹

He is the son of Mīr Ḥaydār, the riddle-writer. He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances.

I came from the monastery of the Guebrēs, and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a Wailing gong under my arm.²

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 Majnūn's tribe.³

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. Jaḵbī.⁴

His name is Pādīshāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī Khwān Nāranjī of Kurdistān, near Baghdād.

See how extremely jealous I am. My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes me bewilderment.

¹ Sanjār came in a. M. 1000 from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 662 (?)). For some crime, "to mention which is not proper," Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Ahmadābād; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ibrāhhim ʿAbd Shāh of Bijāpur. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Shāh ʿAbdāl of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bijāpur, in a. M. 1021. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. Muḥarrār-i Khusrau.

The Khānān-i Afsana and Mr. T. W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the Misfāh-i Tawārīḵ, give the following verse as tārīḵ of Sanjār's death (mērteh Muḥāfīz):—

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella, of which the words pādisḵāh-i wâhān give 1023; but as the pādisḵāh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract 2; for the figure of the Arabic 2 if inverted, looks like an umbrella.

² 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 wear gungs because they were not allowed bells.

³ The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnūn.

⁴ The Taḵkīras give no details regarding Jaḵbī. His father has been mentioned above on p. 637; and from the Akbārāmān (III. p. 512) we know that Pādīshāh Qulī served in Kashmir under Qāsīm Khwān (p. 415). "Jaḵbī" means "attractive"; a similar taḵkīla is "Maḏzāb"; "one who is attracted by God's love."

Bābā Fāzī (III. 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abū ʿĪsā Fāzī to Pādīshāh Qulī's father.
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. Tashbih of Kashan.\(^1\)

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 condition. The Masnavi entitled "Zarrah o Khurshid", "the Atom and the Sun", is written by him.

Dust of the graveyard, rise for once to joy! Thou encloseth a corpse like mine, slain by his hand and his dagger.

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt; I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth.

\(^1\) The Atashkada calls him "Mir 'All Akbar Tashbihi. Though a devout man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindustan he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Faqir, and did not visit kings. Dīghīstānī says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindustan a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Budūji (III. 204) has the following notice of him. "He came twice or three times to Hindustan, and returned home. Just now (s. n. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresey, advising them to follow the fate of the Basākhwāns (vide above, p. 502). He told Shaykh Abū 'l-Fazl that he was a Mūjadī, or infallible authority on religious matters, and asked him to introduce him to the emperor, in 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 monotheism might remain. He also wrote a pamphlet in honour of Abū 'l-Fazl according to the manner of the Nuqtāf sect and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation (tāzqīq) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Ḥakim Sāyra 'l-Mulk (vide above, p. 537) discovered that "Tashbihi" has the same numerical value (727) as "Tāzqīq"; "the hypocrite." Tashbihi has composed a Dāwān. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abū 'l-Fazl's presence, a pamphlet on Mahmūd of Basākhwan, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows: "O God! who art praiseworthy (Mahswad) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee. There is no other God but Allah. Praise be to God, whose mercies are visible in all his works, who has shown the existence of all his works; the text is unintelligible. He knows Himself; but we do not know ourselves, nor Him. He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others; and He is the most merciful. Question: What is meant by "nature?" Answer: What people call creation or nature, is God, etc. Durt upon his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of all this lying is, of course, "the four secrets." At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following: "This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Mūjadī M. i. s. C. A. i. l. A. k. b. a. r. T. a. ab. b. l. h. t. the Amdroph, 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 sun's rays 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.
Pass some day by the bazaar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee; for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions.\(^1\)

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihi a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.\(^2\)

1. I am that Tashbihi who, from foresight, chooses to dwell in a graveyard.

2. I like to dwell in a graveyard, because dwelling in a graveyard 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.\(^3\)

37. Ashki of Qum.\(^4\)

He is a Tabâţibā 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.

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\(^1\) This verse is an example of a well-known rhetorical figure. The word "retribution" leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbihi 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.

\(^2\) The sun looks round like a loaf; the warm oven is the heat of the day.

\(^3\) 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 Tashbihi," i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.

\(^4\) We know from the Haft Iqīm that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid Ali Muhtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki's elder brother Mir Hushri also is known as a poet. Ghazâlī's fame and success (vide p. 634) attracted Ashki to India, but he did not meet Ghazâlī. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Dīwāns to Mir Judâ\(^5\) (vide p. 600) to arrange. Mir Judâ, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Tariqī of Sawaih alludes to this in the following epigram:

\begin{verbatim}
Ashki, ashki, 
Ma'bul e abbaar, 
Kale binaa 
E khafa ast.

Tone hast killed poor Ashki. 
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden. 
With thee four Dīwāns of his remained, 
And what remains of thy poems, is his.
\end{verbatim}

Dâghistānī says that Ashki died in Mir Judâ's house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazâlī; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iqīm is preferable.

Buślānī says that Ashki's poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (tatable) the poet. Asafi. He died at Agra.
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.

Ashkî, I think my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think
of him, they rush into my face.¹

38. Asrî of Ray.²

His name is Amîr Qâżî. 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 Ray [Tîhrân].³

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes;
do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of
the tavern.

¹ So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashkî, when he declares
his love.
² Asrî was, according to Baḥîlî of an educated man, and the best pupil of Ḥâkîm
I-Mulk (p. 611). But the climate of India did not agree with him, and he did not find
much favour with the emperor. He therefore returned to Ray, his home, where he
died (i.e. before A.H. 1004).
³ Baḥîlî gives three poets of the name of Fahmi — 1. Fahmi of Tîhrân, who travelled
much, and was for some time in India; 2. Fahmi of Samarqand, son of Nâdirî, an able
riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3. Fahmi of Astraâbâd, who died at
Dihlî. The Muṣârîrî Râfîqûdîn mentions a Fahmi of Hurmuz (Ormuz) well known in Lâr
and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khân Khânân, got a present,
and returned. Dâghîštânî mentions a fifth Fahmi from Kâshân, and a sixth, of whom he
gives no particulars.

As the Fahshî and Dâghîštânî ascribe the same verse to Fahmi-ya Tîhrânî, which
Abû 'l-Fâqî gives to Fahmi of Ray, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks
as if Abû 'l-Fâqî had made a mistake in calling him "of Ray", because no Tughlîq
follows him.
I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation. Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient.

40. Qaydi of Shirāz.¹

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.

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, a 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 hat had no power to gaze at the sun; else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen.

¹ Qaydi came from Makkah to India, and was well received by Akbar. Once, at a court assembly, he spoke of the injustice of the Dāgh o Mahalli-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (vide p. 232) and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Faqir in the Byāna District, and returned to Pathpūr Sikri, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qaydi died. He was an excellent poet. Ḑaġhdāstāni says that he was a friend of ʿUrfī, and died in a.H. 992.
41. Payrawi of Sāwah.¹

His name is Amīr 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 to whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal; forgive me if I worship form.²

42. Kāmi, of Sahzwār.³

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. Payāmi.⁴

His name is ‘Abd Allāh ‘s-Salām. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

¹ Payrawi imitated the poet Ḥāsii. He wrote a poem on “Form and Ideal”, of which Abū ‘l-Faqī has given the first verse, and completed a Diwān of his own.
² This verse, the beginning of Payrawi’s “Form and Ideal”, contains the rhetorical figure, iškāla, because it gives the title of the poem.
³ Kāmi’s father, Khwāja Yahyā, was a grocer (boqīl) and lived in the Maydān Mahālā of Sahzwār, in Kāhāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Ubābās took Sahzwār, Mr Yahyā went to India, and left Kāmi, their twelve year old, with one of his relations in Sahzwār. At the request of his father, Kāmi came to India, and was frequently with the Khān Kāhān. He went afterwards back to Kāhāsān and the author of the Maqār-i Ḥudūlī saw him, in 1014, in Hirāt. In travelling from Hirāt to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khān Kāhān’s service.
⁴ The Hafiz Ṭūlūn says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

Badān also mentions him: but he wrongly calls Quasī “from the town of Qum.” He says, Kāmi is a young man and has just come to India (1004); his thoughts are bold.
⁵ Payāmi, according to Dāghistānī, was a pupil of the renowned Ġallāmī Dawlānī. He was for a long time Vāzir to Shāh Ġalār. His services were afterwards dispersed with, and a Jew of the name of Yātqāb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise: for soon after, Shāh Ġalār sent an army under Bāk Virdi Kāhān to Lār, who conquered the country.
Fortune cheats in play, loses, and takes back what she paid. One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks.

1. How long do you file down your words and polish them; how long do you shoot random arrows at the target?
2. If you would take one lesson in the science of silence, you would laugh loud at your silly conversation.

1. I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip. Go away, go away, take care not to put your finger on my lip.
2. I have come to the public square of the world, but I think it were better if my Yūsuf were yet in the pit than in the bazaar.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 Muhammad [Fikri].²

He is a cloth-weaver from Hirât. He generally composes Rubâís.

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:

¹ Yūsuf means here “life”; pit, “non-existence”; bazaar, “existence.”
² Sayyid Muhammad’s poetical name is Fikri, the “pensive”. He came, according to the Haft Iqal, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubâís induced people to call him the “Khayrân of the age”, or “Mir Rubâí”. He died on his way to Jaunpûr, in 973, the hîrî of his death being Mir Rubâ ë safar namâd.
2. The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too, shall raise my head in courtship.  

45. Qudsi of Karbalā, Mir Ḥusayn.  

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 instead of me to suffer for one night by being separated from him [the beautiful boy].  

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?  

46. Ḥaydār of Tabriz.  

He is a merchant and a poet; he works hard and spends his gains liberally.  

Show no one my black book of sorrows; let no one know my crimes [love].

---

1 This verse reminds me of a verse by Kalīm. I think (metre Ṣaraj):  

شَعْرُ الْبَيْحَاتِ مَثَّلُ يَسْبُطُ كُورَ التَّابِعِ  

الْمِنْشِرُ جَهَّازُ مَنْ شَوْمَ النُّورِ جَالُ فِي الْجَمَالِ  

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.  

2 Daghistān says that Mir Ḥusayn's father left Karbalā for Sahawāt. Qudsi was a great friend of Muhammad Khān, governor of Ḥirāt. Ferdowsī (III, 376) says that Mir Muhammad Sharif Nawātī, Qudsi's brother, also came to India, and "died a short time ago"; i.e., before A.H. 1004.  

3 Haydār was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr (vide above, p. 333). His company, says the Ḥaft ʿIqān, was more agreeable than his poems. The Maṣūmī who he wrote in imitation of Saʿdī's Bostān is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said:  

ناَهْمُ عَلَى بَيْتِ طَلَقَةَ وَلَمْ يُعْلَمَ  

علْهُ دَلْتُ كَتَابَ وَجَابَ غَرْمِ مُعْلَمَ  

جَالَ الْفُضَّالُ بِرويَةَ رَمْضَانِ  

أَمَّام مَعْلَمَةَ وَفِيُّ أَمَّامِ مُعْلَمَةَ  

On his second return to India he found a patron in the Khān-i Aṣgān (p. 343), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khān Atga (p. 337) 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 Khān Khānān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujarāt (p. 254), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkhā. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Āghā Khūz Nāhawandī (brother of the author of the Murāj-i Khāfeṣī) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm, he settled in  

4 Iraq, at a place called in the MSS. بُنْمَ, which for its excellent climate and fruits had
O Ḥaydari, 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.

47. Sāmri.

He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous, and my shame [love] has rendered me well known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears.

48. Farebi of Ray (?).

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.

no equal in Īrāq or Khurāsān. About that time Shāh Ābbās came to the place to hunt pheasants (āmp). [Khākb is the Chakor partridge of India.—P.] It happened that the king’s own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house of a darwīsh, who, notwithstanding that the king had gone personally to his home, 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 Haydari’s influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from ʿāb; 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. Haydari died there, beloved by all, in a.m. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled Lisāhāt ʿĪ-ghyāb, in praise of his teacher, the poet Lisānī, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled Sāḥib-i-Listā, “The Slip of the Tongue,” which was written by his base pupil Mīr Sharīf-i Tabrizī. The Maḥṣūr-i Rahānī gives a few passages from the book.

Daghistānī says that the poet Darwish Haydar of Yazd, mentioned in Taḵkīrs, is very likely the same as Mawlānā Haydarī of Tabriz, who is sometimes called “Yazdī” from his friendship with Wāshī of Yazd.

Sāmri, Haydari’s son, came to India after his father’s death, and was made by the Khlān Khlān Mīr Sāmīr of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dakhīn wars, when with Shahrul Khlān, the son of his patron.

The second verse shows that the taḥqīlāt of the poet is Shāpūr. Farebi is scarcely known. With the exception of Daghīstānī’s work, which merely mentions that Farebi lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Taḵkīrs. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 82) mentions a Farebi of Buhkhārā; but as he is said to have died in a.m. 944, he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the A[ in have Ray, Bahl, and Dīsh, or leave out the word, as Daghīstānī has done. Ḥāzī is the usual form of the adjective derived from “Ray” the well-known town in Khurāsān.
2. It is not my intention to be in arduous 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 beasts.

2. Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love], I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean.

49. Fusūnī of Shīrāz.¹

His name is Maḥmūd Beg. He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well.

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?²

¹ Abū Ḥāfiz says that Fusūnī was from Shīrāz; Bāhdāndī and Taqī call him Yarāfī; and Dāghistānī and the Atashkadeh says that he came from Tabriz. Bāhdāndī says that Fusūnī came over Tattaḥ and entered the service of the emperor, and Dāghistānī adds that he also served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as Mustawfi. The Mīr Khān ʿI.-ʿAsī Fārīsh mentions a Fusūnī, who was an Amīr under Jahāngīr and had the title of Amīr Khān.

² The original contains a pun on Ḍāḥī pīrd and gurd, which I cannot imitate.
50. Nadiri of Turahiz.

I am as if blind and wander about seeking for something. I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand.

Nadiri, I complain of no one; I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

51. Nawci of Mashhad.

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well.

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up; neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close.

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking-glass even appears veiled.

If that be Mansur'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, Nawfi, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.  

52. Bāhā Tālib of Isfahān.  

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters.  

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression.  

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love.  

I cannot raise, from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment.  

1. In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet 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 havoc which the sword of separation has made; sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters.  

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1 The poet means by the looking-glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy. He sees in it his woeful figure; but does not become one with him.  
2 Properly, half a mote. The dust atoms that play in the sun rays are in love with the sun.  
3 According to the Haft Iqbal, Bāhā Tālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindūstān, where he was much liked. The Ma'ārif-i Rahimi says that he was often in the company of Hākim 'Abd al-Fath (p. 468). Zayn Khān Kokah (377), 'Abd al-Fazl, and Shāykh Fāyzi, at present, i.e. in 1025, he is Sadr of Gujrat. Baha'īnai says that he was nearly eight (twenty?) years in Kashmir, was at first a dervish, but took afterwards an employment, and entered Akbar's service. The emperor once sent him as ambasador to Khān Hayr, ruler of Little Tibet. On his return he gave 'Abd al-Fazl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Abhar al-sabereen. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The Iqbalshahat (Bibli, Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Baha Tālib died in the end of Jahāngir's reign, more than a hundred years old.  
4 Fatār p. 560, n. 1.  
5 This Baha'ī pleased Jahāngir so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. Iqbalshahat, loc. cit.
33. Sarmadi of Isfahán. 1

His name is Sharif. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhymé is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

Fortune has been faithful in my time; I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulness.

I was at home, and thou camet 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. Dakhîl of Isfahán. 2

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

1 Muhammad Sharif was mentioned above on p. 581, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Badâ'uni says that he was at first Chahâla nawâb, and is at present (i.e., 1004) with Sharif-i Amull (p. 302) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the ta'khallus of "Fayzi"; but in order to avoid opposition to Fayzi, Abd 'l-Fasl's brother, he chose that of Sarmadi. Badâ'uni looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bâd. II. 335). From the Akbarnamah, we see that Sharif served in the 31st year in Kashmir, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrat. In 1000 he was sent to Bengal with Sharif-i Amull, and in the beginning of 1001 we find him fighting in Erisk against Râm Chandî. Bâja of Khurdâ. Daghistani says he died in the Dakhin.

2 The Mu'tasir-i Rashtî 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 'l-Mulâk Maqsûd 'Ali, proprietor of Werkoos. 12 strings from Isfahân. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Darakensi; but the author appears to have corrected the d to a w). His mother's father was the great Shaykh Abd 'l-Qâsim, who had
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'ba 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. Qāsim Arslān of Mashhad.

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!

such influence with Tähmāsp that several legacies (muyaf) in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed Mutawalli. His circumstances thus became affluent, and so many dervishes, pupils, learned men, travellers, poets, etc., collected around him, that people persuaded Tähmāsp that Ablu 'l-Qāsim was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was, therefore, blinded, and lived a retired life in the village. Some time after he presented a poem to Tähmāsp, which procured him a pension. In this poem, which the Mā'ṣehī has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhā-Pāya. In his retirement he used to write under the name de plumes of Ablu, and employed Dakhil to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhil a taste for poetry, and he received from Ablu 'l-Qāsim the tahlilun of Dakhil. After having attended on his maternal uncle for some time, Malik Ahmad went to Isfahān, where he gained a reputation as a poet.

In 997, he came to India, and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1003 he went to the Dakhil, and found a patron in the Khān Khānān, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Mā'ṣehī of Dakhil was written. He also was a good soldier.
56. Ghayûrī of Ḥiṣār.¹

Manliness shines on his forehead, and simplicity is the ornament of his life.

When longing directs its way to that door [love] it overthrows all possibility of returning:

1. The door of Shāh 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.²

57. Qāsimī of Māzandarān.³

He lives as a Faqîr, and wanders bare-footed and bare-headed through the world.

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yūsuf; Yūsuf 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. Sherī.⁴

He belongs to a Panjâbī family of Shaykhs. 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.

¹ Ghayûrī is called in the Akbar-nâma Mulla Ghayûrī, and Dâghestâni calls him (Ghayûri of Kâbul). This shows that he came from Bâhar in Kâbul and not from Hîsâr Firûza. The Hâfiz Îflîm tells us that Ghayûrī was at first in the service of Mirzâ Muhammad Hâkim, Akbar’s brother and king of Kâbul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar’s service, and was a Yâbâshî, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bîr Bār, in the Khaybar Pass catastrophe (under 34, p. 367).
² Akbar, in 1000, forced his courtiers to shave off their beards; vide p. 217.
³ Dâghestâni mentions a Qâsim of Mâzândârân. Qâsimi seems to be an unknown poet.
⁴ Mulla Sherî has been mentioned above, pp. 112, 207, 212, 214. He was born in Kokûwâl in the Panjâb (Bârī Dâsh), His father’s name was Mawlânâ Yahyâ. He belonged to a tribe called in Bûdû “osâ’i” Mâji”.

Sherî was killed with Bîr Bâr, in 994, in the Khâybar Pass.
The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd.

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

1. My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition. Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.
2. A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties; an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities.

59. Rahi of Nishāpūr.

His name is Khwāja Jān. He is a good man.

1. O Rahi, 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 Guñābād; Zāmir of Isfahān; Wāhani of Bāfa; Muḥtashim of Kāshān; Malik of Qum; Zuhāri of Shīrāz; Wāli Dāshī Bayāzī; Nekī; Šābī; Figāri; Hūrūfī; Qāṣī Nūri of Isfahān; Šāfī of Bam; Tawfi of Tabrīz; and Rashki of Hamadān.

Ā'in 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

¹ We have to distinguish gēndara, singers, from abāndara, chanters, and abānadas, players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwāyār, Mashhad, Tabrīz, and Kashmir. A few come from Transoxiana. The schools in Kashmir had been founded by Ḥabīb and Tūran music masters patronized by Zayn b. Aḥmed, king of Kashmir. The fame of Gwāyār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rāja Mān Tawwar. During his reign the famous Nā'īk Bahshāh, whose melodies are only second to those of Tāsus. Bahshah also lived at the court of Rāja Bākramājī, Mān's son; but when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rāja Kārā of Kāltājar. Not long afterwards he accepted a call to Gujrat, where he remained at the court of Sultan Bahādur (A.D. 1536 to 1539). Islem Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rām Dīs and Mahāshāmīr. Both entered subsequently Akbar's service. Mahāshāmīr was once sent as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Opirā.
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.

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 Gwályár. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bábá Rámdás, of Gwályár, a singer.
3. Subhán Kháñ, of Gwályár, a singer.
4. Sríygán Kháñ, of Gwályár, a singer.
5. Miýán Chand, of Gwályár, a singer.
6. Ríchitr Kháñ, brother of Subhán Kháñ, a singer.
7. Muḥammad Kháñ, Dhárí, sings.
8. Brír Mandal Kháñ, of Gwályár, plays on the sarmandal.
10. Shiháb Kháñ, of Gwályár, performs on the tín.
11. Da*úd Dhárí, sings.
12. Sarod Kháñ, of Gwályár, sings.
16. Uíst Dhóst, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (nay).

* Regarding Tánsen, or Tánsení, or Tánsín, vide p. 445. Báñ Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tákás as at present. 'Urmun Sér is vain persuaded Tánsen to come to Agra. Abú 'I-Pá'í mentions below his son Tántarang Kháñ; and the Fáridshá-úns (II. 5—an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bídá.

* Bódí'ud (II. 43) says, Bám Dás came from Láhúmán. He appears to have been with Bayrán Kháñ during his rebellion, and he received once from him one lakh of tákás, empty as Bayrán's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islam Shál, and he is looked upon as second only to Tánsen. His son Sír Dás is mentioned below.

* Dhárí means "a singer." "a musician."
17. Nānak Jārjū, of Gwālyār, a singer.
18. Purbīn Khān, his son, plays on the bin.
19. Sūr Dās, son of Bābhū Rām Dās, a singer.
20. Chānd Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
21. Rangsen, of Āgra, sings.
22. Shaykh Dāwan Dḥārī,1 performs on the karnā.
23. Rāhmatul-lāh, brother of Mullā Is-hāq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mrī Sayyid ʿAlī, of Mashhad, plays on the ghichak.
25. Ustā Yusuf, of Hirāt, plays on the tambūra.
26. Qāsim, surnamed Koh-bar,2 he has invented an instrument intermediate between the qūbus and the rubūb.
27. Tāsh Beg, of Qipchāq, plays on the qūbus.
28. Sultan Haḥīz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahram Quli, of Hirāt, plays on the ghichak.
30. Sultan Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the tambūra.
31. Ustā Shāh Muḥammad, plays on the surnā.
32. Ustā Muhammad Amīn plays on the tambūra.
33. Haḥīz Khwāja ʿAlī, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mrī ʿAbdul-lāh, brother of Mrī ʿAbdul-lāh ʿAlī, Hay, plays the Qānūn.
35. Pirzade,3 nephew of Mrī Dawām, of Khurassān, sings and chants.
36. Ustā Muhammad Husayn, plays the tambūra.4

1 Dḥārī means "a singer". "a musician.
2 Koh-bar, as we know from the Patshahāni (I, b., p. 333) is the name of a Chaghātāi tribe. The Nofāṣ-i le-i Maḥārī mentions a poet of the name of Muḥammad Qāsim Kohbar, whose name de-placé was Sabīl. Vide Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 90 (where we have to read Koh-bar for Gah-zar).
3 Pirzade, according to Rudkhan (III, 318) was from Sabzāwār. He wrote poemes under the pseudonym of Liwā. He was killed in 996 at Ābārī by a wall falling on him.
4 The Maḥārī-i Naḥimi mentions the following musicians in the service of the Khān Khānān—Agā Muhammad Nāṣir, son of Hājī Iltmāz, of Tabrīz; Mawlānā Aqā, of Tabrīz; Ustād Mirzā Taftānī Mawlānā Shāhraf of Nishāpūr, a brother of the poet Naṣir (p. 349). Muhammad Mūsin, alias ʿAbdul-khān, a tambūra-player; and Haḥīz Naṣr, from Transoxiana, a good singer.

The Patshāh and the Iltishāms mention the following singers of Jahāngīr’s reign—Jahāngīr-e Khwān; Parstoṭād; Khurrandād; Māshī; Ḥamza. During Šahjahān’s reign we find Jagmūt, who received from Šahjahān the title of Khān;1 Drang Khān; and Lāl Khān, who got the title of Qanumanda (ocean of excellence). Lāl Khān was son-in-law to Rākī, son of Tāmsin. Jagmūt and Drang Khān were both weighed in silver, and received each 4,500 rupees.

Awrangzib abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court historians. Music is against the Muḥammadan law. Khwān Khān (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 Ḣarōkhā (the window where the emperors used to show themselves daily to the people), and waited so loud as to attract Awrangzib’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 Ḣarōkhā also was abolished.

END OF VOLUME I.
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 31, note 1.
ŢOBAH MĀL. For corrected and fuller biographical notes, vide p. 376.

Page 35, note 2.
QUΛİJ KHRĀN. The correct year of his death is given on p. 381.

Page 36, line 20.
BĀBĀGĦŪRĪ. 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 Bābāghūrī". Tāhir Naṣrābādī, in his Fasāid, under Jalāl, has the following. "When the case came on," he said to Mirzā Taqī, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bābāghūrī threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

Page 46, middle.
SALARIES OF THE BRIDAMS. Under Shāhjāhān and Awrangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtāz Mahāl had 10 lākhs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lākhs, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzib gave the " Begum Šāhīb " 12 lākhs per annum.

Regarding Nur Jāhān's pension, vide p. 574, note 3.

Page 49, note 7.
GILBAĐAḤ BRIDAM. From Badāmī, II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, i.e. she was Humāyün's sister. She was married to Khizr Khwāja; vide pp. 207, 394.

Page 58, line 4, from top.
Sorū. Sorū is the correct name of a town and Purana is Sīkhār Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (Allīgarh), near the Ganges.

Page 58, line 14, from below.
PANHĀN. This I believe to be a mistake for "Pathān" or "Pathānkot". The MSS. have پیہان or پیہان, but as the initial š of MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with š and reversely. The spelling پیہان, Pathān, for Pathān, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.
KI.LK. Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S., informs me that qilās is to the present day the Kashmiri term for cherries.

Page 73, line 7.

MANUJ. This partly confirms Elliot's note under Gulu (Beames's Edition, Races of the N.W. Provinces, II. p. 333) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary.

Page 77, line 7, from below.

PÁN LEAVES. In the 3rd Book of the Árin (Text, p. 416, l. 29) Abú 'l-Faḍl mentions another kind of pān, called Māḥā or Maḥā, grown in Bihār.

Page 84, line 7.

QAYŠF. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is FANSHát. According to Marco Polo, Fanstir was a state in Sumátra, probably the modern Baróa.

Page 87, note.

ZIRBÁD. This should be ZIRBÁD, for zi-r bād, i.e. "under the wind"; in contrast, the Persian translation, as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay BÁHÁ NAṆÁ, "below the wind," by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumátra.

Kháñ Kháñ (I. p. 11) couples ZIRBÁD with KhÁTÁ, over both of which Túh Kháñ, son of Chingis Kháñ, ruled.

Page 93, note 6.

I have since seen the spelling KIKARQ which brings us a step nearer to etymology. Túnrí means "supplies"; and āʾark means "fur".

Page 93, line 2, from below.

AHMÁDÁBÁD. The commas after Ahmadábád may be wrong. Ahmadábád is often called Ahmadábád-i Guját.

Page 94, line 17.

GIYÁŠ-i NAQSHBAKHROW. We knew from the Ta'kí of Táhir Násirábádí that Ghiyáš was born in Yarád. "The world has not since seen a weaver like him. Besides, he was a good poet. Once he brought a piece of wazaajír brocade, on which there were among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Sháh 'Abhás (1583-1629), when a courier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghiyáš 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 Aśòwána," i.e. a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Násirábádí quotes some of Ghiyáš's verses.
COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abū 'l-Fażl, Chautār was woven in Hawai Sabārampūr, Sīrī Sāf and Bhīrānī, in Uharangāon, Khānṣī, Gangājīlī, in Sīrīkār Ghorāgāhī, Bengal, Mihīrī, in Allāhābād, and Pāchtojīs was mentioned on p. 574, in connexion with Nūr Jāhān.

Page 105, note 2.

ÅDAM ḤAFIZ HAYR-HAYR. I find that this expression is much older than Abū 'l- Fażl's time. Thus Zīān 'd-Dīn Barunī in his preface to the Taṛikh-i Fūrūzjābī (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalīfa 'Umar lived seven thousand years after Ådam.

Page 107, note 8.

AHMAD KHĀN. A corrector and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 423. He died in 983, not 973.

Page 108, note 3.

KHANDĀN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the Tazkira of 'Abdīlāh written by Khandān in 920 A.H., and yet the Mirat of 'Uthmān gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 110, note 3, line 4.

BECHĪ. Though Bechī is a common Hindūstāni name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchū, or Panjī, vide p. 607. Badāwī (II, 54) gives as tārīkh of his death the words ١٠٥٣, and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب), i.e. 971 - 2 = 969. Vide also my Essay on "Badāwī and his Works", Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 123, line 18.

SAZHĀNA. Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Taruk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jasmai, the champion of Chittor.

Page 126, lines 27 to p. 130, line 2.

The reader is requested to substitute the following:—
Elephants are found in the following places: In the Sāhāb of Āgra, in the jungles of Bayāwān and Naurū, as far as Barār; in the Sāhāb of Bābābād, in the confines of Panah, (Bhath) Ghōrā, Katampūr, Nandampūr, Sirgīja, and Bastār; in the Sāhāb of Māhrām, in Hindūn, Ushūd, Chandī, Sāntwās, Bījāgārī, Rāsīn, Hooghābād, Ėrā, and Harāgār; in the Sāhāb of Bihār, about Bīrār and in Jīhākhand; and in the Sāhāb of Bengal, in Osīlī and in Sālqān. The elephants from Panah are the best.

Page 179, note 3.

Ṣulaymān Karūkāni reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980.

Page 192, note 1.

Prince Murād was born on the 3rd Moharram, 978. Badāwī, II, 132. Vide below.
Page 231. middle, and note.

In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for May, 1870 (p. 146), I have shown that the unclear words in Radziwiłł's text are——

"the camahula: which is their time of mirth."

By "camahula" the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, etc., which they used to exhibit in Agrah and Līkīr.

Page 231, line 8.
The Șadr read the khudab in the name of the new king, and thus the julās became a fact. Khūfī Khān, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.

Page 232, middle.

Page 231.
Akkar's Wives. For Ḥapqīḥ the diminutive form Ḥapqāḥ is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bāī vade next note.

Sultan Sultan Begum. She is the daughter of Gufrūn Begum, a daughter of Bākh. Mīrī Nurī 'd-Dīn Mūhammad, Gufrūn's husband, was a Naqshbandī Khwāja.
Gufrūn Begum must not be confounded with another Gufrūn Begum, who was the daughter of Mīrā Khānān and wife of Ibrahim Ḥussain Mīrā (vide p. 516).
Of other women in Akbar's harem, I may mention (1) the daughter of Qārī ʿIṣāk (p. 499); (2) an Armenian woman, ʿUzaq, p. 324. Fide also Keman's Agrī Guide, p. 38. (3) Qumiyyah Bānū, married by Akbar in the 19th year (Akbārī, III, 94); (4) a daughter of Shamsī 'd-Dīn Chak (Akbārī, III, 653).
Sultan Murād. He was married to a daughter of Mīrā 'Arīz Koka (p. 343). Their child, Sultan Rustam, did not live long (Akbārī, III, 539, 552).
Sultan Dāštāl. The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumāda 1, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confounded 979 and 970. His first wife was a daughter of Sultan Khwāja (p. 466), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Ẓafīdat Bānū Begum, who was born in 1000 (Akbārī, III, 643).
Page 233.
Jarkush's Wives. An additional list was given on p. 333, note 1. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Muhammad Chak of Kashmir; (2) a daughter of Ḥassān Chak of Kashmir (Akbārī, III, 659); (3) another Kashmiri lady, mentioned in Akbārī, III, 639.

Page 232, middle.
Death of Mīrā Rustam. Thus the date is given in the Ma'āṣir ʿl-Ummār; but from the Pālishāhānī (II, 302) we see that Mīrā Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rabīʿ 1, 1052. The author adds a remark that "the manners (ārāz) of the Mīrā did not correspond to his noble birth, which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother".

Page 232, line 4, from below.
Qalā ʿUṯūr Tūrān. The correct name is Qarāqūšī. The Calcutta Chughtā Dictionary gives Qarāqūshī. Vambéry (History of Bukhārā, p. 245, note) mentions
the Ustajlu, Shamlu, Nikallu, Baharlou, Zul'Qadr, Kajjar, and Afsar, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspii, and in the west of Khurasan. Qaraqoilm means "the black sheep tribe".

Page 332, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bayram was defeated is Gunahur. which lies S.E. of Jaldhar. The word, Khoraw Ehrour, which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badami gives, contains "Philhaar", which lies S.W. of Gunahur.

Page 342, note.

I do not think that Pir Mohammad came from the Sharwan mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Shirwani Afghan.

Page 343, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 445, line 14, and p. 458, note.

Page 348, line 6, from below.

Zul'Qan is the name of a Turkaman tribe; vide above.

Page 361, last line.

Goganda. Regarding the correct date of the battle, vide p. 460, note 2.

Page 376.

Tochar Mal. The Ma'asir"Umar says that Tochar Mal was born at Lahor. But it is now certain that Tochar Mal was born at Laharpur, or Audh; vide Proceedings Asiatic Society Bengal, September, 1871, p. 178.

Page 402, note 2.

Miyân Kâl. The note is to be cancelled. Miyân Kâl has been explained on p. 615, note.

Page 404, line 4.

Yusuf Khan. Regarding his death, vide Tuzuk, p. 328. His son Izzat Khan is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Fathahámadan (I, 8, p. 202) غيرت عمان. His name was Izzat Allah; hence his title Izzat.

Page 412, line 1.

Qâsim Khan. I dare say the phrase "Chamanarui Khurasan" merely means that he was Governor of Kâbol.

Page 413, line 24.

Baqi Khan. He is often called "Khan Baqi Khan".

Page 422, line 16.

Mis Bårç. The spelling "Uigur" is now common; but in India the word is pronounced "Ighur". The query may be cancelled; vide p. 488, note L

Page 435, line 9.

Dastan Khan. Vambéry spells "Dastum".
SHAYKH FARIÐ-1 BUKHĀRĪ. That the name of Fariḍ's father was Sayyid Ahmad-1 Bukhārī, may be seen from the short inscription on the "Bukhārī Mosque" in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaykh Lād, at the cost of Fariḍ-1 Bukhārī, and bears the date 10th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Fariḍ's Jāmi'-Masjid in Faridābād:—

1. In the reign of Shah Nūr-1-Dīn, a king who is pious, just, and liberal.
2. Mustaṣṣā Khān, the unique one (fariḍ) of the age and faith, erected this religious building.
3. He is honoured, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of kings [Tāhir].
4. As Tāriqah of this existing structure, the words Khayr-1-Būhā issued from the pen. This gives 1014 A.H.

Page 468, middle.

KOHĀJI-TĀHIR MUHAMMAD. He is mentioned as a Sūjūständi on p. 328, among the Bukhāris.

Page 476, note 1.

MAṢ'ŪM KHĀN-1 KĀSHĪ. This rebel, who gave Akbar no end of trouble, had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal. The following inscription I received, through Bahādū Rājendrāpal Mitra, from Rāja Pramatha Nāth, Raja of Dighaputti, Rajshāhī. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputti.

11. This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sultan, the chief of Saghīdā, Abu '1-Fath Muḥammad Khān—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever, O Lord, O Thou who remainest by the high and exalted Khān, Khān Muḥammad, son of Tāh Muḥammad Khān Qubāhī, in the year 939.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (8th Żīl Hajjah, 937); vide p. 466.

Page 485, line 7.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD. Regarding the correct date of his death, vide p. 548.

Page 490, line 27.

Sūrat. There is every probability that Surath, and not Sūrat, is intended.
Page 506.


The places Pharswala and Dungali (not Dungali) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakkhar District, are noticed in E. Terry's Voyage to East Indies (London, 1655, p. 88). "Kabares, the principal Cities are called Delales and Purkole; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucussa; it is the extremest part North under the Mogul's subjection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

Page 512, line 1.


Page 552, middle.

Kech Hârâ. Regarding Kech Hârâ and Kech Bihâr and Mukarrâm Kâhan, vide my article on these countries in Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1872, p. 54.

Page 553, line 5.

"The Pahlumpur family is of Afghan origin, belonging to the Lohâni tribe, and, it is said, occupied Bihâr in the reign of Humâyûn. They subsequently took service with the king of Dihll, and from Akbar Shâh, in a.d. 1597, Ghaizin Kâhan, the chief, obtained the title of Dîwân, for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghan tribes; for his services on this occasion, he was also rewarded with the government of Lâhor. In a.d. 1682, Fath Kâhan Dîwâs received the provinces of Jâlor, Sâmshir, Pahlumpûr, and Dîshah from Awrangzib. Fath Kâhan died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pir Kâhan, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamâl Kâhan, who, subsequently, being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Mârwâr, was compelled, in a.d. 1698, to quit the country (Jâlor), and retire with his family and dependents to Pahlumpûr, where the family has remained ever since.—Selections, Bombay Government Records, No. XXV—New Series, p. 16.

Page 691, line 27.

"Aâl Quâlî Beg Istâkh. Vambéry spells Usâjîn, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; vide p. 687."
ERRATA TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE 
Ā‘ĪN-I AKBĀRĪ.

Page 28, line 18 from top, for Maulānā Maqṣūd read Maulānā Maqṣūd.

" 231, 9 bottom, p. 226, note.
" 236, 3 top, vide p. 153, note 2.
" 292, 1 top, Qur (p. 110).
" 320, 17 bottom, Mīrzā Shāhरrī.
" 333, lines 27-30 top, ʿAbd al-ʿĀfh.
" 380, line 18 top, vide p. 383.
" 390, 14 bottom, Bākhar.
" 402, 20 top, Māndi Qāsim Kháñ.
" 406, 19 top, p. 365, note 2.
" 408, 7 top, Khwāja Sultān ʿAīn.
" 413, 6 bottom, vide p. 371, note 2.
" 449, 3 top, Bahāʾ al-Dīn.
" 506, 12 top, Jalālā Tārikī, p. 441.
" 507, 19 bottom, p. 220.
" 520, 18 bottom, Husain al-Dīn.
" 532, 11 top, Tagmal.
" 534, 16 bottom, Murābadād.
" 539, 17 top, Dodāvari.
" 542, 30 top, ʿAbd al-ʿĀfh.
" 543, 7 top, Arjan Singh.
" 543, 9 top, 246, Sakat Singh.

573, lines 5, 6 bottom, p. 309.
612, line 7 bottom, No. 234, p. 489.
614, 18 bottom, vide p. 172.
615, 7 bottom, vide p. 153, note 2.
642, 5n. bottom, pp. 334, 328.
660, 6 bottom, Sharīf-ī Amūlī, pp. 176, 462.

670, 18n. bottom, istihlāl.
672, 17 bottom, vide above, p. 333.
682, 17n. bottom, Xaṣirī, p. 549.

" 266, note.
" vide p. 192, note 3.
" Qur (p. 110).
" Mīrzā Shāhīrī.
" Abū ʿĀfh.
" vide p. 383.
" Biākkar.
" Māhdī Qāsim Kháñ.
" p. 394, note 1.
" Khwāja Sultān ʿAīn.
" p. 402, note 1.
" Bahāʾ al-Dīn.
" Jalālā Tārikī, p. 442.
" vide p. 336.
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" vide line 17, p. 551.
" p. 321.
" No. 234, p. 537.
" vide p. 181.
" vide p. 187, note.
" pp. 334, 328.
" Sharīf-ī Amūlī, pp. 185, 302.
" vide above, p. 375.
" Naṣirī, p. 640.
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Yazd, 98, 99, 673 n., 484.

Zâbulistân, 333, 382, 367, 388, 388, 409, 470.
Zakarnagur, 566.
Zähk (Zahâk-Bâmîyân), 492, 506.
Zamâniyâ, tommlet, 337; 415, 471.
Zamsilar, 290.
Ziridâl (Zirâdâl), east of Sumatra, 87, 87 n., 634.
### A GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF TIMUR

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUGHAL EMPTORS OF INDIA

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**Queto** 4th Adal Timur (d'Nur), 2nd Adal Timur (d'Nur) (a.d. 1336) to 4th Adal Timur (d'Nur) (a.d. 1504)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ghiyath al-Din Timur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Salim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ghiyath al-Din Timur (d'Nur)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shahrukh</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Babur</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Humayun</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Akbar</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Jahangir</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Shah Jahan</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mughal Shah Jahan</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Aurangzeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bahadur Shah Beg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Muhammad Akhun Beg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Muhammad Shahab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Muhammad I</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Muhammad II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Muhammad III</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Muhammad IV</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Muhammad V</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Muhammad VI</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Muhammad VII</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Muhammad VIII</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Muhammad IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Muhammad X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This table provides a genealogical overview of the Mughal emperors of India, starting from Ghiyath al-Din Timur (d'Nur) to Muhammad X. Each generation is represented by a specific individual, leading to the ultimate emperor, Muhammad X.
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