THE Ā'ĪN-I AKBARĪ
ENGLISH TRANSLATION
THE ĀʿĪN-I AKBARĪ

63830

by ABŪ ’L-FAＺL ʿALLĀMĪ

Translated from the original Persian by H. BLOCHMANN, M.A.
Calcutta, Madrasa

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Volume I

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The Ā‘īn-i Akbarī is the third volume of the Akbar-nāma, by Shaykh Abū ’l-Fazl, 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 Timūr’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 Ā‘īn-i-Akbarī, 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 ā‘īn (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. 1590. The contents, therefore, of the Ā‘īn 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 ʿl-Fāz̄l has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master.

In the Āʿīn, 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 Āʿīn 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 Āʿīn 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 Āʾīn was laid under contribution. Le Père Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his Description Géographique de l'Indostan long extracts from the rent-roll given in the Third Book; Chief Sarishtadár 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 Āʾīn 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 Āʾīn 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 Āʾīn. 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 oftning 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 Madrasah.
23rd September, 1873.
PREFACE

SECOND EDITION OF BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION

OF THE

Ā‘ĪN-I AKBARĪ

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.

Felsted Bury,
Felsted, Essex.
1937.
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¹ Aḥū, gazelle.—P.
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[¹ Ahū, gazelle.—P.]
NOTE

Lieut.-Col. Phillott, who most generously had undertaken to prepare a revised reprint of Blochmann’s translation of the first volume of the Ā*in-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 lxxix 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
Ā'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ

PLATES I TO III. THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT, p. 18.
1. Preparation of acids.—3. Washing of ashes.—4, 9, 10, 12, melting and refining.—5. Weighing.—6, 8. Making of plates.

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

a, b, c, d, f, g. roads and bāzārs. " The principal bāzār 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 Diwān-i ḫāṣṣ."—Bernier.
1. The Imperial Harem (shabistān-i ʾiqbāl). At the right hand side is the Do-āskiyāna Manzil; vide p. 56.
2. Open space with a canopy (shāmyāna).

"The aquacy-die resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed towards the king’s quarters, near the tent called Nagar-kāne, and during the night a lighted lantern is suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name ‘Aquacy-die’ may be translated ‘Light of Heaven’ the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star.’”—Bernier.
5. The Naqqārā-ḫāna, pp. 49, 50.
AB, or distance from the Harem to the camp Light = 1,530 yards; AC = 360 yards; p. 49.
6. The house where the saddles were kept (zīn-ḵhāna).
7. The Imperial stables (iṣqbal).
8. Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables.
9. Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables.
10. The Imperial Office (daftar).
11. Tent for pālkis and carts.
13. Tent where the hunting leopards were kept (chīta-ḵhāna).
14. The Tents of Maryam Makānī (Akbar’s mother), Gulbadan Begum (Humāyūn’s sister, p. 49), and Prince Dānyāl; p. 49.
15. The tents of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr), to the right of the Imperial Harem.
16. The tents of Sulṭān Murād, to the left of the Imperial Harem; p. 50.
17. Store rooms and workshops (buyūtāṭ).
18. Tent for keeping basins (āftābchi-ḵhāna).
19. Tent for the perfumes (ḵuṭṭiz-ḵhāna).
20. Tent for storing mattress (toshak-ḵhāna).
21. Tent for the tailors, etc.
23. Tent for the lamps, candles, oil, etc. (chirūgh-khānā).
25. Tent for making sharbat and other drinks.
26. Tent for storing pān leaves.
27. Tent for storing fruit (mesa ḳhānā).
28. Tent for the Imperial plate (rikāb-khānā).
29. The Imperial kitchen (maṭbaṭ).
30. The Imperial bakery (mānbā-khānā).
31. Store room for spices (haujā-khānā).
32. The Imperial guard.
33. The Arsenal (qur-khānā).
34. Women's apartments.
35 to 41. Guard houses.

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

"The king's private tents are surrounded by small kanāts (qandās, 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, 1665), agrees with minute detail with the above.

PLATE V. CANDLESTICKS, p. 50.

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 dūzinā.

PLATE VII. THRONE, p. 52.
1, 2. Different kinds of thrones (awrang) with pillows (masnad) to lean against, the royal umbrella (chatir), and the footstool (sandāl).

PLATE VIII. THE NAQQĀRA KHĀNA, p. 52.

PLATE IX. THE ENSIGNS OR ROYALTY, p. 52.
1. The Jhandā, or Indian flag. "The Royal standard of the great Mogul is a Couchant Lion shadowing part of the body of a sun."—Terry.
2. The Kaukaba.
3. Sāyabān or Āftābghir.
4. The Tumantoq (from the Turkish toq, or toq, a flag, and tuman or tāmān, a division of ten thousand).
5. The Chatir, or (red) royal umbrella.
6. A standard, or Čalam.
7. The Chattroq. As Abü 'l-Fażl says that this standard is smaller than the preceding, it is possible that the word should be pronounced chuturoq, from the Turkish chutur, or chûâr, short. The flag is adorned with bunches of hair (guâs) 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 Shâmshirâ (2) A yâdard Khârgâ, or tent of one door; (3) the Dûdarî, or tent of two doors; p. 57, 8. Rolled up over the door is the chîghâ; p. 236, Â in 88.

Below these three tents, is the Sarâ-parda and Gulâl-bâr, pp. 47, 57. At the foot of the plate is the Nam-gûra (pr. dew-catcher), with carpet and pillow (masnad); p. 48.

*Plate XI.—* On the top, the bârgâh, p. 55. Below it, on the left, is the Do-âshiyâna Manzil, or two-storied house; vide Pl. IV, No. 1. At the window of the upper story, the emperor showed himself; vide Index, darsan, and jharoka. To the right of this two-storied tent, is the Chûbîn Rûvâli (as the word ought to be spelt, from chobîn, wooden, and rûvâli, a square tent), p. 56. Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground; hence it is called zamîndâz, with one tent pole (yâk-surugha, from the Turkish surugh, or surugh, a tent pole). Below is a Zamîndâz with two poles (disurugha). At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the Mandal, p. 56; and to the right, the *Ajâtibâ, p. 56.

**Plate XII. Weapons, p. 116.**

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

1. The sword, shâmashehr (1).
2. The straight sword, khâdâ (2).
3. The guptî *asâ (3).
4. The broad dagger, jâmâkhar (4).
5. The bent dagger, khanjar (5).
6. The jam khâk, or curved dagger (7).
7. The bent knife, bâk (8).
8. The jâmbo, or hiltless dagger (9).
9. The kâtâra, a long and narrow dagger (10).
10. The narsînk moth (narsing moth?), a short and narrow dagger (11).
11. The bow, kamân (12).
12, 13. The small bow and arrow, takhsh kamân and tîr (13).
14a. Arrow.
14b. The paśkînchas, or arrow-drawer (19).
15. The quiver, tarkashe (16).
16. The lance, neza (20).
17. The Hindûstânî lance, barchha (21).
18. The sîk, or broad-headed lance (22).
19. 20. The saînîthi (23) and selara (24).
21. The shushburr, or club. This I believe to be the correct name (instead of shashpar), from shush, lungs, and pur, tearing.
22. The axe, tabar.
23. The club, gurz (25). On p. 117, No. 29, the word piysâr has been translated by “club”, and this seems to be the correct meaning; but the plates in some MSS. call “piyâsî” a long knife, with straight back, ending in a point.
24. The pointed axe, zâghnol, i.e. crow-bill (30).
25. The chakar (wheel) and busola (31).
26. The double axe, tabar-zâghnol (32).

[* Zâgh a name largely applied to a chaugh, crow, jackdaw and magpie.—P.*]
27. The tarangāla (33).
28. The knife, kārā (34).

PLATE XIII. WEAPONS (continued), p. 118.
29. The gupī kārā, or knife concealed in a stick (35).
30. The whip, qamchī-kārā (36).
31. The clasp knife, chāqūā (37).
32. A bow, unstrung.
33. The bow for clay bullets, kamṭhā, or Kamān-i gūrohā (38).
34. The tube, or pea-shooter, tufāk-i dāhān¹ (40).
35. The pusūl kīhār (41).
36. A lance called giri-kūshā, i.e. a knot-unraveller (43).
37. The khrār-i māhit, i.e. fish-spine (44).
38. The sling, gobhān (45).
39. The gajbā, or ānkūs, for guiding elephants (46).
40. The shield, sipar (47).
41. Another kind of shield, dhāl (48).
42. The plain cane shield, pāhrī, or pharī (50).
43. The helmet, dūbalqāhā (52).
44. The gūghrawā, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55).
45. The helmet, with protection for the neck, zirīk kulāhā (54).
46. The mailed coat, zirīk (57).
47. The mailed coat, with breast plate, bagtār (58).
48. An armour for chest and body, jōshān (59).
49. The breast and back-plates, chār-ā∗ina (60).

PLATE XIV. WEAPONS AND ARMOURS (continued), p. 118.
50. The coat with plates and helmet, kothā (61).
51. An armour of the kind called šāidiqī (62).
52. A long coat worn over the armour, angirākha (63).
53. An iron mask, chūhrāzirīkh-i āhanī (65).
54. A doublet worn over the armour, chīhilqād (67).
55. The long glove, dastūsāna (68).
56. The small one is the moza-yi āhanī, or iron stocking (71); and the large one the rāk (69).
57. The kajem, or kejām, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72).
58, 59. The ariak-i kajēm, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73).
60. The qashqa, or head protection for the horse (74).
61. The Kastha sobhā (70).
62. The rocket, bān (77).

PLATE XV. AKBAR'S MACHINE FOR CLEANING GUNS, p. 118; vide p. 122, Ā∗in 38, or the 1st Book.

PLATE XVI. HARNESSES FOR HORSES, p. 144; Ā∗in 52, p. 143.

PLATE XVII. GAMES, p. 314.

The upper figure shows the board for Chauper, 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 Fathpūr Sikri, and slave girls were used instead of pieces. The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground, round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.

¹ Tufak-i dahan, blowpipe.—P.]
BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAZL-I ŠALLAMI

Shaykh Abū 'l-Fazl, Akbar’s minister and friend, was born at Āgra on the 6th Muharram, 958,1 during the reign of Islam Shāh.

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Mūsā, Abū 'l-Fazl’s fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Rel (رمل). 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 Ajmīr, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mīr 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 Mubārak, Abū 'l-Fazl’s father, was born. Mubārak 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 Mubārak, 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 Mubārak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh ʿAṭān (اتان), 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.
distress; and a famine which broke out at the same time stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nāgor only Mubārak and his mother survived.

Mubārak grew up progressing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopedial attainments for which he afterwards became so famous. He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts; but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwāja Ahrār,1 to which his attention had been directed. However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Māldeo disturbances broke out, Mubārak carried out his wish, and went to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman, Aḥmad of Khaṭṭī.2 In Aḥmadābād he found a second father in the learned Shaykh Abū ʿl-Faẓl, a khaṭīb, or preacher, from Kāzarūn, in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaykh ʿUmar of Tattah and Shaykh Yūsuf. After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindūstān, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamunā, opposite Āgra, near the Chārbāgh Villa,3 which Bābar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mir Rafiʿaʾ d-Dīn Safawi of Injū (Shirāz), among whose disciples Mubārak took a distinguished place. It was here that Mubārak’s two eldest sons, Shaykh Abū ʿl-Fayż4 and, four years later, Shaykh Abu ʿl-Faẓl, were born. Mubārak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Āgra, the capital of the empire; nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar’s reign, and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Āgra and caused a great dispersion among the population, incline him to settle elsewhere.

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubārak attracted a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he gave his sons; and the filial piety with which Abū ʿl-Faẓl in numerous passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile writers as Badāʾi,oni, leave no doubt that it was Mubārak’s comprehensive-

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1 Died at Samarqand, 29th Rabiʿ I, 895, or 20th February, 1490.
2 Vide p. 570, note. Aḥmad of Khaṭṭī is buried at Sarkhīch near Aḥmadābād. He died in 849 (A.D. 1445).
3 Later called Hasht Bihisht, or the Nūrāshān Gardens. It is now called the Rām Bāgh.
4 Born a.h. 954, or a.d. 1547. Vide p. 548.
ness that laid in Abū 'l-Fayrāz and Abū 'l-Fażl the foundation of those cosmopolitan and, to a certain extent, anti-Islamite views, for which both brothers have been branded by Muhammadan writers as atheists, or as Hindūs, or as sunworshippers, and as the chief causes of Akbar’s apostacy from Islām.

A few years before A.H. 963, during the Afghān rule, Shaykh Mubārik had, to his worldly disadvantage, attached himself to a religious movement, which had first commenced about the year 900, and which continued under various phases during the whole of the tenth century. The movement was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islām. According to an often quoted prophecy, the latter days of Islām are to be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals, which on reaching its climax is to be followed by the appearance of Imām Mahdī, “the Lord of the period,”¹ who will restore the sinking faith to its pristine freshness. Christ also is to appear; and after all men, through his instrumentality, have been led to Islām, the day of judgment will commence. Regarding this promised personage, the Rawzat 'l-A'imma, a Persian work on the lives of the twelve Imāms,² has the following passage—

Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, Nisā'ī, Bayhaqī, and other collectors of the traditional sayings of the Prophet, state that the Prophet once said, “Muḥammad Mahdī shall be of my family, and of the descendants of Fāṭima (the Prophet’s daughter and wife of ʿAlī).” And Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, Tirmizī, and Ibn Mājah state that the Prophet at some other time said, “When of time one day shall be left, God shall raise up a man from among my descendants, who shall fill the world with justice, just as before him the world was full of oppression”; and again, “The world shall not come to an end till the King of the earth shall appear, who is a man of my family, and whose name is the same as mine.” Further, Aḥmad and other collectors assert that the Prophet once said, “Muḥammad Mahdī belongs to my family, eight and nine years.” Accordingly, people believe in the coming of Mahdī. But there is also a party in Islām who say that Imām Mahdī has already come into the world and exists at present; his patronymic is Abū 'l-Qāsim, and his epithets are “the elect, the stabisher, Mahdī, the expected, the Lord

¹ Sāhib-i zamān. He is the 12th Imām. The first eleven succeeded the Prophet. 'Mahdī' (which in India is wrongly pronounced Mehndī, “myrtle”) means “guided”; Hādī means “a guide”.
² By Sayyid ʿIzzat ʿAlī, son of Sayyid Pir ʿAlī of Rasūlpūr. Lithographed at Lakhnau A.H. 1271, 144 pp., royal Svo.
of the age.” In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surraman-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 Shavāhid, 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” (Qūrān, xvii, 83). It is also related that when he was born into the world, he came on his knees, pointed with his fingers to heaven, sneezed, and said, “Praise be to God, the Lord of the world.” Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imām Ḥasan 6Askari (the eleventh Imām) whom he asked, “O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalīfa and Imām after thee?” 6Askari 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 Mahdī 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 Islām entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdī movement assumed in India 1 a definite form through the teaching of Mīr Sāyyid Muḥammad, son of Mīr Sāyyid 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 Mahdī,” “thou art Mahdī.” Some people indeed say that Mīr Sāyyid Muḥammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdī; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age. He gained many adherents, chiefly

1 Badā’oni, in his ‘Najīt’ ‘r-rashid’, gives a few particulars regarding the same movement in Badakhshān from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and India. In Badakhshān, it was commenced by Sāyyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, a pupil of Abū Isḥaq Khāṭlānī, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him. He was defeated and fled to Ṣrāq, 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. Badā’oni has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Nūrbakhsh sent unto all the saints. One of his disciples was Shaykh Muḥammad Lāhiǰī, 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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd 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 Mahdī. If I safely return, I shall recant all." But when he reached the town of Farāh 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 Ṭahmāsp tried to destroy it. The movement, however, continued. Some of his followers adhered to their belief that he was Mahdī; and even the historian Badā'oni, who was strongly attached to the cause, speaks of him as of a great saint.

Other Mahdīs appeared in various parts of India. In 956 (A.D. 1549), a Mahdī 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 935, with his younger brother Naṣr u ʿllah, 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 hauda, 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 Miyān ʿAbd u ʿllah, a Niyāzī Afghān and disciple of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad 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 Miyān ʿAbd u ʿllah; 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 Qurān, "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 Mahdī, 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 Biñānah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaykh Ālāʾī's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Miyān ʿAbduʾllāh 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. Ālāʾī marched with his band over Basāwar to Kħawāsīrīr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Biñānah.

Shaykh Ālāʾī'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 Ālāʾī behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which Ālāʾī delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisaism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to Ālāʾī's men. To the amusement of the Afghān nobles and generals at court, Ālāʾī on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdī, and Islām Shāh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to Ālāʾī's meetings and had joined the new sect.

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubārak 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 Makhdūm ʿl-Mulk stood; but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhdūm 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 "Makhdūm ʿl-Mulk" was the title of ʿAbduʾllāh 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 ʿAlāʾi’s success, and Makhdūm’s influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaykh. ʿAlāʾi and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhin. Whilst at Handiah on the Narbadā, the frontier of Islām Shāh’s empire, they succeeded in converting Bahār Khān Aṣzam Humāyūn and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaykh ʿAlāʾi.

About the same time (955) Islām Shāh left Āgra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjāb caused by certain Niyāzī Afghāns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah Makhdūm’s l-Mulk drew the king’s attention to Miyrān ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh Niyāzī, who after Shaykh ʿAlāʾi’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 Mahdawī, to bring Miyrān ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Miyrān ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh 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 Miyrān ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh 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 Mahdawī principles and got as late as 993 (A.D. 1585) from Akbar a freehold, because he,

Khāżinat al-Asfiyā (Lāhor, pp. 443, 464) shows the opinion of good Sunnis regarding Makhdūm.

1 Mawlānā ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh Ansari of Sultānpūr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India. He was a Chishtī in his religious opinions. From the time of Sher Shāh till the reign of Akbar, he had the title of ‘Makhdūm al-Mulk‘ (prop. served by the empire). He was learned in the law and austere in practice. He zealously persecuted heretics. When Akbar commenced his religious innovations and converted people to his ‘Divine Faith’ and sunworship, ordering them to substitute for the creed the words ‘There is no God but Allah, and Akbar is the viceregent of God’, Mawlānā ʿAbduʾl-ʿIlāh 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 Makkah. On his return to India, Akbar had him poisoned. He has written several works, as the al-Kasbah ‘l-qhummah; the al-Iffat ‘l-Aribiyā, the ‘Iffat ‘l-Dīn, etc. He was poisoned in a.H. 1006.

1 His son Ḥāji ʿAbduʾl-Karim went after the death of his father to Lāhor, where he became a religious guide. He died in 1045, and lies buried at Lāhor, near the Zīb’ n-Nisā’ Vīla, at Mawza’ Kot. His sons were Shaykh Yahyā, ʿIlāh Nūr, ʿAbduʾl-Ḥāqq and Aẓār Hūzūr. Shaykh Yahyā, like his father, wrought miracles.” In this account the date is wrong; for Makhdūm’s l-Mulk died in 990, and as Badāʾi, one, Makhdūm’s supporter, says nothing of poison (Bad. II. 311) the statement of the Khāżinat al-Asfiyā may be rejected. Badāʾi also says that Makhdūm’s sons were worthless men. The titles of Makhdūm’s l-Mulk’s works are not correctly given either; vide p. 614.
too, had been one of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk’s victims. He died more than 90 years old, in 1000, at Sarhind. 1

Islām Shāh, after quelling the Niyāzī disturbances, returned to Āgra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjāb, and it was there that Shaykh ʿAlāʾi joined the royal camp. When Islām 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 ʿAlāʾi would not do so, and Islām 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 ʿAlāʾi 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 ʿAlāʾi 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, ʿAlāʾi’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 Islām Shāh and the downfall of his house. 2

Makhdūmu'l-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 Mahdawīs assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. Islām has no state clergy; but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the ʿUlamāʾ about Court, from whom the Ṣādārs of the provinces, the Mīr ʿAdls, Muftīs, and Qāzīs were appointed. At Dīhlī and Āgra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnis, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight.

1 Badāʾonī visited him in Sarhind, and it was from ʿAbdu’llāh that he heard of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad’s repentance before death. Among other things, ʿAbdu’llāh also told him that after the Mīr’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 ʿAlāʾi’s death resemble the end of Sīdī Mūlāh during the reign of Jalālūd-dīn Firuz Shāh.

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

The fact that Badāʾonī spent his youth at Basāwar near Bīnānah, i.e. 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 ʿAlāʾuʾd-Din Khilji, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaykh ʿAlāʾi was a great triumph for the Court ʿUlamāʾ, 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 Humāyûn 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 Humāyûn was strongly in favour of Shiʿism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Agra, after the fall of Bayrâm Khān, who was a Shiʿa, again teemed with Hindūstānī Sunnīs, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubārak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh ʿAbduʾn-Nabī and Makhdūmʾul-Mulk represented to the emperor that insasmuch as Mubārak 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. Mubārak 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 Fathpūr Sīkrī 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 Aḥzām 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 ʿAbūʾl-Fayż, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh ʿAbduʾn-Nabī. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawi leanings and Shiʿa tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when Fayzī's poems 1 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 Mubārak's house. Fayzī

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1 ʿAbduʾl-Fayz wrote under the nom-de-plume of Fayzī.
was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubarak to various sorts of ill-treatment; and when Fazlı at last came, he was carried off by force to Chitoor.\(^1\) 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-Fazl 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-Fazl learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar's friendship for him; while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments the clique of the Ulamas, whom Akbar hated so much.

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys; he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of hikami and naqdi, or masquli and manquli.\(^2\) 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 Isfahani 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'1-Fazl determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page, and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded. Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up and on comparison, it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced; but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abū'1-Fazl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author.

\(^1\) 20th Rabī' I, 975, or 24th September, 1567. The ode which Fazlı presented will be found in the Akbarnāma.
\(^2\) Page 609, note.
Abū’l-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 Fayżī had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abū’l-Fażl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubārak’s numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil, on his part, too, would not remain without fruit. The skill with which Fayżī in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar’s friendship, prepared the way for Abū’l-Fażl; and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of A.D. 1574) was presented to Akbar as Fayżī’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 Abū’l-Fażl in the Akbnāma, “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 pādrīs of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pārsīs 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 ‘l-Kursī,¹ and presented it when the emperor was at Āgra.

¹ Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qur’ān.
I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihār and Bengal. Fayżī accompanied the expedition, but Abū’l-Fażl naturally stayed in Āgra. But as Fayżī wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abū’l-Fażl attended Court immediately on the emperor’s return to Faṭhpūr Sīkri, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jāmi’ Mosque. Abū’l-Fażl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qur’ān entitled "Sūratu ‘l-Faṭḥ", "the Chapter of Victory".¹

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnis at Court, headed by Makhḍūm ‘l-Mulk and Shaykh ʻAbdu ’n-Nabī, had every cause to feel sorry at Fayżī’s and Abū’l-Fażl’s successes ²; for it was now, after Akbar’s return from Bihār, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badā, onī 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 "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 Hindū subjects, he had resolved when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Faṭhpūr Sīkri, 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.³ 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 Ḥanafi law, to which most Sunnis clinging, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong-

¹ The details of Abū’l-Fażl’s introduction at Court given in Badā, onī differ slightly from Abū’l-Fażl’s own account.
² Badā, onī ascribes to Makhḍūm ‘l-Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abū’l-Fażl’s character; for the first time he saw Abū’l-Fażl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad., III, 72.
³ Vide pp. 179 ff.
ing to the other three sects; and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhdūm"u l-Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh "Abd"u 'n-Nabī, the Şadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhdūm a fool and cursing him. Abū'l-Faţl, 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-Faţl'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 "Alā"u 'd-dīn Khiljī had before tried to raise the law of expediency (maslahat-i waqt) 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 Mullah. Hence when Abū'l-Faţl 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 Sunnīs at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. 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 Mubārak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islām. Bādā, onī 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 "Abd"u 'n-Nabī and Makhdūm"u l-Mulk signed indeed the document against

1 Pages 187, 189.
2 Vide p. 195.
their will, but sign they did; whilst Shaykh Mubārak 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-Fażl 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 Mubārak's own handwriting, and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579).

A few weeks afterwards, Shaykh ʿAbd-ʾn-Nabī and Makhdūm ʿl-Mulk were sent to Makkah, and Shaykh-Mubārak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies. How magnanimous Abū-ʾl-Fażl 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 Abū-ʾl-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 mansābs, 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 Fathpūr Sikrī, 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 (sayūrgūl), 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 Abū-ʾl-Fażl in the very beginning of 1585,1 was promoted to the mansāb

1 Akbarnāma, iii, 463.
of Hazārī, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was in the following year appointed Diwān of the Province of Dihli. Fayżī’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 Fayżī’s genius was but just; for after Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fayżī.¹

In the end of 1589, Abū’l-Fażl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the Akbarnāma. 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 Ilāhī, or “the Divine Faith”, the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubārank’s document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (khalīfa) on earth. The Islāmītic 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 (tāriḵh-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 Abū’l-Fażl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhīn hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salim (Jahāṅgīr) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abū’l-Fażl, 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 Abū’l-Fażl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

¹ For his works, vide p. 161.
² اَتْرِجِاهَا تَلْویّا مَنْ یَهِیِقَسَ بِدِیرِنَمَه دِیورُناد نَاهیِیکیَا یَا کُتْبَا انْتِزَارِه تَوانِ گِرْنَت گُرَنْت
duplicitous. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qurʾān. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies he said, "What Abū’l-Faḍl 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-Faḍl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the Zakḥirat ’l-Khawānīn. He says that Abū’l-Faḍl repented of his apostasy from Islām, and used at night to visit incognito the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold gulds, requested them "to pray for the stability of Abū’l-Faḍl’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 Fayżī 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-Faḍl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shāh Abū ’l-Maṣʿalī Qādirī of Lāhor, a man of saintly renown, once expressed his disapproval of Abū ’l-Faḍl’s words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū’l-Faḍl 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 Sunnīs; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abū ’l-Faḍl’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 Islām to continue his studies of the Qurʾān, 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-Faḍl, Fayżī, and scholars as Badā’,onī, Naqīb Khān, Shāykh Sulṭān, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, Shāykh Munawwār and others, were engaged in historical and

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scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian.\(^1\) Fayţi took the Lilâwatî, a well-known book on mathematics, and Abû 'l-Faţl translated the Kâlîla Damna under the title of *Ayâr Dânîsh* from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the *Mahâbhârat*, and in the composition of the *Târîkh-i Alfi*, the "History of the Millennium". The last-mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawî movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykh ʿAlâ,î’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 Fatihpûr Sikrî and by the teachings of men of Sharîf-i Âmulî’s stamp,\(^2\) with this important modification, that Akbar himself was pointed to as the "Lord of the Age", through whom faded Islâm 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 *Târîkh-i Alfi*, therefore, was to represent Islâm as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (alfa) years, and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnîs, 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 Makkâ to Madîna.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abû 'l-Faţl to the post of Dîhâzârî, or commander of two thousand horse. Abû 'l-Faţl now belonged to the great Amîrs (*umarâ-yi kibâr*) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayţi was sent to the Dakhân as Akbar's ambassador to Burhân 'l-Mulk, and to Râja ʿAlî Khân of Khândesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salîm. Fayţi 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 Qa'sda, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

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\(^1\) Vide pp. 110, 111.

\(^2\) Page 502. We hear the last of the Mahdawî movement in 1628, at the accession of Shâhjahân. Akbar was dead and had not restored the Millennium; during Jahângîr's reign, especially in the beginning, the court was indifferent to religion, and the king retained the ceremony of *sijda*, 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 Qurʼān,
to which he had given the title of Mambaṣu Nafā,īsul-ṢUyūn. He com-
pleted it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badāni speaks of him as follows:—

Shaykh Mubarak 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 ʿAlāʾi’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 Shiʿahs 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 Hindūstān,
a perfect master. He knew Shāfiʿī by heart, explained him properly,
and also knew how to read the Qurʾān in the ten different modes. He did
not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable com-
panion 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 Qurʾān which he composed, resembles the Tafsīr-i
Kabīr (the “Great Commentary”), and consists of four thick volumes,
and is entitled Mambaṣu ʿNafāʾīsul-ṢUyūn. It is rather extraordinary
that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself

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1 A writer on “Tajwid”, “the art of reading the Qurʾān correctly.”
as the renovator of the new century.¹ We know what this "renovating" means. About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the Fārizī Ode (in t) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode Barda, the Ode by Kašb ibn Zubayr, and other Odes to memory, and recited them as daily homilies, till on the 17th Zi 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,² and on his father, too."

Two years after Shaykh Mubārak's death, Abū l-Faẓl also lost his brother Fayżī, 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 Ḥakīm ʿAlī 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 Abū l-Faẓl, he went away.³ How deeply Abū l-Faẓl loved his elder brother, is evident from the numerous passages in the Akbarnāma and the Āfīn in which he speaks of him, and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces the selections in the Āfīn 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 Badā, onī says in his ʿNajīt ʿr-rashīd that Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia, pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century.
² Ḥusayn, in whose remembrance the Mubarram laments are chanted, was murdered by Yazid; hence the latter is generally called Yazīd-i-maltān, "Yazid, the accursed." Badā, onī here calls Abū l-Faẓl Yazīd. Poor Badā, onī had only the thousand bighas which Akbar had given him rent-free, but his school fellow Yazīd Abū l-Faẓl was a commander of two thousand and the friend of the emperor.
³ Badā, onī, ii, 406.
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 Fāyżī's Markis 'l-Adwār, not to mention the numerous extracts which he has preserved in the Akbar-nāma.

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 Ḥār-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 Dakhin, 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 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 '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 Khāndesh, 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 Dakhin, 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 Murâd had in the meantime retreated from Aḥmadnagar to Īlichpūr, and as the death of his infant son Mirzâ Rustam made him melancholy, he continued to drink, though dangerously ill with delirium tremens. When informed of Abū 'l-Faẓl's mission, he returned at once towards Aḥmadnagar, in order to have a pretext for not going back to his father, and he had come to the banks of the Pūrnā,² twenty kos from Dawlatabād, when death overtook him. Abū 'l-Faẓl arrived the same day, and found the camp in the utmost confusion. Each commander recommended immediate return; but Abū 'l-Faẓl 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 Abū 'l-Faẓl, nothing daunted, after a delay of a few days, moved forward, humouring 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 Satondā. His headquarters were on the Godāwāri. He next entered into an agreement with Chānd Bibī, that, after punishing Abhang Kān Ḥabšī, who was at war with her, she should accept Janīr as fief and give up the fort of Aḥmadnagar.

Akbar had in the meantime gone to Ujjain. The Dakhin operations had also become more complicated by the refusal of Bahādur Kān to pay his respects to Prince Dānyāl, and war with Khāndesh had been determined on. Akbar resolved to march on Āsīr, Bahādur Kān's stronghold, and appointed Prince Dānyāl to take command at Aḥmadnagar. Dānyāl sent immediate instructions to Abū 'l-Faẓl to cease all operations, as he wished to take Aḥmadnagar personally. When the Prince therefore left Burhānpūr, Abū 'l-Faẓl at Akbar's request, left Mirzā Shāhrūkh, Mīr Murtaza, and Khwāja Abū 'l-Ḥasan in charge of his corps, and hastened to meet the emperor. On the 14th Ramazān, 1008 (beginning of the 44th year of Akbar's reign), he met Akbar at Khargō, near Bilāgarh. The emperor received him with the following verse—

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² The southern Pūrnā is meant. The northern Pūrnā flows into the Tapti in Khāndesh; whilst the southern Pūrnā, with the Dūdānā, flows into the Godāwāri. Prince Murâd had gone from Īlichpūr to Narnāla, and from there to Shāhpūr, which he had built about eight miles south of Bālpūr. 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 Āsīr and commenced the siege. One day, Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 Mālai 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 Mālai and Antar Mālai, which had to be conquered before Āsīr itself could be reached; and between the north-west and north, there was another bastion called Chūna Mālai. 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 Korhia. A hill in the south-west, called Sāpan, was occupied by the Imperialists. Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 night, whilst it was raining, with his selected men on Mount Sāpan, and sent a few of his men under Qarā Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him. They advanced, broke open a gate of Mālai Fort, and sounded the bugle. The besieged rose up to oppose them, and Abū 'l-Faḍl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Āsīr. On the same

1 "Akbar had no sooner crossed the Nerebada (Narbādā), when Rudzī Bador-xa (Rāja Bahādur Shāh) who had possession of the fortress of Hasser (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-Tzamin, the second Commerghar; and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Bador-xa however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as suppliant to the king and surrendered himself. . . . Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazel (Abū 'l-Faḍl) 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 Laët's India Vera, and published in the Calcutta Review for 1873.

De Laët is wrong in a few minor details. I cannot identify the name Cho-Tzamin. "Commerghar" is the Persian "Kamargāh", "the middle of a mountain." The names of Fort Chūna Mālai and of Mount Korhia are doubtful, the MSS. having Khwāja Mālai and Korthah, Kortah, Kōdhiyah, and similar variations.

Vide also, Gazetteer, Central Provinces, p. 8.
day, other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Korkia, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyāl, who had in the meantime conquered Aḥmadnagar, 1 now joined his father at Āsir.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rājū Mānna, 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 Dānyāl in Burhānpūr. Abū ʿl-Faẓl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Aḥmadnagar, 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 ʿAbdū ʿr-Raḥmān. After coming to terms with the son of ʿAlī Shāh, he attacked Rājū Mānna, recovered Jālnāpūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Mānna found a temporary asylum in Dawlatābād, 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 Udaipūr, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Ilāhābād, 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, Abū ʿl-Faẓl sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son ʿAbdū ʿr-Raḥmān 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 Urcha (Ūdchhā), 2 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 Aḥmadnagar was a splendid library. Faẓl's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.
2 Vide p. 546.
intention, and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭi Chândá; but Abū 'l-Faţl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabî‘ I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a kos from Saráy Bar, which lies six kos from Narwar, Bir Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abū 'l-Faţl had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gadā,iKhān, Afgān, told him quickly to retreat to Antrí, 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 'l-Faţl 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 'l-Faţl'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 'l-Faţl's death:—

Salīm 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 'l-Faţl, 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 Shāḥ), he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selīm, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Faţl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzinge Bondela, who lived in his province of Osseen (Ujjain), to lie in wait for Faţl 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 Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

1 From Professor E. Lethbridge's "Fragment of Indian History", Calcutta Review, 1873.

The place near which Abū 'l-Faţl was killed, is called in the MSS. Sarāy Bar. De Laët's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.
villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Faţl. Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambush, had come as far as Collebaga (Kālābāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Faţl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Faţl 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-Faţl'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, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faţl, 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 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-Faţl 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-Faţl and kill him, I would richly reward him. Heaven favoured him, and when Abū 'l-Faţl 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 Ilāhābād. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū 'l-Faţl'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-Faţl 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 bewailed 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:

श्रीमान अंद्रेल मार्य मासम, खुल्लात मा सम्मिल्ला।
श्रीमान अंद्रेल मार्य मासम, खुल्लात मा सम्मिल्ला।

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 Úchchā. They defeated the Bundelā chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder and shut him up in Īrich. 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 Úchchā 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 Úchchā and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the Ma'āṣir '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 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

1 Pages 523 and 509.
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 Ābdullāb Raḥmān used to sit at table as safarchī¹ (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abū ’l-Fāzīl 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-Fāzīl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abū ’l-Fāzīl was in the Dakhīn, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (chihīl rāwafī) 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 kīchīrī was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

“As a writer, Abū ’l-Fāzīl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munšīs²; 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-Fāzīl’s style. Ābdullāb Illāh, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū ’l-Fāzīl’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-Fāzīl’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-chī.—P.  
² This is also the opinion of the author of the Haft Iqlīm.
after him write in the style of the Pâdishâhnâmâ, the ˒Ālamârâ Sikandârî or in the still more turgid manner of the ˒Ālamgîrânâmâ, the Ruqâṣât Bedil, and other standard works on Inshâ.

A praiseworthy feature of Abû ˒l-Fazl’s works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of, or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments ¹ I have spoken in the Preface.

Abû ˒l-Fazl’s influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayzî led Akbar’s mind away from Islâm and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abû ˒l-Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islâm 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, Abû ˒l-Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khân Khânâns gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar’s apostacy from Islâm is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intolerance, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Awrangzîb with the halo of sanctity and still inclines the pious to utter a raḥim” ‘Ilah-hâ (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 Badâ, onî to show that Abîkar’s courtiers ascribed his apostacy from Islâm to Fayzî and Abû ˒l-Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by ˒Urî ² 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 ˒Urî vide p. 639. The metre of the couplet is Long Ramal.
The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fayżī and Abū 'l-Fażl. I may also cite the Tārīkh of Abū 'l-Fażl’s death, which the Khān-i Aṣ'ām Mīrzā Koka is said to have made:

تَيْمَعِ اسْجَازُ نَبِيٰ اللَّهُ سَرَابِي بَرِيد

The wonderful sword of God’s prophet cut off the head of the rebel.¹

But Abū 'l-Fażl appeared to him in a dream and said, “The date of my death lies in the words بَلْدُ أَبُو الْفَنْسِل, “The slave Abū 'l-Fażl”—which likewise gives A.H. 1011.

Abū 'l-Fażl’s works are the following:—

1. The Akbarnāma with the Ātin-i Akbarī, its third volume. The Ātin-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 ḤInāyatu’llāh Muḥibb ṢAllīh. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinston says that the name of the continuator is Muḥammad Salīḥ, which seems to be a corruption of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.

2. The Maktabat-i ṢAllāmī, also called Inshā-yi Abū 'l-Fażl. This book contains letters written by Abū 'l-Fażl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to ṢAbdu’llāh of Bukhārā, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Īslām. Besides, there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the Ātin, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l-Fażl’s death by ṢAbdu’n-Ṣamad, son of Afżal Muḥammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l-Fażl’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 Amīr Haydar Ḥuṣaynī of Bilgrām says in the preface to his Sauvānīh-i Akbarī ³ that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

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¹ The word bāghī, a rebel, has the numerical value of 1013; but the head of the word, the letter ٧, is cut off; hence 1013 – ٧ = 1011, the year of the Hijra in which Abū 'l-Fażl was murdered. The metre of the hemistich is Long Ramaşil.

² The 46th year lasted from the 15th Ramazān, 1009, to 26th Ramazān, 1010, i.e. to about five months before Abū 'l-Fażl’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 Amīr Haydar’s copy was unique.

(3) The ʻAyār Dānish,¹ which is mentioned on p. 112.

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abū ʻl-Faẓl also wrote a Risālayi Munājāt, or “Treatise of Prayers”; a Jāmīṣu ʻl-lughāt, a lexicographical work; and a Koskol. 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 ʻl-Faẓl 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 Tūrīkh-i Alfi.

The Durar ʻl-Manshūr, a modern Taẓkīra by Muḥammad ʻAskari Ḥusaynī of Bilgrām, selects the following inscription written by Abū ʻl-Faẓl for a temple in Kashmir ² as a specimen both of Abū ʻl-Faẓl’s writing and of his religious belief. It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abū ʻl-Faẓl’s composition.

الله بكر خانه كه مي تكرم جوپيان تو ان و بكر زبان كه مي شفم

۳۴۴۴۴۴۴

و حده لاشريك له ویوان

و أكر مسيح و بائد تو نمرو قدوس ميزند و أكر كليسياس بمشت تو

نانقون كي جنابند

إي تو مختلفون وتو غايبي اي ميهانه

گه معروف كيرم وگه ساکن مسيح

يعني كه ترا ميطلش خانه جانه

گه معروف كيرم وگه ساکن مسيح

يعني كه ترا ميطلش خانه جانه

اكر خانه ترا يکفر وام كاري نيسايت اين هيرودا در یردند اسلام تو بار

کفر كافروا ودين ديندارا نفرة وودي دل عطارا

¹ As the word is pronounced in India, instead of ‘Iyār-i Dānish’, “the test of wisdom.” The author of the Haft Iqlīma seems to allude to this work; for he says that Abū ʻl-Faẓl, when he saw him in A.H. 1000, was engaged in re-writing the Navādīr-i Hikāyat.

² Abū ʻl-Faẓl says in the fourth book of the ʻAṣaṣr—“The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir.” Akbar seems to have looked upon these Kashmiri 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\(^1\) 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, Shâh Akbar,

In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.\(^2\)

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

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\(^1\) This line is Sufistic. The longing of the heart after God is compared to the perfume which rises from the rose petals. The perfume-seller, i.e. the Unitarian, is truly religious, and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy.

\(^2\) I.e. Akbar is the insân-i kâmil, or perfect man.
O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive; 
Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellst 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’in gives the following list of 
Shaykh Mubārak’s sons.

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayż, better known under his poetical name of 
Fayżī. 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.

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-Khayr, born 22nd Jumāda I, 967. “He is a well-
formed 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 Dānyāl.

5. Shaykh Abū 'l-Makārim, born 23rd Shawwal, 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.

is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self-

Besides the above, Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions two posthumous sons by 
gummā, or concubines, viz. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥamīd, born 3rd Rabī’ 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 Khudāwand Khān Dakhinī; vide p. 490. Badā,oni 
calls her husband a Raḥīmī, i.e. a Shīah, and says he died in Kari in 
Gujarat.

2. One married to Ḥusāmū ‘d-Din; vide p. 488.

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

1 The Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnāma (III, 830) calls him Sundar Khān.
4. Lāḍlī Begam, married to Islām Khān; vide p. 552, note 1. Mr. T.W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the Miṣlāh"-ttawīrīkh, informs me that Lāḍlī Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband. Her mausoleum, called the "Rawz̄ayi Lāḍlī 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 Fathpūrīr sandstone. It was completed in 1004. In 1843, Mr. Beale saw in the Rawz̄a 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 Rawz̄a nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall. Mr. Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayżī, and Abū 'l-Faqīl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Ṭūghrā characters may still be seen:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وله تفني؛ هذه الروحان للعالم البهاء، شهاب مارك الله قدس سره وتفن بهما تسحر العلوم شجع أبا الفضل سلم الله تعالى في ظل دولة الملك العادل يطلب السلام و الاقبال و الكرم جلال الدنيا و الديين أكبار باشة غارى خلد الله تعالى ظاله سلطنته باهتمام جذبت البكيرات في سنة أربع وألف.

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, Pādīshāh-i Ghażī—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 Rawz̄a was built in the year in which Fayżī died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in A.D. 1593. It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubārak and Fayżī 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-Faqīl says in his description of Āgra in the Afsīn 1. 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 ʿAlūʾuʾd-Dīn Majzūb and Mīr Rafīʿuʾd-dīn Safawī and other worthies are also buried there." We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamunā, though Abū ʿl-Fażl’s inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended. It is a pity, however, that the Rawḍa was sold and destroyed.

Abū ʿl-Fażl’s son is the well-known

**Shaykh ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān Afzal Khān.**

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

When Abū ʿl-Fażl was in command of the army in the Dakhin, ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān was, what the Persians call, the tūr-i-rū-yi tarkash-i-ā, “the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver,” ever ready to perform duties from which others shrink, and wiscly and courageously settling matters of importance. He especially distinguished himself in Talingāna. When Malik ʿAmbar, in the 46th year, had caught ʿAlī Mardān Bahādur (p. 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abū ʿl-Fażl dispatched ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān and Sher Khwāja (p. 510) to oppose the enemy. They crossed the Godāwarī near Nānder, and defeated ʿAmbar at the Mānjarā.

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 Afzāl Khān, and appointed him, in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihār, vice Islām Khān (the husband of Abū ʿl-Fażl’s sister) who was sent to Bengal: ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān also received Gorākhpūr ʿ8 jāgīr. As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna. Once during his absence from Patna, a dervish of the name of Quṭbūʾd-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 Khusrā, 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 Banārasi and Ghīyās ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān’s officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzāl Khān’s property and the Imperial treasury. ʿAbdūʾr-Rahmān 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 Firdawī’s Shāhnāma.
rebellion. The pretender fortified Patna, and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River. ʿAbdū ʾr-Rahmān charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy. Quṭb now retreated to the fort, followed by ʿAbdū ʾr-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 (tashār) as a warning to others.

Not long after this affair, ʿAbdū ʾr-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 ʿAbdū ʾr-Rahmān, son of Shaykh Abū ʾl-Fazl.**

He was born on the 3rd Zī Ḍa, 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 16th year of the same reign.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Ἀφθιν 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.
BOOK FIRST

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD
ABU 'L-FAZL'S PREFACE

ALLAHu AKBAR

O Lord, whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning,
End and beginning, both are lost in Thee,
No trace of them is found, in Thy eternal realm.
My words are lame; my tongue, a stony tract;
Slow wings my foot, and wide is the expanse.
Confused are my thoughts; but this is Thy best praise,
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

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

I, Abū 'l-Fażl, 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,1 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
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-suvar, 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,¹ the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light farr-i ʿizidī (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it kiʿyān khura (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

¹ 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,\(^1\) 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 dāstān-i Jamshid; vide also Vuller’s Persian Dictionary, ii, 756, s. kātūsi. It is also found in the Akhlāq-i Muhāsini, chapter xv, dar ‘ād, in the Akhlāq-i Jalāł, and the Akhlāq-i Nāṣiri, the oldest of the three Akhlāqs 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,¹ is the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm. Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight. It requires therefore an experienced man who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single-minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well-bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties. He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect, from the desire of attaching to 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*,² the Keeper of the seal, the *Mir-bakhshī*,³ the *Bārbegī*,⁴ the *Qurbegī*,⁵ the *Mir-tozak*,⁶ the *Mir-bāhrī*,⁷ the *Mir-barr*,⁸ the *Mir-Manzil*,⁹ the *Khwānsālar*,¹⁰ the *Munshī*,¹¹ the *Qūsh-begī*,¹² the *Akhtabegī*,¹³ 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—*jān* (life), *māl* (property), *dīn* (religion), *nāmūs* (personal honour). Those who looked upon Akbar as a guide in spiritual matters (*pīr*)—an honour which Akbar much coveted—promised to show this devotedness, and then belonged to the *dīn-i ilāhī*, 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 Ārz*.
⁵ Bearer of the Imperial insignia.
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 (falcons, pigeons). [Head of the Mews.—P.]
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 Diwān. 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 Sāhib-i Tawjī, the Awārja Nawīs, the Mīr-Sāmān, the Nāzir-i Buyūtāt, the Diwān-i Buyūtāt, the Mushrif, of the Treasury; the Waqf-i Nawīs, the Āmil 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 Diwān, which office is higher in rank than that of the Diwān, but lower than that of the Vakil.

3. The companions of the king, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharp-sightedness, their knowledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address. Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue. Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

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1. Deputy Diwān.
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.
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-ŠAdl, the Qāżī,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 Jahn, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire.
² The Qāżī hears the case; the Mir-šAdl 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 *Akhlaq-i Muheini*, Chapter XXXII, entitled *dar ziyāsat*. 
jewel of wisdom do not appoint every low man to their service; that they do not consider every one who has been appointed, to be deserving of daily admittance; that those who are thus favoured, are not therefore deemed worthy to sit with them on the carpet of intercourse; that those who are worthy of this station, are not necessarily admitted to the pavilion of familiar address; that those who have this privilege, are not therefore allowed to sit in the august assembly; that those upon whom this ray of good fortune falls, are not therefore let into their secrets; and that those who enjoy the happiness of this station, are not therefore fit for admission into the Cabinet Council.

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

1 Akbar as the spiritual leader of the members belonging to the Divine Faith wrought many miracles, of which some are related in the seventy-seventh Astin 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, lām and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as manqūs, and letters similar in form, without such a limitation. Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus the p in pādīd, the cē in chāman, the ḡf in nīgūr, the z̄ī in muzhāda. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the phrase having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindi language I have distinguished as Hindi. The letter yā as in rūy, I have called tabūnī, and the te, as in dast, fasūnī. The b in adab, I have merely called be. Similarly, the letters nūn, wāw, yā, and ke, when clearly sounded, have been merely described as nūn, wāw, etc. The nasal nūn I have called nūn-i Ḳhāfī, or nūn-i pīnīn. The final and silent ḡ, as in faṛkhūnda, I have called maktūb, i.e. written, but not pronounced. The i and u, when modified to e or o I have called majhūl. As consonants followed by an alif have the vowel a, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.
BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Ar 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 309,186,795 _dāms_. 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.

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**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, 7,729,669½ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 _dāms_. The Divine era, or _Tārikh-i-Ilāhi_, is Akbar’s solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February, 1556; hence the thirty-ninth year corresponds to A.D. 1595.
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 Khwāja-sarā Iṣtimād Khān, a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the Khwāja, 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 Jāgīr lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one karor of dāms. Incorruptible bitakhēs 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

1 Iṣtimād means trustworthiness. Khwāja-sarā is the title of the chief eunuch. His real name was Phul Malik. After serving Salīm Shāh (1545 to 1553), who bestowed upon him the title of Muḥammad Khān, he entered Akbar’s service. Akbar, after the death of Shams ‘d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān, his foster father, commenced to look into matters of finance, and finding the Revenue Department a den of thieves, he appointed Iṣtimād Khān, to remodel the finances, making him a commander of One Thousand (vide Abū l-Fazl’s list of Akbar’s grandees, in part second, No. 119), and conferring upon him the title of Iṣtimād Khān. He appears to have performed his duties to Akbar’s satisfaction. In 1565, he conveyed the daughter of Mirān Mubarak, 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 1576, appointed governor of Bhikhar. When in 1578 Akbar’s presence was required in the Panjāb, Iṣtimād Khān desired to join him. In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness. This led to a conspiracy against his life. In the same year he was murdered by a man named Maqsūd ʿAli. Maṣūḥīr ʿl-Umarā. 2

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 dāroqha 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 dāms, 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 peshkash\(^1\) receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for nazr\(^2\) receipts, 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, dāroqhas 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 Īrān 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 karōf of dāms 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,\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Tributes.
\(^2\) Presents, vows, etc.
\(^3\) Vide the eighteenth Āṭīn of the second book.
\(^4\) Sahastra S.—P.]
and many of them, when put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse*. This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj-i bahlah*.

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

*Aṭ 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 these 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 3/4 to 5; 11th class, from 4 3/4 to 1 muhr; 12th class, from 3/2 muhr to 1/2 rupee. They made no account of rubies of less value.

**Diamonds, emeralds, and the red and blue *yāqūts*,** were classified as follows: 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards; 2nd class, from 29 3/4 to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14 1/2 to 12; 4th class, from 11 1/2 to 10; 5th class, from 9 3/4 to 7; 6th class, from 6 3/4 to 5; 7th class, from 4 3/4 to 3; 8th class, from 2 3/4 to 2; 9th class, from 1 3/4 to 1 rupee; 10th class, from 8 3/4 rupees to 5 rupees; 11th class, from 4 3/4 to 2 rupees; 12th class, from 1 3/4 to 1/2 rupee.

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strung by scores. The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards; 2nd class pearls varied from 29 3/4 to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14 1/2 to 12; 4th class, from 11 1/2 to 10; 5th class, from 9 3/4 to 7; 6th class, from 6 3/4 to 5; 7th class, from 4 3/4 to 3; 8th class, from 2 3/4 to 2; 9th class,

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1 A *purse* in Hindi is called *bahla*. [*Bahla*, P. a purse, a falconer's glove.—P.]
from 1½ to 1; 10th class, less than a muhr, down to 5 rupees; 11th class, less than 5, to 2 rupees; 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to 1½ rupees; 13th class, less than 1¼ 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, ¼ rupee; 2nd class, ½; 3rd class, ¼ rupee; 4th class, 3 dāms; 5th class, 1 sūkī; 6th class, 1 dām; 7th class, ½ dām; 8th class, ⅓ dām; 9th class, ⅓ dām; 10th class, ½ dām; 11th class, ⅓ dām; 12th class, ⅓ dām; 13th class, ⅓ dām; 14th class, ⅓ dām; 15th class, ⅓ dām; 16th class, ⅓ 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:—

Rubies weighing 11 tānks,² 20 surkhs,³ and diamonds of 5½ tānks,⁴ 4 surkhs, each one lākh of rupees; emeralds weighing 17½ tānks, 3 surkhs, 52,000 rupees; yāqūts of 4 tānks, 7½ surkhs, and pearls of 5 tānks, each 50,000 rupees.

अःमिन 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

[¹ Sūkī s.m. and sūkī f. H., a four-anna bit.]
[² Tāk H. = 4 māshā.—P.]
[³ Surkh means red; also, a little seed with a black dot on it, called in Hind. ghungchē, Abrus precatorius. The Persians called it ċhasm-i khūrūs, cock’s eye. The seeds are often used for children’s bracelets. Abū ’l-Fażl means here the weight called in Hind. ratti, vulg. ratti. 8 surkhs, or 8 ratis = 1 māshā; 12 māshās = 1 tōlā, and 80 tōlās = 1 ser. A tānk is valued at 4 māshās; but it must have weighed a little more, as in the tenth Amin, Abū ’l-Fażl states that the weight of 1 dām was 5 tānks, or 1 tōlā, 8 māshās, 7 surkhs; i.e., 1 tānk = 16 māshās = 4 māshās, 1 surkh.]
[⁴ Text 4½ tānks.]
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\(^1\) in weight; and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground; whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man’s intellect is termed the greater principle, gold is called the lesser principle,\(^2\) as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention “the guardian of justice”; “the universal adjuster”—and, indeed, the adjustment of things depends on gold,

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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 \(A\) in.

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

Ā'īn 5.

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT.

1. The Dārogha. 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 Sayrāfī. The success of this important department depends upon his experience, as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins. On account of the prosperity of the present age, there are now numbers of skilful sarrāfs; and by the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia dādahī, 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 hun, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold dinār of Alāʾud-Dīn, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

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

1 The same as Sayrāf or Sarrāf; hence a shroff, a money lender. [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.

\[ \text{Å"}\text{in 6.} \]

**BANWĂRI.**

An abbreviation for bănwarî. Although in this country clever sayrafis 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 măsha of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with six măshas of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one măsha is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a surkhs each. If now 7½ surkhs of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10½ băn. Similarly, 7 surkhs pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 băn; 6½ s. pure gold and three parts composition, 9½ băn; 6 s. gold and four parts composition, 9½ băn; 5½ s. gold and five parts composition, 9½ băn; 5 s. gold and six parts composition, 9 băn; 4½ s. gold and seven parts composition, 8½ băn; 4 s. gold and eight parts composition, 8½ băn; 3½ s. gold and nine parts composition, 8½ băn; 3 s. gold and ten parts composition, 8 băn; 2½ s. gold and eleven parts composition, 7½ băn; 2 s. gold and twelve parts composition, 7½ băn; 1½ s. gold and thirteen parts composition, 7½ băn; 1 s. gold and fourteen parts composition, 7 băn; and

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1 This Hind. word, which is not given in the dictionaries, means the testing of gold.
2 This măsha contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i.e., \( \frac{3}{2} \) gold and \( \frac{1}{2} \) alloy.
3 The Hind. term băn means "temper, degree".
lastly, ½ 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 ½ surkh of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7½ surkhs 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 surkhs of the second composition, the result will be 6 bān; and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half surkhs. But in the Banicārī, they reckon to 6 bāns only, rejecting all baser compositions.

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

3. The Amin. He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him. Should there be any differences, he assists the darogha 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 Ahadi.¹

7. The Weighman. He weighs the coins. For weighing 100 jalālī gold-muhrs he gets 1¼ dāms; for weighing 1000 rupees, 6½ dāms; and for weighing 1000 copper dāms, ½ of a dām; and, after this rate, according to the quantity.

8. The Melter of the Ore. He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay, which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots. In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes. For the above-

¹ The Ahadis 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 Ahadis, or single men, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word Ahadi, the b of which is the Arabic c, was spelt in official returns with the Persian r. So deep-rooted, says Badāoni, 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 $2\frac{1}{2}$ dāms; for the same quantity of silver, 5 dāms and 13\frac{1}{2} jetals; for the same quantity of copper, 4 dāms and 21\frac{1}{2} jetals.

9. The Platemaker. He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven māṣhas 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, 42\frac{1}{2} dāms.

Āṣin 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 jalālī gold muhrs, must furnish twoiers of saltpetre, and four sers 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 upla. 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 salonī. 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 sīlāfi. 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 Āṣin.
2 Use.—P.]
3 Sāhrāfi. 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 *damrīs*, 69 *dāms*.

In Írān 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 Ālī Āḥmad 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 slips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yūzbāshī*;¹ 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-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 *sikkachī* has to give one-sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

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

¹ This Turkish word signifies a commander of one hundred men, a captain. *Abadīs* 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 *A*īn of the second book.
The discovery of an alloy in silver. Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper. In Írán and Túrán, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver dahi đ; in Hindustán, the sayrafís use for it the term bíst biswa. 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 ¹ cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of mughún 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 tolá will burn away, i.e., 6 māshas and 2 surkh in 100 tolás. 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 ³; the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the Zarrāb, 5 māshas and 5 surkh are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred tolás 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 banwārī system; now it is calculated as follows:—if by refining 100 tolás, of šāhī silver, which is current in Írāq and Khurāsān, and of the lārī and mīsqūlī, which are

¹ See note 1, p. 21.—P.
² Called in Hind. babul, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning. [The kikar of the Panjab.—P.]
³ Some MSS. have katah.
current in Tūrān, there are lost three tolās and one surkḥ; and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish narjīl, and the mahmūdi and muzaffarī of Gujrāt and Mālwa, 13 tolās and 6½ māshās are lost, they become then of Imperial standard.

15. The Qurṣ-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 Chāshnūḡīr 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 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,² 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 māshās quicksilver per ser. 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 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 six.
² Word not traced.—P.]
Punhar is obtained as follows:—

They make a hole in the earth, and fill it with the ashes of Babül-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 man 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 man and two sers.

Rāsi is a kind of acid, made of ashhār and saltpetre.

Having thus explained what punhar and rāsi 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 sers will be recovered, and ten sers will be burnt. The gold, silver and copper remain together in a mass, and this they call bugrāwaṭī, or according to some, gubrāwaṭī.

The process of Bugrāwaṭī.

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of babül-wood, half a ser for every 100 tolas of bugrāwaṭī. These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the bugrāwaṭī, 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

1 The margins of some of the MSS. explain this word by the Hind. sijji, impure carbonate of soda.
bricks, and make a fire of babūl-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.

\[Ain\] 8.

THE METHOD OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD.

They melt this composition six times; three times with copper, and three times with sulphur, called in Hind. chhāchhīyā. 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 kail, whilst about Dihlī, 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 Salonī process; or else they use the Alonī 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 salonī process. Then having
besmeared them with sesame-oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires. This operation they repeat three or four times; and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine ḏān. The ashes are also collected, being a kind of kharal.

\[\text{Agra 9.}\]

THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES.

Whatever ashes and dross have been collected, both before and after the process of alonī, 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 salonī process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business.

18. The Panīcār 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 tangār (borax), and three sers of pounded natron,\(^1\) 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 salonī 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 salonī, he gives 17 dāms, and for the same quantity of kharal 14 dāms, to the exchequer.

20. The Nicho-i-vāla 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.

\[^1\text{In the Persian ashkār-i küfā.—P.}\]
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 māshas, and 7 surkhs, in value equal to 100 la$i\textsuperscript{2}$-l-i jalālī-muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, Aṣ-$sulṭān$u $'l-a$ $zam$u $'l$-$khaqān$u $'l$-$mu'$ $a$ $m$ $w$ $a$ $sulṭāna$h $zarb$u $dār$ $l$-$khi$lāf$ā$ $Āg$r, “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,\(^1\) and the following verse of the Qur’an\(^2\): Allāh$u$ yazra$q$u man yashā$x$u bi-$ghayr$ $ḥi$sābin”, “God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure”; and roundabout are the names of the first four Khalifas. This is what was first cut by Maulānā Maṣqūd, the engraver; after which Mullā ʿAlī Ḥāmid made with great skill the following additions. On one side Asfāl$u$ dinā$r$u yanfuq$u$ $h$ ar-ra$ju$ $d$ $n$ $m$ yanfuqu$u$ ʿalā aṣ$ḥ$ $b$ $h$ $f$ $i$ sabīl $l$-lāh, “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, Aṣ-$sulṭān$u $'l$-$s$ $ā$ $l$ al-$k$ $a$līf$u$ $a$ $l$-m$ $u$ $c$ $a$ $l$-l $d$ $a$ $l$- $u$ $t$ $a$ $l$ $q$ mukh$u$ $w$ $a$ $sulṭāna$h $w$ $a$ $ab$ $d$ $a$ $d$ $l$ $a$ $h$ $w$ $a$ ihsānah”, “the sublime sullān, 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 Rubāʾīs\(^3\) of the court-poet and philosopher Shaykh Fāyzī were engraved by him. On one side,

\[
\begin{align*}
K\text{hursūd ki haft bahr azū gawhar yāst} \\
Sang-i siyah az partav-i ān jauhar yāst \\
Kān az nazār-i tariyat-i ū zar yāst \\
Wān zar sharaf az sikka-yī Shāh Akbar yāst.
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Also called Kalimah, or the Confession of Faith, là ilāha ill-ālāh, Muhammadun rasūl-ālāh.


\(^3\) Quatrains.—P.]
"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, \textit{Allāh\(^a\) akbar jall\(^a\) jallāla-h\(^u\)}, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle. And on the other side,

\begin{align*}
\text{In sikka ki pīrāya-yi ummūd buvad} \\
\text{Bā naqsh-i davām u nām-i jāvid buvad} \\
\text{Simā-yi saśādat-ash hamīn bas ki bi-dahr} \\
\text{Yak zarra nazar-karda-yi khurshīd buvad.}
\end{align*}

"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 \textit{Divine era}, in the middle.

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolas and 8 \textit{māshas}, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 \textit{māshas} each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The \textit{Rahas} 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 \textit{sahansa},\(^2\) and on the other side the following \textit{Rubāsī} by \textit{Fayzī}:

\begin{align*}
\text{In naqd-i ravān-i ganj-i shāhinshāhī} \\
\text{Bā kawkab-i iqāl kunad hamrāhī} \\
\text{Khurshīd bi-parvar-ash az ān rā ki bi-dahr} \\
\text{Yābad sharaf az sikka-yi Akbarshāhī.}
\end{align*}

"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 \textit{Ātma} is the fourth part of the \textit{sahansa}, round and square. Some have the same impression as the \textit{sahansa}\(^4\); and some have on one side the following \textit{Rubāsī} by \textit{Fayzī}\(^5\):

\begin{align*}
\text{In sikka ki dast-i bakht rā zewar bād} \\
\text{Pīrāya-yi nūh sipihr u haft akhtar bād}
\end{align*}

---

\(^{1}\) 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 Ā\(^5\)īn. The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III.

\(^{2}\) In the Persian \textit{fārsī}.—P.\]

\(^{3}\) Quatrains.—P.\]

\(^{4}\) \textit{Sād-muhrī} in the Persian text.—P.\]

\(^{5}\) Malik\(^a\) \textit{sh-Shū'arā\(^a\)} in the Persian text.—P.\]
Zarrin naqīst kār az-ū chūn zar bād
Dar dahr ravān 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 Binsat, 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 Chugul,¹ of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the sahansa, in value equal to two-muhrs.²

7. The round Lašl-i Jalālī,³ in weight and value equal to two round muhrs, having on one side Allāh akbar, and on the other Yā muṣīn, "O helper."

8. The Āstābī is round, weighs 1 tola, 2 māshas, and 4½ surkhzs, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "Allāh akbar, jallā jalālu-hā," 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, 1½ surkhzs, bears the same stamp as the Āstābī, and has a value of 10 rupees.

¹ Or Jugul. Abū 'l-Faṣl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.
² The MSS. differ. Most of them place the Chugul as the sixth coin after the Binsat, and read:—

"The Chugul, of a square form, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhzs; 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 Sahanza."

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the Sahanza; for the two Chuguls, as given by Abū 'l-Faṣl, would each be the hundred and third part of the two kinds of Sahanza, 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 Ašīn in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the square form of the Chugul, weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhzs, worth 30 rupees; and then passes on to the eighth coin, the Āstābī.

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

"6. The Chahārgosha (or square), weighing 3 tolas, 5½ surkhzs, 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 Chugul, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a Sahanza, in value equal to two Lašl-i Jalālī muhrs."

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

³ For the round Lašl-i Jalālī, some MSS. only read, "The Gird," i.e., round, taking the words Lašl-i Jalālī to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.
10. The square Lašl-i Jalāli is of the same weight and value; on one side “Allāh akbar,” and on the other “jall a jalālu-ḥu.”

11. The ʿAdl-guṭka is round, weighs 11 māshas, and has a value of nine rupees. On one side “Allāh akbar,” and on the other, “Yā muṣīn.”

12. The Round muhr, in weight and value equal to the ʿAdl-guṭka, but of a different stamp.

13. Miḥrābī is in weight, value, and stamp, the same as the round muhr.

14. The Muṣīnī is both square and round. In weight and value it is equal to the Lašl-i Jalāli, and the round muhr. It bears the stamp “yā muṣīn.”

15. The Chahārgosha, in stamp and weight the same as the Āštābī.

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

17. The Dhan is half a Lašl-i Jalāli.

18. The Salīmī is the half of the ʿAdl-guṭka.

19. The Rabī is a quarter of the Āštābī.

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

21. The Half Salīmī is a quarter of the ʿAdl-guṭka.

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

23. The Panḍau is the fifth part of the Lašl-i Jalālī; on one side is a lily, and on the other a wild rose.

24. The Sumnī, or Ashtsidd, is one-eighth of the Ilāhī; on one side “Allāh akbar,” and on the other “jall a jalālu-ḥu.”

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 Lašl-i jalālis, 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 Aṭfīn.)

2 The figure called miḥrābī is 

3 In Forbes’s Dictionary, dahan.

4 Several MSS. read—“Half a quarter Ilāhī and Lašl-i Jalālī.” Forbes gives six rupees (?).

5 Several MSS. have Rabī. Perhaps we should write Rabbī.

[* Lālā in Persian text. This is the common red poppy in Afghanistān and the Panjāb; and in Persia is also applied to the wild tulip.—P.]
B. Silver Coins.

1. The Rūpiya 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 jalālu-hu,” 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 Darb is half a Jalāla.
4. The Charn is a quarter Jalāla.
5. The Pandalau is a fifth of the Jalāla.
6. The Ashī is the eighth part of the Jalāla.
7. The Dasā is one-tenth of the Jalāla.
8. The Kalā is the sixteenth part of the Jalāla.
9. The Sūkā is one-twentieth of the Jalāla.

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

C. Copper Coins.

1. The Dām weighs 5 tāks, i.e. 1 tola, 8 māshas, and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of the rūpiya. At first this coin was called Paisa, and also Buhloī; 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.¹ This imaginary division is only used by accountants.

2. The Adhela is half of a dām.
3. The Pā*olā is a quarter dām.
4. The Damrī is one-eighth of a dām.

In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of the government, Bengal, Aḥmadābād (Gujrāt), and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places, and besides in the following ten places: Ilāhābās, Agra, Ujain, Sūrat, Dihlī, Patna, Kashmir, Lāhor, Multān, Tāndā. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. Ajmīr, Avadh, Aṭak, Alwar, Bagā*on, Banāras, Bhakkar, Bahirah, Patan, Jaumpūr, Jālandhar, Hardwār, Hīsār, Fīrūza, Kālpī, Gwāliyār, Gorakhpur, Kalānūr,

¹ Often misspelt chetel. The text gives the correct spelling.
Lakhnau, Mandū, Nāgor, Sarhind, Siyālkot, Saronj, Sahāranpūr, Sārangpur, Sambal, Qanawj, Rantanbūr.

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round muhrs, rūyiyas, and dāms.

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

The currency underwent several changes. First, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rāja Todarmal, 1 four kinds of muhrs were allowed to be current; A. There was a La'ī-i Jalālī, which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 tola, 1 3/4 surkhs. It was quite pure, and had a value of 400 dāms. 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 māshas. Its value was 360 dāms. If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made. C. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains; its value was 355 dāms. D. The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains; its value was 350 dāms.

1 Rāja Todarmal, a Khatri by caste, was born at Lāhor. 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 19th year, we find him in Bengal in company with Munšim Khān; and three years later again at Gujrat. In the 27th year he was appointed Diwān of the empire, when he remodelled the revenue system. After an unsuccessful attempt on his life made by a Khātri in the 32nd year, he was sent against the Yūsufzāis, 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. Ret. to the banks of the Ganges, he died—or, went to hell, as Badāonī expresses himself in the case of Hindus—on the 11th day A.H. 998, or 10th November, 1589, the same year in which Rāja Bhagwān Dās died. Todarmal had reached the rank of a Chahārkhāzāri, or commander of Four Thousand, and was no less distinguished for his personal courage, than his financial abilities. His eldest son Dhārū, a commander of seven hundred, was killed in the war with Thatha.

Abū ‘l-Fażl did not like Todarmal personally, but praises him for his strict integrity and abilities; he charges him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry. Awrangzāb said he had heard from his father that Akbar complained of the rāja’s independence, vanity, and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Abū ‘l-Fażl 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 Panjāb, 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 Ῥฤpiyas, three kinds were then current, viz.: A. one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ māshas; it went under the name of Jalāla, and had a value of 40 dāms. B. The round, old Akbarshāhī rūpiya, which, when of full weight, or even at a surkh less, was valued at 39 dāms. C. The same rupees, when in weight two surkhs less, at 38 dāms.

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion.

Secondly, on the 18th Mihr of the 29th year of the Divine era, Āzūdī 'd-Daulah Amir Fatḥī ʾllah 1 of Shirāz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued, that on the muhrs, as far as three grains; and on the rūpiyas, 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 Amir Fatḥī ʾllah of Shirāz was the pupil of Khwāja Jamālsī 'd-Dīn Mahmūd, Kamālsī 'd-Dīn of Shirwān, and Mir Ghiyāshi 'd-Dīn Mansūr of Shirāz. He so excelled in all branches of natural philosophy, especially mechanics, that Abū 'l-Faḍl said of him, “If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amir will restore them.” At the earnest solicitations of ʿAdl Shāh of Bijāpur, he left Shirāz for the Dekhan. In A.H. 991, after the death of ʿAdl Shāh, he was invited by Akbar, who raised him to the dignity of a Ṣadr, and bestowed upon him, three years later, the title of Aminī 'l-Mulk. He was appointed to assist Todarmal, and rendered good service in working up the old revenue books. His title, Aminī 'l-Mulk, to which Abū 'l-Faḍl alludes (vide p. 28, l. 9 of my text edition), was in the same year changed to Āzūdī 'd-Daulah, or the arm of Āspira. The Amir went afterwards to Khāndesh. After his return in 997 to Akbar, who was then in Kashmir, he was attacked with fever, of which he died. Thinking to understand the medical art, he refused the advice of the famous Hakim ʿAlī, and tried to cure the fever by eating harisa (vide the twenty-fourth Aṣ-in), which caused his death.

Next to Abū 'l-Faḍl, Fayṣī, and Bir Bar, the Amir was perhaps most loved by Akbar. Several of his mechanical inventions, mentioned below, are ascribed by Abū 'l-Faḍl to Akbar himself (!). The Amir was, however, on the best terms with Abū 'l-Faḍl, whose son he instructed. According to the author of the Mīrṣāʾūl 'l-Sulaim, 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 Māʾṣīrī 'l-Umarī that according to some, the Amir was a Shīr-baṣarī, or Commander of three thousand; but I do not find his name among the lists of Akbar’s grandees given in the Tabaqat-i Akbarī, and the last Aṣ-in of the second book of this work. Instead of Amir Fatḥī ʾllah, we also find, especially in Badāʾī, Shāh Fathī ʾllah. He lies buried on the Taḥqīq-i Ṣulaymān. Fayṣī’s ode on his death is very fine.
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 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.

Thirldly, when ʿAzud ʿd-Dawlah went to Khāndesh, the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalālālu 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 Qulīj 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 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 3/4 māhās = 11 x 8 surkhs) was only 11 x 8 x (4 x a small fraction) dāms, i.e., according to Abū ʿl-Faṣl, 353 dāms and a fraction, instead of 360 dāms.

² Qulīj 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 Mānsūr, he was, two years later, appointed as Dīwān. 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 Dīwān. This is the time to which Abū ʿl-Faṣl refers. In 1002 he was made governor of Kābul, where he has not been successful. After his removal, he accompanied, in 1005, his son-in-law Prince Dānyāl as Atālīq, or tutor, but he soon returned to Akbar. During the absence, in 1007, 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 Jahāngīr, he was sent to Gujrat, but returned next year to the Panjāb, where he had to fight against the Rawshāniyahs. He died, at an advanced age, in 1035, or A.D. 1625–26. Abū ʿl-Faṣl, in the last A’in of the second book, mentions him as Chahārkhāzīrī, or Commander of Four Thousand, which rank he must have held for some time, as Niẓām-i Haracī, in his Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, mentions him as such, and as Dīwān. When tutor to Prince Dānyāl, he was promoted to the command of Four Thousand Five Hundred. Qulīj 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 Ufṣali; some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the Mīrāzāt-i ʿĀlam. The high rank which he held was less due to his talents as a statesman than to his family-connection with the kings of Tūrān. Of his two sons, Mirzā Ṣayf ʿl-lāh and Mirzā Husayn Qulīj, the latter is best known. [Vide note 2 to No. 42 of A’in 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. ۵Azūd al-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 rūpiya, 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 bābāghūrā 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.

Āṭīn 11.

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 ‘Umar, 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 Fārūq.—P.]
stamped upon it the chapter of the Qurʾān called *Ikhlāṣ*; 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, Khusravite, and Ḥimyarite *dirhams* were in circulation at the time of ʿAbdullāh 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 ʿaḥad (God is one), and Allāh ʿaṣ-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 ʿAbdullāh ʿI.-Malik, ʿUmar bin Hubayrah coined in the kingdom of ʿIrāq better *dirhams* than Ḥajjāj had made; and afterwards Khālid bin ʿAbdullāh 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 Muṣṭafā 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 *misqāls*; whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve, and ten *qirāts*, asserting at the same time that ʿUmar had taken a *dirham* of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen *qirāts*, being the third part of the aggregate sum. It is likewise said that at the time of ʿUmar there were current several kinds of *dirhams*: first, some of eight *dāngs*, which were called *baghūl*, after Rās *baghl*, who was an assay-master, and who struck *dirhams* by the command of ʿUmar; but others call them *baghallū*, from *baghal*, which is the name of a village; secondly, some of four *dāngs*, which were called *ṭabārī*; thirdly, some of three *dāngs*, which were known as *maghrībī*; and lastly, some of one *dāng*, named *yamanī*, 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 *dāngs* (1 *dāng* of his = 2 *qirāts*; 1 *qirāt* = 2 *tassūj*; 1 *tassūj* = 2 *habbah*); and secondly, deficient ones of four *dāngs* and a fraction. Some hold different opinions on this subject.

The *Dīnār* is a gold coin, weighing one *misqāl*, i.e. 1½ *dirhams*, as they put 1 *misqāl* = 6 *dāngs*; 1 *dāng* = 4 *tassūj*; 1 *tassūj* = 2 *habbas*; 1 *habba* = 2 *javs* (barley grains); 1 *jav* = 6 *khardals* (mustard-grain); 1 *khardal* = 12 *fals*; 1 *fals* = 6 *fātīs*; 1 *fātil* = 6 *naqīrs*; 1 *naqīr* = 6 *qītmīrs*; and 1 *qītmīr* = 12 *zaras*. One *misqāl*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains. *Misqāl* is a weight, used in weighing gold; and it is

1 in the Persian.—P.

2 According to some inferior MSS., the name of a kind of gold.
also the name of the coin.¹ From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek misqāl is out of use, and weighs two qirāts 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 misqāl.

\(\text{A}^{\text{v}}\) in 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 surkhs of 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) bān; or 1 tola, 4 s. of 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) bān; or 1 tola 6 s. of 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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 Laṣl-i Jalālī muhrs 130 t. 2 m. 0\(\frac{2}{3}\) s. of Hun gold of 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) bāns. Of this quantity 22 t. 9 m. 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) s. burn away in melting, and mix with the khāk-i khalāṣ, so that 107 t. 4 m. 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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 khalāṣ are recovered 2 t. 11 m. 4 s. of gold, and 11 t. 11 m. 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) s. of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) targas,² 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. 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) j., due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above; secondly, 5 Rs. 8 d. 8 j. for ingredients; which sum is made up of 1 R. 4 d. 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz. 26 d. 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. dung³; 4 d. 20 j. saloni; 1 d. 10 j. water; 11 d. 5 j. quicksilver, and 4 Rs. 4 d. 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. on account of the khāk-i khalāṣ (viz. 21 d. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. charcoal, and 3 Rs. 22 d. 24 j. lead); thirdly, 6 Rs. 37\(\frac{1}{2}\) d., which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold; this item goes to the Diwān if the gold belongs to the exchequer; fourthly, 100 Laṣl-i Jalālī muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought; fifthly, 12 Rs. 37 d. 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) j. which the merchant takes as his profit; sixthly, 5 muhrs 12 Rs. 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) d., which go to the exchequer.⁴ 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

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¹ In text " a gold coin "—B.]
² One tanga = 2 dāms; now-a-days one tanga = 2 pais.
³ بُچک دمی—P.]
⁴ There is a slight mistake of 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) jetals, as the several items added up give 105 m. 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) Rs. 24 d. 23\(\frac{1}{2}\) j., but not 105 m. 39 Rs. 25 d.
Gold may also be obtained by the Salonī-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 dāms. The several items are—first, 2 Rs. 22 d. 12 j., as wages for the workmen (viz. The Weighman 5 d. 7½ j., the Chāshnūgīr 3 d. 4½ j.; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the Zarrāb 2 Rs. 1 d. 0 j.; the Sikkāchā 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 Dīwān; 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 shālī, 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 Sabbathī 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 khāk-i 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 Sābbāk 2 Rs. 0 d. 19 j.; the Qurškob 4 d. 19 j.; the Chāshnūgīr 3 d. 4 j.; the Melter 6 d. 12½ j.; the Zarrāb 2 Rs. 1 d.; the Sikkāchā 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 dāms 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 dāms, there are coined altogether 1170 dāms, 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.

1 These items added give Rs. 1015, 25 d. 14½ j., i.e., a little more than the sum mentioned by Abū l-Faṣīl (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 āsār-i ʿulavī; *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 ḏukhān (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 ḏukhān 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 ḏukhān 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 yāqūt; *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 ḏukhān, 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.

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1 Or *doings 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, ḥārchīnī will be produced. This body is also called Ḥāanchīnī, 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.

Jast (pewter),¹ which, according to the opinions of some, is Rūḥ-i

¹ Or zinc?—P.
tūtiyā, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of Jālor, which is a dependency of the Śūba of Ājmīr. Some practical mechanics⁴ are of opinion that the metal called riṣṭā is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver a silver in the state of apoplexy; that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt, and bronze crude gold; and that the chemist, like the doctor, can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition.

Practical men form of the above seven bodies, several compounds, used for ornaments, vessels, etc. Among them I may mention: 1. Safīdrū, which the people of Hindustan call kūṣī. It is a mixture of 4 sers of copper to 1 ser of tin, melted together. 2. Rūy, 4 sers of copper to 1½ sers of lead. It is called in this country bhangār. 3. Brass, which the Hindūs call pūtal, is made in three ways: first, 2½ sers copper to 1 ser rūh-i tūtiyā, which is malleable, when cold; secondly, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of rūh-i tūtiyā, which is malleable, when heated; thirdly, 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of rūh-i tūtiyā, not worked with the hammer, but by casting. 4. Sīm-i sūkhta, composed of lead, silver, and bronze; it has a black lustre, and is used in painting. 5. Haft-josh, which, like the Khārchīnī, is nowhere to be found; it is said to consist of six metals. Some call it tāhiqūn, whilst others give this name to common copper. 6. Ashīdīhāt, a compound of eight metals, viz. the six of the haftjosh, rūh-i tūtiyā, and kūṣī. It is also made of seven compounds. 7. Kaulpatr, 2 sers of safīdrū, and 1 ser of copper. It is coloured, and looks well, and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty.⁵

Āʾīn 14.

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY.

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of bukhār and dukhān, which themselves consist of light and heavy elements. Besides, bukhār is wet or dry; and a complete union of the two sets in, sometimes before and after the mixture, and sometimes in either of these conditions. It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles; and likewise, every mineral in which the bukhār predominates

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⁴ According to some MSS., the Hindūs.
⁵ This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar.
over the dukhān is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case. Again, a mineral in which the complete union of the būkhār and dukhān has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light. Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body. Some one, now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses (metre Mujassā):

\[
\begin{align*}
Z' rū-yı̂ jussa-yı̂ haftād \text{ and } yak diram simab, \\
Chil o shash ast, \text{ u } z' \text{ arzīz siy u hasht shumār,} \\
Zahab sad ast surb panjah u nuh, āhan chil, \\
Birinj o mis chihīl o panj, nuqra panjah u chūr.
\end{align*}
\]

"Quicksilver is 71; Rūy is 46; Tin is 38; Gold 100; Lead 59; Iron 40; Brass and Copper 45; Silver 54." Others have expressed the numbers by mnemo-technical words in rhyme (metre Ramal):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nuh filizz-i mustawiyy} & \text{ "l ḥajm rā chīn bar-kashi}, \\
\text{Iḳhtilāf-i wazn dārad har yak-i bī ishtibāh,} \\
\text{Zar lakan, zībaq alam, usrub dahan, arzīz ḥal,} \\
\text{Fiżza nad, āhan yak-i, miss u šabāh mah, rūy māh.}
\end{align*}
\]

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following nine metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows: gold lakan, quicksilver alam, lead dahan, tin ḥal, silver nad, iron yakī, copper and brass mah, rūy māh." If these nine metals, pieces be taken of equal dimensions, their weights will be different. Some sages ascribe this variety in weight to the difference in the qualitative constitution of the bodies, and trace to it their lightness or heaviness, their floating or sinking in water, and their weights as indicated by common and hydrostatic balances. Several deep-sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water. They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 misqāls of each metal; and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals, are found the differences between them in volume and weight. The greater the quantity of the water which 100 misqāls of a body displace, the greater is its volume and the less its weight,

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1 Abū Naṣr-i Farāhī, of Farāh, a town in Sijistān. His real name is Muḥammad Badrū ʿd-Dīn. He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme, entitled Niṣābū ʿs-Sīyān, which for centuries has been read in nearly every Madrasa of Persia and India; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, for 1868, p. 7.

2 We fix the specific gravities as follows: Gold 19:26; Mercury 13:6; Lead 11:325; Silver 10:47; Copper 9; Tin 7:32; Iron 7:7, for which numbers water is unity. Abū ʿl-Fazl takes gold as standard; and assuming, for his values, 19:26 as its specific gravity, we would get, Mercury 13:87; Lead 11:36; Silver 10:40; Copper 8:67; Iron 7:76; Tin 7:32; Rūy 8:86.

3 The Arabic consonants of the mnemo-technical words lakan, alam, etc., represent numbers; thus, \( l + k + n = 30 + 20 + 50 \); \( a + l + m = 1 + 30 + 40 \); etc.
and reversely. Thus 100 m. of silver displace 9\frac{2}{3} m. of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5\frac{1}{3} 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 misqāls of</th>
<th>Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 misqāls of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold,(^2)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron,</td>
<td>Iron,</td>
</tr>
<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 (la\textsuperscript{2}),</td>
<td>Ruby (la\textsuperscript{2}),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zumurrud,</td>
<td>Zumurrud,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl,</td>
<td>Pearl,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapis lazuli,</td>
<td>Lapis lazuli,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelian,</td>
<td>Cornelian,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber,</td>
<td>Amber,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullūr,</td>
<td>Bullūr,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) With the exception of Quicksilver, Silver, and Yāqūt (light blue), the numbers given in the MSS., and the above list, are slightly wrong, because the sum of the weights of the water displaced and the apparent weight, ought to give 100 misqāls (1 m. = 6 d.; 1 d. = 4 l.). But in most items there is an excess of one dāng.
The weight (in air) of the undermentioned metals, the volume of 100 misqāls of gold being taken as the unit of volume.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold, .......... 100</td>
<td>Yāqūt (light blue), 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quicksilver, ...... 71</td>
<td>Yāqūt (red), .... 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead, ............ 59</td>
<td>Ruby, . 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver, .......... 54</td>
<td>Zumurrud, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūy, ............ 46</td>
<td>Pearls, .. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper, .......... 45</td>
<td>Lapis lazuli, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass, ........... 45</td>
<td>(?) Cornelian, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron, ............ 40</td>
<td>Amber, .. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin, .............. 38</td>
<td>Bullūr .. 63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Åxin 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—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom, and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order.

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries; and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world.

As the sovereign, by the light of his wisdom, has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity, and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio. Short-sighted men think of impure gold, which will gradually turn into pure gold; but the far-sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs and chemical processes. Any kind of growth

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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 dároghas, and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer. Thus, as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order. The salaries are sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which his Majesty most generously bestows, the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs. per mensem. Some 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 Tahwïldârs (cash-keepers) of the seraglio. The Tahwïldâr 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 Tahwïldâr, who on the order of the writer of the Harem, hands it over to the several Sub-Tahwïldârs for distribution among the servants of the seraglio. All moneys 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 Rājpūts, beyond whom are the porters of the gates. Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, Ḥadīs, 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.

Āʾīn 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 Gulāl-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 rāʿ,ofīs,³ and round about it a sarā-parīda.⁴ Adjoining to the chūbīn, 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 chūbīn rāʿ,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 sāyābāns⁵ of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a sarā-parīda of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the Urdu-begīs,⁶ and other female

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¹ In text یارش. Yūrish, T. properly means “attack, assault”. Yūrish-hā seems to mean here “military expeditions.—P.
² = 43 1/2 feet. —P.
³ Described in the twenty-first Āʾīn.
⁴ Awnings.
⁵ 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 Mahābī; 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-gīra, 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 Mahābī; and in the midst of it is a Chāhīn rā.ofī, 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 Ibakhī, which is the (Chāghātā) 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 Qalandarī, 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 Diwān-i khāṣṣ 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 Diwān-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 Fathpur Sikri.
2 [Note: tent-wall.—P.]
3 [Note: in text ibakhī-khānd.—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 tanābs ¹ is the Naqqāra Khāna,² and in the midst of the area the
Akās-diyā ³ is lighted up.

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of
them is put up by the Farrāshes on a piece of ground which the Mīr
Manzils ⁴ have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture
is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty. Each encamp-
ment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and
100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, Mansūbdars,⁵ Aḥadīs. Besides,
there are employed a thousand Farrāshes, natives of Īrān, 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 350 yards, which no one but
the guards is allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to
the left ⁶ and centre are the tents of Maryam Makān,⁷ and Gulbadan
Begum, and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Dānyāl; to the

¹ A turret on the top of which the band plays. Regarding the tanāb, vide the tenth
Aṭīn of the third book.
² A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed. Vide p. 50.
³ Quartermasters.
⁴ Grandees.
⁵ Qol, M. is said to be the centre of an army in battle array.—P.
⁶ Maryam Makānī (i.e., dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Āsiyah,
the wife of Pharaoh, Khadija, Muhammad's first wife, and Fātimah, his daughter, are
the four perfect women of Islām) is the title of Akbar's mother. Her name was Ħamida
Bānū Begum; vide Bādānī, ed. Bibl. Ind. i, p. 437. 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 Sultān Salīm, and to the left, those of Prince Shāh Murād. 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 bāzarās. 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.

Aṭ-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 Shāykh Shārifu’d-Din² 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 Agingîr, i.e. fire-pot.

¹ The members of the Divine Faith.
² This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Munair is a town in Bahār; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1868, p. 7, l. 3, from below, and the biographies of Indian Saints in the fourth book. His works are to be found among the Persian MSS. of the Society’s Library.
There is also a shining white stone, called Chandrakrānt, 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 Durbar, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes;

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1 One ghari = 24 minutes.
2 Kāpāri, i.e., wax candle. P.N.
3 Oil-burners with several spouts very common in India.
4 For each flambeau.
and on the top of the pole is a large lantern, which they call Ākās-diya.\footnote{From Ākās sky, and diya lamp. The Ākāsdiya is also mentioned by Bernier.} 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 Manṣabdārs, Aḥadīs, and other troops are employed. The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2400, and is never less than 80 dāms.

\textit{Āʾīn 19.}

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY.

The \textit{Shamsa} \footnote{\textit{Shamsa} is a picture of the sun affixed to the gates or walls of the palaces of kings. At night these pictures are illuminated.} 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 \textit{Aurang}, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The \textit{Chatr}, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The \textit{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 \textit{Āftābgīr}. 4. The \textit{Kaukkabo},\footnote{\textit{Vide} the plates.} of which several are hung up before the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings only.

5. The \textit{Alam}, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the \textit{Qūr},\footnote{The \textit{Qūr} is a collection of flags, arms, and other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes.} wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The \textit{Chatroq}, a kind of \textit{Alam}, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The \textit{Tumantoq} is like the \textit{Chatroq}, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The \textit{Jhanīlā} is an Indian flag. The \textit{Qūr} necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.

Of musical instruments used in the \textit{Naqārahkāna}, I may mention, 1. \textit{the Kuwarga}, commonly called \textit{damāma}; there are eighteen pair of
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 Karnā¹ is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals, and they never blow fewer than four. 5. The surnā of the Persian and Indian kinds; they blow nine together. 6. The nafīr, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds; they blow some of each kind. 7. The sing is of brass and made in the form of a cow’s horn; they blow two together. 8. The sanj, or cymbal, of which three pair are used.

Formerly the band played four gharīs before the commencement of the night, and likewise four gharīs before daybreak; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn. One gharī before sunrise, the musicians commence to blow the surnā, and wake up those that are asleep; and one gharī after sunrise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the kuwarga a little, whereupon they blow the Karnā, the nafīr, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the naqāra; after a little pause the surnās are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the nafīrs. One hour later the naqāras commence, when all musicians raise “the auspicious strain.”² After this they go through the following seven performances. 1. The Mursalī, which is the name of a tune played by the mursil; 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 ikhlāṣī, ibtidāʾī, shīrāzī, qalandarī nigar qatra,³ or nukhūd qatra, which occupies an hour. 3. The playing of the old ⁴ Khwārizmite 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 Nawrozī. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of Bā miyān daver. 6. The passing into the tunes azfar, also called rāh-i bālā, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The Khwārizmite tunes, played by the Mursil, after which he passes into the mursalī; 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 surnā-

¹ Or Karrana. [In text karnā.—P.]
² Probably blessings on his Majesty.
³ Several of these names of melodies are unclear, and will in all probability remain so. Perhaps the words shīrāzī qalandarī, “a hermit of Shirāz,” belong to each other. Nigar qatra means, behold the tear. [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 naqāra.

Mansabdārs, Akhādis, 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.

Āʿṣīn 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 riqāʾ character, the name of his Majesty, and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timūrclang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the nastāʾīq 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 mujib-i riżā-yi khudāst kas nadīdam ki gum shud az rāh-i rāst.

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

Tamkīn made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Mawlānā ʿAlī Aḥmad of Dihli improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chaghatāʾi) name of Uzuk, and is used for farmān-i sabbūs; 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 Akbar jallā jalālahū, 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 riqāʾ and nastāʾīq characters. The astrolabe, globes, and

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1 Corresponding to the threefold division of the Āʿṣīn-i Aḥkārī.
2 The word muhar, 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 Bhelā nut is preferred. [The marking-nut tree commonly called bhilāwū.—P.]
3 Vide note p. 30.
4 Vide the eleventh Āʿṣīn of the second book.
various mistars \(^1\) 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 nastāqliq.

3. Mīr Dost of Kābul. He cuts both the riqā and nastāqliq characters in cornelian. He does not come up to the preceding artists. His riqā is better than his nastāqliq. 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 riqā and nastāqliq from the masterpieces of the best calligraphers. He engraved the words lašī jalālī, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value.

5. Mawlānā ʿAlī Ahmad \(^2\) of Dihli who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel-engraver, so much so that his engravings are used as copies. His nastāqliq 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.

\(\text{Ārin 21.}\

**THE FARRĀSH KHĀNA.**

His Majesty considers this department \(^3\) as an excellent dwelling-place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain, as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it as a part of Divine worship. The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions. I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers.

1. The Bārgāh, when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

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\(^1\) 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 misījar, from sājar, a line. The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the misījar, and presses on them with the hands, when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly.

\(^2\) ʿNizām of Hīrāt, in his Šabaqāt-i Akbarī, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets, and gives a few of his verses.

\(^{1} w\text{.}\text{J.}—P.\)
people. It takes a thousand farrāshes, 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 bārgūh 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 rāwaṭī 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 dāsas 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 dāsas 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 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 sarā of the world. After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter to pay their compliments, and after them, outsiders. On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc.), which is called jharōka, or window. 4. The Zamīndoz is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two tent poles; screens are also hung up within it, so as to form divisions. 5. The *Ajā'ībī 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-khamba 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 Saqīrat, perhaps a scarlet broad-cloth.—P.
3 Jharōkā, 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 Shāmyāna-awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square. 10. The Qalandarī has been described. 11. The Sarāpanda 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 Gulābār 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 gulābār is covered with red cloth, tied with tape.

Carpets.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 gilims of Írān and Tūrān are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goshkān,³ Khūzistān, Kirmān, and Sabzvar. All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. These are found in every town, especially in Āgra, Fatḥpūr and Lāhor. In the imperial workshops single gilims 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 jājams, shatrinjīs, balūchīs, and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk.

Ārin 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 Vide p. 48.
² In text gilim, which is a carpet without a pile.—P.
³ Goshkān, or Joshaqān, a town in Īrāq-i Čajamī, halfway between Kāshān and Isfahān. Khūzistān is the Persian province of which Shushtar, or Shustar, is the capital; the ancient Susiana. Kirmān is the capital of the Persian province Kirmān, which borders on Balūchistān. Sabzvar is one of the chief cities of the Persian province Khurāsān, between Mashhad (Meshed) and the Caspian Sea.
⁴ In text wilāyāt. 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 Agra and in Fathpur, 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 Jamna 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 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 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 $\frac{2}{3}$ to 4 mans per rupee.

Since the thirtieth 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 kos 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 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. 21$\frac{1}{2}$ j.;

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1 The nearest station on the Ganges from Agra.
2 A.D. 1596. As in 1586 Fathpūr had ceased to be the capital, Akbar resided mostly in the Panjāb.
3 A.D. 1586.
and in the average, $1 5 d. 15\frac{1}{2} j.$ If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages. They bring every day one load, containing four parcels. In the beginning of the year, the ice costs $5 d. 19\frac{1}{4} j.$; in the middle $16 d. 2\frac{1}{2} j.$; and in the end $19 d. 15\frac{3}{8} j.$ per ser; in the average, $1 8\frac{7}{8} d.$

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

\textit{Ā*īn 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 Ṭīr Bakāwal, or

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1 The text has sarāsāri, which may mean the average; but the price given by Abū’l-Fażl 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee, i.e., $48 = 5$ dāms 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 Bakāwal 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,¹ the Diwān-i buyūtāl ² and the Mir Bakāwal, collect whatever they think will be necessary; e.g. Sukhdās rice from Bharāij,³ Devezār rice from Gwāliār, Jinjin rice from Rājorī and Nīmlah, ghī from Hīsār Fīrūza; ducks,⁴ water-fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmir. Patterns are always kept. The sheep, goats, berberies,⁵ fowls, ducks,⁶ 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 Bakāwal 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-

¹ Fāstl.—P.]
² Superintendents of the stores, workshops, etc.
³ Bahūīch.—B.]
⁴ Qāz T. goose not duck.—P.]
⁵ Apparently the Barbary goat.—P.]
⁶ Qāz T. goose.—P.]
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 Mir 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 Mir 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 Mir 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 Mir 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.

Ârīn 24.

RECIPIES 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 șūfiyāna; 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 birūnj : 10 s. of rice; 5 s. of sugarcandy; 3½ s. of ghi; raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ s. of each; ½ s. of salt; ½ s. of fresh ginger; 1½ dams 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; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. salt; but it is made in different ways. This will likewise give four dishes. One maund of Devisira paddy yields 25 s. of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot; jinjin rice yields 22 sers. 3. Khichri: Rice, mung dahl, and ghi 5 s. of each; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. salt; this gives seven dishes. 4. Shirbirinj: 10 s. milk; 1 s. rice; 1 s. sugar cand; 1 d. salt; this gives five full dishes. 5. Thulë: 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; 3$\frac{1}{2}$ m. cloves and cardamums; $\frac{1}{2}$ 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, $\frac{1}{4}$ 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: 2 10 s.; 1$\frac{1}{4}$ s. ghi; 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s. onions; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. ginger and lime juice; pepper and coriander seed, 5 m. of each; cloves, cardamums, and assafoetida, each $\frac{1}{2}$ m. This gives six dishes. 8. Pahit: For ten sers of dhal of vetches (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc.) take 2$\frac{1}{2}$ s. ghi; $\frac{1}{2}$ s. of salt and fresh ginger; 2 m. cuminseed; 1$\frac{1}{2}$ m. assafoetida: this yields fifteen dishes. It is mostly eaten with Khushka. 9. Ság: It is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes. 10 s. spinach, fennel, etc., 1$\frac{1}{4}$ s. ghi; 1 s. onions; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. fresh ginger; 5$\frac{1}{2}$ m. of pepper; $\frac{1}{2}$ m. of cardamums and cloves; this gives six dishes. 10. Halwā: Flour, sugar cand, 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. Qabuli: 10 s. rice; 7 s. meat; 3$\frac{1}{4}$ s. ghi; 1 s. gram skinned; 2 s. onions; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. salt; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. fresh ginger; cinnamon, round pepper, cuminseed, of each 1 d.; cardamums and cloves, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. of each; some add almonds and raisins: this gives five dishes. 2. Duzdbiryān. 10 s. rice, 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s. ghi; 10 s. meat; $\frac{1}{2}$ s. salt: this gives five dishes. 3. Qima 3 Palāo: Rice and meat as in the preceding; 4 s. ghi; 1 s. peeled gram; 2 s. onions; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. salt; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. fresh ginger, and pepper; cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 d. of each: this gives five dishes. 4. Shulla: 10 s. meat, 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s. rice; 2 s. ghi; 1 s. gram; 2 s. onions; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. salt; $\frac{1}{4}$ s. fresh

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[1] All split peas, pulse, lentils, vetches, etc., are called dāl.—P.
[2] Badinjan is the egg-plant or brinjal.—P.
[3] Qima 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. Bughrā: 10 s. meat; 3 s. flour; 1½ s. ghī; 1 s. gram; 1½ s. vinegar; 1 s. sugarcandy; onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ¼ s. of each; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 d. of each; 2 d. cinnamon; 8 m. round pepper: this gives twelve dishes. 6. Qīma Shūrbā: 10 s. meat; 1 s. rice; 1 s. ghī; ¼ s. gram, and the rest as in the Shulla: this gives ten full dishes. 7. Harīsa: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 2 s. ghī; ½ s. salt; 2 d. cinnamon: this gives five dishes. 8. Kashk: 10 s. meat; 5 s. crushed wheat; 3 s. ghī; 1 s. gram; ¼ s. salt; 1½ s. onions; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cinnamon; saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 2 m. of each: this gives five dishes. 9. Halīm: The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding; 1 s. ghī; turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ¼ s. of each: this gives ten dishes. 10. Quṭāb, which the people of Hind call sanbūṣa: This is made in several ways. 10 s. meat; 4 s. fine flour; 2 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; ¼ s. fresh ginger; ½ s. salt; 2 d. pepper and coriander seed; cardamums, cuminseed, cloves, 1 d. of each; ¼ s. of summāq. This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes.

Thirdly, 1. Biryān. For a whole Dāshmandī sheep, take 2 s. salt; 1 s. ghī; 2 m. saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed: it is made in various ways. 2. Yakhni: for 10 s. meat, take 1 s. onions, and ½ s. salt. 3. Yulma: A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off; it is then prepared like yakhni, or any other way; but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable. 4. Kabāb is of various kinds. 10 s. meat; ½ s. ghī; salt, fresh ginger, onions, ¼ s. of each; cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, 1½ d. of each. 5. Musamman: They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole; ½ s. minced meat; ½ s. ghī; 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. Dūpiyāza: 10 s. meat that is middling fat; 2 s. ghī; 2 s. onions; ¼ s. salt; ½ 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. ghī; ¼ s. gram; ½ s. ginger; 1 d. cuminseed; round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 d. of each; this will give seven dishes full. It is also made of fowl and fish. 8. Dampukht: 10 s. meat; 2 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; 11 m. fresh ginger; 10 m. pepper; 2 d. cloves; 2 d. cardamums. 9. Qaliyy:

[1] Yakhni is a gravy or broth.—P.]
[2] Does this mean fried?
[3] Dam-pukht means cooking slowly in a vessel with its lid closed by paste.—P.]
10 s. meat; 2 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; 2 d. pepper; cloves, cardamums, 1 d. each; \( \frac{1}{3} \) s. salt: this will give eight dishes. In preparing qaliya, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the mutanjana. Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways. 10. Malghūba: 10 s. meat; 10 s. curds; 1 s. ghī; 1 s. onions; \( \frac{1}{3} \) s. ginger; 5 d. cloves: this will give ten dishes.

\[ \text{A} \text{in 25.} \]

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\( \frac{1}{3} \) s. ghī; \( \frac{1}{4} \) 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 chapātī, 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 \( \frac{1}{4} \) 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.

\[ \text{A} \text{in 26.} \]

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE. (Ṣūfiyāna.)\(^{2}\)

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

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\(^{1}\) Probably a large flat cake.—P.\]

\(^{2}\) Living according to the manners of the Sūfis.

\(^{3}\) Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. The Mondays of the month of Rajab were observed as fasts, because the Sundays had been included in the list of fast days. The members of the Divine Faith fasted likewise during the month of their birth.
solar month, during the whole month of Farwardin, and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz. the month of Ābān. Again, when the number of fast days of the month of Ābān had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of Āzar 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 bégums, the princes, and the principal nobility.

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

Åtēn 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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenugreek, do.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas, do.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard seed, do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kewū, do.</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. The autumnal harvest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mushkín, paddy per man</td>
<td>110 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāda paddy, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhdás rice, do.</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūnaparsād rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâmzira rice, do.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakarchīnī 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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daḥa (†) rice, do.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirhī rice, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāthī rice, do.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūng (black gram) do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māsh (a kind of vetch) per</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 February–March; [or March and April?—P]; vide the first Åtēn of the third book; Ābān corresponds to October–November.

2 Mashang or mushang, a pea?—P.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</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>Lobiya (a kind of bean), do.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juwari (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>Nukhudd dal, do.</td>
<td>16 1/2 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>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 1</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankachh, from Kashmir, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunvetri, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqaiqul (wild carrot), do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic flowers, per ser</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upalhak, (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jitui, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger (green), do.</td>
<td>2 1/2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachnar buds, do.</td>
<td>1/2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukka (sorrel), do.</td>
<td>1/3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathwa, do.</td>
<td>1/3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratsakai, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaulosi, do.</td>
<td>1/4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Living animals and meats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dashmandi sheep, per head</td>
<td>6 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan sheep, 1st kind, do.</td>
<td>2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 3rd kind, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri sheep, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani sheep, do.</td>
<td>1 1/2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbari goat, 1st kind, do.</td>
<td>1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., 2nd kind, do.</td>
<td>3/4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durrāj (black partridge)</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabg (^1) (partridge)</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būdana, (^2) do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāvah, (^3) do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwānak (stone curlew)</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fākhata (ringdove), do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Butter, Sugar, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghī, per man</td>
<td>105 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil, do.</td>
<td>80 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, do.</td>
<td>25 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curds, do.</td>
<td>18 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refined Sugar, per ser</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sugar candy, do.</td>
<td>5(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White sugar, per man</td>
<td>128 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar, do.</td>
<td>56 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron, per ser</td>
<td>400 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloves, do.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardamums, do.</td>
<td>52 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round pepper, do.</td>
<td>17 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long pepper, do.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry ginger, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh do., do.</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumminseeds, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniseed, per ser</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric (Hind. haldī)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coriander seed, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siyāḥdāna (Hind. kalaunjī), do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assafetida, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet fennel, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon, do.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, per man</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sour limes, per ser</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemon-juice, do.</td>
<td>5 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine vinegar</td>
<td>5 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane vinegar, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled ashtarghār, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes in oil, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in vinegar, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemons in oil, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in vinegar, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in salt, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. in lemon-juice, do.</td>
<td>3 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled ginger</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adarshākh, do.</td>
<td>2(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips in vinegar, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickled carrots, do.</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Kābk the Chukor partridge.—P."
\(^2\) The Common Quail.—P."
\(^3\) The Rock Bush-quail.—P."
\(^4\) Kishmish sultana raisins; munagga large black raisins.—P."

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*[Note: Conversion of imperial to metric units may be required for some entries.*]
Pickled karīl berries, per ser ½ d. Do. cucumbers, do. ½ d.
Do. sūran, do. 1 d. Do. bādrang,1 (gourd) do. ½ d.
Do. mustard ¼ d. Do. kachālū, do. ½ d.
Do. torī (a kind of cu-
cumber) ½ d. Do. radishes, do. ½ d.

Ā'īn 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 Īrān and Tūrān 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 Kābul, Qandahār, and Kashmir, loads of fruit are imported; throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bāzārs well supplied. Muskmelons come in season, in Hindūstān, in the month of Farevardīn (February–March),2 and are plenty in Urdibihish (March–April).3 They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called nāshpātī, bābāshaykhi, 6alisherī, alcha, barg-i nay, dūd-i chirāğ, etc. They continue in season for two months longer. In the beginning of Sharīwar (August),4 they come from Kashmir, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kābul; during the month of Āzār (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 Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter. Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from Khurād (May)7 to Amurdād (July),8 whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmir grapes during Shahrīwar.4 Eight seris of grapes sell in Kashmir for one dām, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per man. The Kashmīris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious.

1 Bādānq, 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.
From *Mihr* (September)\(^1\) till *Urdibihist*\(^2\) grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries,\(^3\) which his Majesty calls *shāhālū*, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, *girdālūs*, and *ālūchas*, 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 *kūknār* (he calls the latter *sābras*), 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 *Mansabdārs*, *Aḥadis*, 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. Tūrānī Fruits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Arhang</em> melons, 1st quality</td>
<td>2½ <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do.</em>, 2nd and 3rd <em>do.</em>, at 1</td>
<td>2½ <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kābul</em> melons, 1st <em>do.</em>, at 1</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do.</em>, 2nd <em>do.</em>, at ½ to</td>
<td>½ <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Do.</em>, 3rd <em>do.</em>, at ½ to</td>
<td>¼ <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarqand apples, 7 to 15</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Quinces</em>, 10 to 30 for</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pomegranates</em>, per <em>man</em>,</td>
<td>15 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guavas</em>, 10 to 100 for</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kābul</em> and European</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apples</em>, 5 to 10 for</td>
<td>1 <em>R.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kashmir</em> grapes, per <em>man</em></td>
<td>108 <em>d.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dates</em>, per <em>ser</em></td>
<td>10 <em>d.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Raisins</em> (<em>kishmish</em>), <em>do.</em></td>
<td>9 <em>d.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ābvoid</em> (large raisins), <em>do.</em></td>
<td>9 <em>d.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Plums*, *do.* . . . . 8 *d.*

*Khūbānī* (dried apricots), per *ser* . . . . 8 *d.*

*Qandahar* dry grapes, *do.* . . 7 *d.*

*Figs*, per *ser* . . . . 7 *d.*

*Munaqqa*, *do.* . . . 6½ *d.*

*Juubes*, *do.* . . . . 3½ *d.*

Almonds, without the shell, *do.* . . . 28 *d.*

*Do.*, with *do.*, *do.* . . . 11 *d.*

*Pistachios*, *do.*, *do.* . . . 9 *d.*

*Chīlghūza*\(^4\) nuts, per *ser* . . . 8 *d.*

*Sinjūd* (jujubes), *do.* . . . 6½ *d.*

*Pistachios*, without shell, *do.* . . . 6 *d.*

*Jawz* (nuts), *do.* . . . . 4½ *d.*

*Filberts*, *do.* . . . . 3 *d.*

*Hazel*\(^5\) nuts, *do.* . . . . 2½ *d.*

---

\(^{1}\) September–October.—*P.*

\(^{2}\) The original has a word *kīlās*, which is not to be found in our dictionaries. It may be *cerusus*. [Gīlās is the common name in Persia and in Kashmir for the white sweet cherry.—*P.*]

\(^{3}\) A town in Bada Khshān.

\(^{4}\) Edible seed of *pinus Gerardiana*.—*P.*

\(^{5}\) *Girdgān* is properly the walnut.—*P.*
B. The sweet fruits of Hindustan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes, per hundred, up to</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine-apples, one for</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcanes, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackfruits, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantains, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ber, per ser</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranates, per man, 80 to</td>
<td>100 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavas, two for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs, per ser</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulberry, do.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custard-apples, one for</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melons, per man</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water-melons, one 2 to 10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khirnī, per ser</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuvā, do.</td>
<td>1 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dephal, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The original does not mention the price.

Mulberries and gūlars are in season during spring; pine-apples, oranges, sugarcane, bers, ěśirās, bholsarīs, gumbhīs, dēphals during winter; jackfruits, tarkuls, figs, melons, lahsauras, karahrīs, mahuvās, tendūs, pilūs, barautas, during summer; and mangoes, plantains, dates, delās, gūlas, pomegranates, guavas, water-melons, paniyālas, bangas, khirnīs, piyārs, during the rains.

C. Dried Fruits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coco-nuts, one for</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry Dates, per ser</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnuts, do.</td>
<td>8 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiraurchī, do.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates, walnuts, chiraurchīs, and kaulgattas are in seasons during summer, and coco-nuts, makhānās, and supyāris, during winter.

[1] Kāwta ?
[2] Amrūd guava, but in Persia and locally too in India, a pear.—P.]
[3] Sadā-phal. The custard-apple is sītā-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.

Palwal, per ser . . . . 2 d. Kachālū, per ser . . . . 2 d.
Gourd, one . . . . 2½ d. Chachindā, do. . . . . 2 d.
Bādinjān, per ser . . . . 1½ d. Sūran, do. . . . . 1 d.
Tura, do. . . . . 1½ d. Carrots, do. . . . . 1 d.
Kandūrī, do. . . . . 1½ d. Singhāra, do. . . . . 3 d.
Sēnb, do. . . . . 1½ d. Sālak, do. . . . . 2 d.
Peth, do. . . . . 1½ d. Pindālū, do. . . . . 2 d.
Karīla, do. . . . . 1½ d. Siyālī . . . . *
Kakūra, do. . . . . 1½ d. Kaserū, do. . . . . 3 d.

Sūrans and siyālīs are in season during summer; palwals, gourds, tura, kachālūs, chachindās, kandūrīs, senbs, 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.

Limes, four up to . . . . 1 d. Ghep . . . . *
Amalbet, do. . . . . 1 d. Bijaurā, one for . . . . 8 d.
Galgal, two up to . . . . 1 d. Äwēlā,3 per ser . . . . 2 d.

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

F. Fruits somewhat acid.

Ambū, per ser . . . . 2 d. Kait, four up to . . . . 1 d.
Baḍhal, one for . . . . 1 d. Kānkū . . . . *
Kamrak, four up to . . . . 1 d. Pākar, per ser . . . . ½ d.
Nārangī,4 two up to . . . . 1 d. Karnā, one for . . . . 1 d.
Mountain grapes . . . . * Labhīrā . . . . *
Jāman, per ser . . . . 1 d. Jambhīrī, five up to . . . . 1 d.
Phālsa, do . . . . 1½ d. Garnal . . . . *
Karaundā, do. . . . . 1 d.

* The original does not mention the price.

Kamraks and nārangīs,4 are in season during winter; ambūs, baḍhals, mountain-grapes, phālsas, labhīrās, during summer; and kait, pākars, karnās, jāmans, karaundās, jhanbhrīs, 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.

[1 Kadā pumpkin.—P.]
[2 The water-nut.—P.]
[3 The emblic myrobalans.—P.]
[4 The orange with close skin.—P.]
The Mango: The Persians call this fruit *Naqhzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusrav*.

This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste; and some of the gourmets of Tūrān and Īrān 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 *qalyas* (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 *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 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 mango, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year.

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

2 *Shigarf*, beautiful, fine.—P.
Pine-apples\(^1\) are also called *kathal-i safarī*, 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 mangoe. The plant is about a yard long, and its leaves have the shape of a hand. The edges of the leaves are like a saw. The fruit forms at the end of the stalk and has a few leaves on its top. When the fruit is plucked, they cut out 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 Hindūstān. The tree resembles the lime tree; its flower has a weak, but fine smell.

Sugar cane, 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 *Babul*\(^4\) 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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\(^1\) Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, p. 3) states that the pine-apples at his time came from the harbour towns held by the Portuguese.

\(^2\) *Kāvūṭa*.—P.

\(^3\) *Wajab*, a span.—P.

\(^4\) A species of acaic, the *kikar* 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 Duātasha, 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

[1 *Kīpā* the gut of a sheep stuffed with mince and rice.—P.]
[2 *اِلْخُبْـطَة* might mean ironed.—P.]
[3 *Sūsan* 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 Mahuwā tree resembles the mangoe tree; its wood is used for building purposes. The fruit, which is also called Gilaunda, yields an intoxicating liquor.

The Bholsīrī 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 tārī; when fresh it is sweet; when it is allowed to stand for some time it turns subacid and is inebriating.

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

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

The Coco-nut is called by the Persians Jawz-i Hindī: 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 Zardā-lū the acid apricot.—P.
gets black when mixed with butter; it is sweet and greasy. When eaten with pān-leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh. The shell is used for spoons, cups, and ghīchaks (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 Pīnd-khajūr. 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 Pīndālū is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high. Its leaf resembles the betel lead; 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 Orange¹ has the shape of an egg. One kind is called kāghazī.¹ 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,² 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.³

¹ Nāranj, orange?—P.
² Limū, lime. Kāghazī is applied to a small green lime with a skin as thin as paper.—P.
³ Paykān-i khash?—P.
The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergis; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The Betel leaf is, properly speaking, a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit. Mir 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 Bilahri 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 Kāker leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The Jaiswār leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The Kapūri leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The Kapūrkant 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 Banaras; 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 Perī. The new leaf is called Gadauta. 2. The Naũ leaf. 3. The Bahūli leaf. 4. The Chhīv leaf. 5. The Adhīnlā leaf. 6. The Agahniya or Lewār 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.—P.]
others keep it for seeding: they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the Perī.

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called Lahāsa, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called Dholī; a lahaśa is made up of dholīs. 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 kath1 on one leaf, and some lime2 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.

Āʾin 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 qabṣ; and ṣufṣat 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 zuṣūqa a combination of the brackish and the bitter.

Āʾin 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, aloewood, 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 chūna; but in Anglo-Indice, chūnām.
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: \(1\frac{1}{2}\) tolaś Civet; 1 t. Chūwa\(^1\); 2 māshas Chambelī essence; 2 bottles of rose-water. 2. Argaja \(\frac{3}{4}\) s. sandalwood; 2 t. Iksir and Mid; 3 t. Chūwa; 1 t. violet root, and gehla (the seed of a plant); \(\frac{1}{2}\) m. camphor; 11 bottles of rose-water. It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool. 3. Gulkāma: Pound together 1 t. best Ambergris; \(\frac{1}{2}\) t. Lādan; 2 t. best musk; 4 t. wood of aloes, and 8 t. Iksir-i ʻabīr; and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a ser of the juice of the flower called Gul-i surkh,\(^2\) 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\(^3\) stone. Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called Bahār-i Nāranj,\(^4\) and let it dry. During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black Rayhān (also called black Nāzbū).\(^5\) A part of this mixture is added to the preceding. 4. Rūh-afzā, 5 s. Aloewood; \(1\frac{1}{2}\) s. Sandalwood; \(1\frac{1}{2}\) s. Lādan; Iksir, Lūbān, Dhūp (a root brought from Kashmir), 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) t. of each; 20 t. violet root; 10 t. Ushna, called in Hind. Chharīla: 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: \(2\frac{1}{2}\) s. Lādan; \(1\frac{1}{2}\) s. 5 d. Aloewood; the same quantity of Bahār-i Nāranj,\(^4\) and \(1\frac{1}{2}\) s. of its bark; 1 s. 10 d. Sandalwood; 1 s. 5 d. Sumbulu ʻt-ţib, called in Hind Chhar; the same quantity of Ushna; 38\(\frac{1}{2}\) t. musk; 1 s. 4 t. pācha leaves; 36 t. apples; 11 t. Suvūd, called in Hind Moth; 5 d. violet root; 1 t. 2 m. Dhūp; \(1\frac{1}{2}\) t. Ikanki (a kind of grass); the same quantity of Zurumbād, called in Hind. kachūr (zerumbet); 1 t. 2 m. Lūbān; 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. ʻAbīrmāya,\(^6\) 4 d. Aloewood; 2 d. Sandalwood; 1 d. violet root; 3 d. Sumbulu ʻt-ţib; 3 d. Duvālak; 4 t. musk of Khatā (Cathay); 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. Lādan; \(7\frac{1}{2}\) d. Bahār-i Nāranj. Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose-water, and put it into the shade to dry. 7. Kishta, 24 t. Aloewood; \(6\frac{1}{2}\) Lādan, Lūbān, and Sandalwood; Iksir 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 surkh in Persian is a pink fragrant rose that blooms in Spring.—P.]

3 Samāq (vide sumāq) is the hardest kind of marble.—P.]

4 Orange-flower bloom.—P.]

5 Sweet basil.—P.]

6 Vide below the twelfth flower.
1 t. *Usyna*; 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. *Bukhur*: 1 s. Aloewood and Sandalwood; \(\frac{1}{4}\) s. *Lūdan*; 2 t. musk; 5 t. *Ikṣir*; mix with two *sers* of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire. 9. *Fatila*: 5 s. Aloewood; 72 t. Sandalwood; *Ikṣir* and *Lūdan*, 20 t. of each; 5 t. Violet root; 10 t. *Lūban*; 3 t. refined sugar; mix with two bottles of rose-water, and make into tapers. 10. *Bārjāt*: 1 s. Aloewood; 5 t. *Lūdan*; 2 t. musk; 2 t. Sandalwood; 1 t. *Lūban*; \(\frac{1}{4}\) t. Camphor. Then distill it like *Chūwa* (*vide* below). 11. *Abīr-Ikṣir*: \(\frac{1}{2}\) s. Sandalwood; 26 t. *Ikṣir*; 2 t. 8 m. musk. Pound it, and dry it in the shade. 12. *Ghasūl* (*a* liquid soap), 35 t. Sandalwood; 17 t. *Kātur* (?); 1 t. musk; 1 t. *Chūwa*; 2 m. Camphor; 2 m. *Mīd*. Mix with 2 bottles of rose-water.

*A List of Perfumes* \(^2\) and their Prices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfume</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ambar</em> i ashshab</td>
<td>1 to 3 Muhurs, per tolā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zabād (<em>civet</em>)</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) R. to 1 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk</td>
<td>1 to 4(\frac{1}{2}) R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lignum aloes Hind. <em>Agar</em></td>
<td>2 R. to 1 M., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chūwa</em> (Distilled wood of Aloes)</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) R. to 1 R., per tolā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gaura</em> (^3)</td>
<td>3 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhimsīṃī Camphor</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>Zāfarān.</td>
<td>12 to 22 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zāfarān-i Kamandī</td>
<td>1 to 3 M., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zāfarān (from Kashmir)</td>
<td>8 to 12 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sandalwood</em></td>
<td>32 to 55 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāfa-yi mushk</td>
<td>3 to 12 M., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kalanbak</em> (Calembic)</td>
<td>10 to 40 R., per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Silāras</em></td>
<td>3 to 5 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ambar</em> i Lādan</td>
<td>(1\frac{1}{2}) to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāfīr-i Chīna</td>
<td>1 to 2 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Araq</em> i Fitna</td>
<td>1 to 3 R., per bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Araq</em> i Bel-i Mushk</td>
<td>1 to 4 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosewater</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) to 1 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Araq</em> i Bahār</td>
<td>1 to 5 R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Araq</em> i Chambelī</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) to (\frac{1}{4}) R., do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet-root</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) to 1 R., per ser.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) According to some MSS. *Kaurāh*.
\(^2\) Most of the following names are explained below.
\(^3\) In the text, p. 85, by mistake *Kaurāh*. *Vide* my text edition, p. 94, l. 6.
Azfārī 't-tīb ............................. 1½ to 2 R., per ser.
Barg-i Māj (brought from Gujrat) .......... ½ to 1 R., do.
Sugandh Gūgalā ............................. 10 to 13 R., do.
Lūbān (from Sargard ?) .................... ½ to 3 R., per tolā.
Lūbān (other kinds) ......................... 1 to 2 R., per ser.
Alak, Hind. Chhar ......................... ¼ to ½ R., do.
Duvalak, Hind. Chharila .................... 3 to 4 d., do.
Gehla ........................................ *
Suṣd ........................................... *
Ikankī ........................................ *
Zurumbūd ..................................... *

* The original does not mention the prices.

A List of fine smelling Flowers.

1. The Sevī. Whitish; blooms the whole year, especially towards the end of the rains.
2. The Bholsārī. Whitish; in the rains.
3. The Chambēlī. 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.
10. The Jūhī. White and yellow, like jasmin. During the rains.
13. The Kewara. From Leo to Libra.
14. The Chalta.
17. The Singārhar. 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 Kāwal. White and also bluish. In the rains.
3. The Jaṣfari. 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-manjanī. Bright red. It is smaller than jasmin. All the year.
6. The Kesū. In the hot season.
12. The Karūl. In spring.
14. The Kadam. 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 khandī. Inside yellowish white, outside reddish. In spring.
18. The Jait. Inside yellow, outside a blackish red. In the rains.
20. The Lāhī. It blooms in Pisces.
21. The Gul-i Karanđa. White. It is smaller than the Chambelī, and blooms during the rains.
22. The Dhanantār resembles the Nilūfar. During the rains.
24. The Dupahriyā. Bright red and white. All the year.
25. The Bhūn Champā. Peach coloured.
26. The Sudarsan. Yellow; it resembles the Nilūfar, but is smaller.
27. The Kanglā,ī. There are two kinds, red and white.
29. The San. 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 Sinā 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 ashhāb. 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 Khashkhāshī. The black kind is bad; it is inflammable. Greedy bāzār-dealers will mix it with wax, Mandal, and Lādan, etc.; but not every one has recourse to such practices. Mandal is a kind of Āmbar taken from the intestines of dead fishes; it does not smell much.

2. Lādan is also often called Āmbar. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of Qībrus (Cyprus) and Qīsūs (Chios) or Qistūs. 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 Lādan as is mixed with goat's-hair is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But Lādan which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the Lādan which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into 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 Ribāh, or Qaysūrī.\(^2\) 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 Qaysūr, 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 Baytār, 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 Kawkab. The worst camphor is mixed with pieces of wood; it goes under the name of Bālus. By artificial crystallization each kind will become clean and white. In some books, camphor in its natural state is called Jūdānā or Bhīmsīni. 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 Mayyit-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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\(^1\) Yūz, the cheeta or hunting-leopard.—P.

\(^2\) Fansūrin according to Marco Polo. Fansūrin is a state in Sumatra.—R.

\(^3\) Bāzār dealers give a few peppercorns along with every piece of camphor.

\(^4\) Dogh 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 tolā 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 in 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 Chambeli, or
Rāy-bel, or Surkā gul, 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 preced-
ing. 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. Miḍ 1 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 Miḍ is found in various countries, and sells for from five to
six dāms only. Some say that Miḍ is the dried bag of the civet cat,
pounded and boiled in water; the greasy substance which rises to the
surface is the Miḍ.

7. Ūḍ, 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

1 ṣṣr with the kasrah, a kind of perfume. Kashf al-‘lughāt.
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, *Jabal* or *Hindi*. The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive against fleas; but some think both kinds equal in this respect. Of other good kinds I may mention the *Samanduri*; the *Qumari*, which is inferior to it; the *Qalu*, next in rank; the *Barri*; the *Qis*; and the Chinese, also called *Qismuri*, which is wet and sweet. Still inferior are the *Jalati*, the *Mayataqi*, the *Lawqi*, the *Riati*. But of all kinds, the *Mandali* is the best. The *Samanduri* is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whitishness, and burns long. The best of all is the black and heavy; in water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded. The wood which floats is looked upon as bad. Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrât, and nowadays it grows in Chânpânîr. It is generally brought from Achin and Dahnâsari. Nothing is known of the *habitat* mentioned in old books. Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes; when eaten, it is exhilarating. It is generally employed in incense; the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes.

8. *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 *tolas* of Chuwa. Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people.

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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 Maqāsārī. Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin; but it is also used in other ways.

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

11. Kalanbak (calemuc) is the wood of a tree brought from Zīrbād (?)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 Malāyīr 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 Miṣah-yi yābisa. When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor. The Lubān which the Persians call Kundur-i daryāʾī (mastic) is a resin brought from Yaman; but it is not odorous.

14. Azfār 't-fūb, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind Nakh, and in Persian Nākhun-i boyā. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell, of two parts. It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on sambil; 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 gūgalā (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan; it is used in perfumes.

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

1. The Sevtī resembles the Gul-i Surkh, but is smaller. It has in

¹ Zīrbād (Zirābād), a town near the frontiers of Bengal. Ghīyāṣ ‘l-lughāt. [The Persian translation of the Malay Bāwah angin, "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 *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 *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,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, Gujrat, 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 Orientals, as a rule, have very small hands and fingers.
² *Sanābarī-paykār*, a fir-cone?—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 *Tasbih gulal* has a fine smell. The petals have the form of a dagger. The stem of the plant is two yards high. It flowers after four years. They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week.

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

11. The *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 *Kusaha* 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 *Abirmay* 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 *Juli* has small leaves. This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years.

15. The *Nivarni* 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 *Zafran* (saffron).\(^1\) In the beginning of the month of *Urdbihisht*, 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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\(^1\) *Vide* a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Šūba 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 Ghāzī Khān,¹ the son of (Khājī) 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 mans² 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 Pargahan 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 Kanvāl. There are two kinds. One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night. It resembles the shaqāyiq,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 excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds. The other kind has four white petals, opens at night, and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close.

¹ He was the contemporary of Shār Khān; vide Abū 'l-Faṣl's list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book. A good biography of Ghāzī Khān may be found in the beginning of the Ma'ūṣir-i Raḥimi, Persian MS. No. 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
² One Kashmiri Tark = 8 sers (of Akbar) = 4 Kashm. mans; 1 Kash. man = 4 Kash. sers; 1 Kash. sers = 7½ pales.
³ These places lie to the south of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir; for Marura the text has ½. Vide Sūba Kābul, third book.
⁴ The shaqāyiq is probably the anemone.—P.]
20. The *Jaśfarī* is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger than the *sadbarg*. One kind has five, another a hundred petals. The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards. The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented. It flowers in two months.

21. The *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 *Ratanmanjanī* 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 *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.¹ 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* ² (a royal cap). The leaves are like those of the walnut tree, which the whole tree resembles.

26. The *Nāg 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 *Hīnnā* plant, and the leaves those of the willow.

28. The *Srīkandā* ³ is like the *Chambeli*, but smaller. It flowers in two years.

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

30. The *Dupahriyā* 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 *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 *Sudarsan* resembles the *Rāy-bel*, and has yellow threads inside. The stem looks like that of the *Sūsan* ⁴ flower.

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¹ *Jāfīr* gets 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.
33. *Senbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad.

34. The *Ratanmālā* is round and small. Its juice, boiled and mixed with vitriol and *muṣasfar*, 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 *Sūnzard* resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals. The stem is like that of the *Chambelī*. It flowers in two years.

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

37. The *Karīl* 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 *Chanpala* 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 *Lāhī* 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 *Karaunda* resembles the *Jūhī* flower.

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

43. The *Siras* flower consists of silk-like threads, and resembles a *tumāgha*. It sends its fragrance to a great distance. It is the king of the trees, although the Hindus rather worship the *Pīpal* 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 *Kanglā* has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful. Each branch produces only one flower.

45. The *San* (hemp) looks like a nosegay. The leaves of the plant resemble those of the *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 *Paṭ-san*. It makes a very soft rope.

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1 *Muṣasfar* is perhaps bastard saffron.—P.
2 *Bar* the banyan tree.—P.
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 Irân and Tûrân, as the Gul-i surkh, the Nargis, the violet, the Yâsman-i kabûd, the Sûsan,¹ the Rayhân,² the Raûnâ, the Zebâ, the Shaqâyiq,³ the Tâj-i khurus, the Qalgha, the Nafarmân, the Khatmi,⁴ 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 Bâbar, 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 surkhs = 1 mûsha; 16 mûshas = 1 karg; 4 kargs = 1 pal; 100 pals = 1 tulû; 20 tulûs = 1 bûr); 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 gharûs (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.⁵ 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.

Ashîn 31.

THE WARDROBE⁶ 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 Lâhor, Ágra, Fatîhpûr, Añmadâbâd, Gujrat, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

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¹ Sûsan, the iris.—P.
² Rayhân, sweet basil.—P.
³ Shaqâyiq, vide p. 85, note 1.—P.
⁴ Khatmi, the hollyhock and the marsh mallow.—P.
⁵ Regarding this measure, vide the fourth book.
⁶ The text has a word which occurs about three times in this work. I have also found it in Sayyid Añmad’s edition of the Tuzuk i Jahângiri; but I cannot find it in any Persian or Chagâtâi Dictionary. The meaning, a wardrobe, is however clear. [Also spelt .—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 materials 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 Ghiyāz-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.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 Ṭakauchiya is a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side.² It requires seven yards and seven girih,³ and five girih 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 66⅔, and even 75 per cent.
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 (chādar).
³ It is not stated in A² in how many girīḥ the tailor's gas, or yard, contains. It is probable that 16 girīḥ = 1 gaz, which is the usual division at present. For other yard measures, vide the 87th and 89th A² ins of this book. The Persian word girīḥ is pronounced in India girāh.
3. The Dutāhī (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four girīhs for the outside, six yards lining, four girīhs for the binding, nine girīhs for the border. The price of making one varies from one to three rupees. One misqal of silk is required.

4. The Shāh-ajīḍa (or the royal stitch coat) is also called Shāst-khatt (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches per girīh. 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 ser of cotton and two dāms of silk. If sewed with bakhya⁠¹ stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees; one with ajīḍa stitches costs four rupees.

6. The Qalamī requires 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 girīhs binding, nine for bordering, 2 1/2 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 girīh stuff; 5 gaz 5 girīh lining; 14 girīh 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 gaz 6 1/2 girīh stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 m. silk, 1 s. cotton. It is made both single and double. Price from 1/4 to 2 rupees.

¹ Bakhya, in Hind. bakhīyā, corresponds to what ladies call backstitching. Ajīda is the buttonhole stitch. These, at least, are the meanings which bakhya 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 chikin; but this is what we call white embroidery.

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

³ The etymology of the word fargul is not known to me. The names of several articles of wear, nowadays current in India, are Portuguese; as sāya, a petticoat; fītā, a ribbon. Among other Portuguese words, now common in Hindustani, are padrī, clergyman; girjā, a church, Port. îgrijava; kōbī, cabbage, Port. cuouve; chābī, a key, Port. chāve.

Abū 'l-Faṭḥ's explanation (vide my text edition, p. 102, l. 16) corrects Vullers II, p. 663a.
11. The Chakman\textsuperscript{1} is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Darā\textsuperscript{2} wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot go through it. It requires 6 gaz. stuff, 5 girih 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 Shalwär (drawers) is made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded. It requires 3 gaz 11 girih cloth, 6 girih for the hem through which the string runs, 3 gaz 5 girih lining, 1½ m. silk, ½ s. cotton. Price, from ¼ to ½ rupee.

There are various kinds of each of these garments. It would take me too long to describe the chīras, fawtas, and dupattas,\textsuperscript{2} 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\textsuperscript{3} 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 the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms.\textsuperscript{4} Instead of jāma (coat), he says sarbhātī, i.e. covering the whole body; for izār (drawers), he says yār-pirāhan (the companion of the coat); for nīmtana (a jacket), tanzeb; for fauta, patgat; for burqa\textsuperscript{4} (a veil), chitarānipitā; for kulāh (a cap), sīs sobhā; for mūy-bāf (a hair ribbon), kesghān; for patakā (a cloth for the loins), katzeb; for shāl (shawl), parmindār; for . . .,\textsuperscript{5} parmgarm; for kapārdāhūr, a Tibetan stuff, kapūrnūr; for pāy-afzār (shoes), charndharn; and similarly for other names.

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\textsuperscript{1} As this word is not given in any dictionary, the vowels are doubtful. So is Vuller’s form chaspán.
\textsuperscript{2} Stuff of different shapes used for making turbans.
\textsuperscript{3} In allusion to the practice of Sāfis, who only wear garments made of wool (ṣūf). Abū ’l-Fazl often tries to represent Akbar as a Sāfi 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 praise has often been brought against Abū ’l-Fazl, though it would more appropriately lie against Fazī, who—like the poets of imperial Rome—represents the emperor as God, as may be seen in the poetical extracts of the second book. But the praises of the two brothers throw a peculiar light on Akbar’s character, who received the most immoderate encomiums with self-complacency.

\textsuperscript{4} The following passage is remarkable, as it shows Akbar’s predilection for Hindī terms.

\textsuperscript{5} The MSS. have an unintelligible word. The Banāras 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 Tūs 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 Safīḍ Alchas, also called Tārhārs, 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, Kalābatīn, Kashiḍa, Qalghāzī, Bandhnūn, Chhīnt, Alcha, Purzdār, 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 misl, a set. The clerks fix accordingly the degree of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the pieces. Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the imperial wardrobe on the Urmuzd day (first day) of the month of Farwardīn, 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: Tūs, safīdalcha, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass-coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, mawe like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the Ratanmanjanī.

1 Alcha, or Alācha, any kind of corded (mukhattat) stuff. Tārhārs means corded.
2 Zardozī, Kalābatīn (Forbes, kalabattān), Kashiḍa, Qalghāzī, are stuffs with gold and silk threads; Bandhnūn, are stuffs dyed differently in different parts of the piece; Chhīnt is our chiniz, which is derived from Chhīnt. Purzdār are all kinds of stuffs the outside of which is plush-like.
3 Akbar, like the Parsëes, believed in lucky and unlucky days. The arrangement of the stores of clothing must strike the reader as most unpractical. Similar arrangements, equally curious, will be found in the following Aftāns. Perhaps they indicate a progress, as they show that some order at least was kept.
flower, coloured like the Kāsmī flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, ...1 bhojpatra 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 Fākhta.2

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmīr. 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 Kashmīr. 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 chīras (turbans), fōtas (loin bands), etc.

I subjoin the following tabular particulars.

A. Gold stuffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brocaded velvet, from Yazd,3 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 Gujrāt, do.</td>
<td>10 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Kashān, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Hirāt, do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Lāhor, do.</td>
<td>10 to 40 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. from Barsah (?), do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutabbag, do.4</td>
<td>2 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milak, do.</td>
<td>3 to 70 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocade, from Gujrāt, do.</td>
<td>4 to 60 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tās 5 Brocade, from do. do.</td>
<td>1 to 35 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The text contains two doubtful words. The next word bhojpatra is the bark of a tree used for making buqqa tubes.
2 Fākhta is the Common Ring-dove of India, the Turtur risoria of Jerdon.—P.
3 Yazd is the principal city in the south of the Persian province of Khurāsān. Kashān lies in Irāq-i Šāam, north of Isfahān. "The asses of Khāsān are wiser than the men of Isfahān," which latter town is for Persia what Boeotia is for Ancient Greece, or the Bretagne for France, of 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 Sayyids of Bārhat enjoyed a similar notoriety.
4 Mutabbag, a kind of cloth, chiefly brought from Khallukh, and Milak from Naushād in Turkestan. Ghiyās iltuqhat.
5 Tās means generally brocade; Dārāibaf is a kind of brocaded silk; Muqayyash is silk with stripes of silver—the Ghiyās says that Muqayyash comes from the Hind. kesē, hair to which the silver-stripes are compared, and that it is an Arabicized form of the Hindī word as qaranful, a clove, for the Hindī karnphul; itrifah, a kind of medicine for triphal, as it consists of three fruits, etc. Mushajjar is a kind of silk with leaves and branches woven in it; Debbā is coloured silk; Khaṛā, moirée antique; Khazz is filosé silk. For tafrīša (vide Freytag III, p. 353), we also find tafsīla.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dārāzi-bāf, from Gujrāt</td>
<td>2 to 50 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muqayyash, do.</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirwānī 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>Debā silk, do.</td>
<td>1 to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., from Yazd, do.</td>
<td>1 to 1½ M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharā, do.</td>
<td>5 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satin, from Chinese Tartary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawār, from do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khazz silk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafṣila (a stuff from Mecca)</td>
<td>from 15 to 20 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtaḥwār, from Gujrāt</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mināl</td>
<td>1 to 14 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chīra (for turbans)</td>
<td>¼ to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupattā, do.</td>
<td>9 to 8 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fotos (loin bands)</td>
<td>½ to 12 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterpanes</td>
<td>1 to 20 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Text does not give the prices.

**B. Silks, 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 Hirāt, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. Khāfi, 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 Gujrāt, per yard</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaatīfa-yi i Pūrabī,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>Dārāzi-bāf, do.</td>
<td>2 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutabbag, do.</td>
<td>1 to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirwānī, do.</td>
<td>1½ to 10 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milak, do.</td>
<td>1 to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamkhāb, from Kābul and Persia, do.</td>
<td>1 to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawār (?), do.</td>
<td>2 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūrī (?), do.</td>
<td>4 to 10 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushajjar, from Europe, 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.
Satin, from Europe, *per yard* .................................................. 2 R. to 1 M.
Satin, from Hirāt, *per piece* .................................................. 5 R. to 2 M.
Khārā, *per yard* .................................................................. 1 R. to 6 R.
Sihrang, *per piece* ............................................................... 1 to 3 M.
Quṭrī, do. .................................................................................. 1½ R. to 2 M.
Katān, *per piece* .................................................................. 1½ to 1 R.
Tāfī, do. ..................................................................................... 1 to 2 R.
Anbarī, do. ................................................................................ 4 d. to ½ R.
Dārā, do. ...................................................................................... ½ R. to 2 R.
Sīṭāpūrī, *per piece* ............................................................. 6 R. to 2 M.
Qabābanī, do. ............................................................................ 6 R. to 2 M.
Ṭāt bandāpūrī, do. .................................................................. 2 R. to ½ M.
Lāh, *per yard* ......................................................................... ½ to ½ R.
Miṣrī, *per piece* ...................................................................... ½ to 1 M.
Sār, *per yard* ........................................................................... ½ to ½ R.
Ṭassar, *per piece* ..................................................................... ½ to 2 R.
Plain Kurtavār Satin, *per yard* ............................................... ½ to ½ R.
Kapūrnār, formerly called Kapūrdhūr, do. ................................. ½ to 1 R.
Alchā, do. .................................................................................... ½ to 2 R.
Tafṣīlī, *per piece* .................................................................... 7 to 12 R.

C. Cotton cloths.

Khāsa, *per piece* ...................................................................... 3 R. to 15 M.
Chautār, do. ................................................................................ 2 R. to 9 M.
Malmal, do. ................................................................................ 4 R.
Tansukh, do. ................................................................................ 4 R. to 5 M.
Sirī Sāf, do. ................................................................................ 2 R. to 5 M.
Gāngājal, do. ............................................................................... 4 R. to 5 M.
Bhīraun, do. ................................................................................ 4 R. to 4 M.
Saḥān, do. ..................................................................................... 1 to 3 M.
Jhona, do. .................................................................................... 1 R. to 1 M.
Aṭān, do. ....................................................................................... 2½ R. to 1 M.
Asūvalī, do. .................................................................................. 1 to 5 M.
Bāfta, do. ..................................................................................... 1½ R. to 5 M.
Māhmūdī, do. ............................................................................... ½ to 3 M.

1 Changing silk.
2 A stuff made of silk and wool.
3 Generally translated by *linen*. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; it is *Muslin*.
4 Properly, *woven*; hence *taffeta*.
5 Nowadays chiefly made in Berhampore and Patna; *sulgo*, 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>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālū, per piece</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doriva, per piece</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahādūr Shāhī, do.</td>
<td>6 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garba Sūtī, do.</td>
<td>1 M. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šhelā, from the Dakhin, do.</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīhrkul, do.</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mindūl, do.</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarband, do.</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ 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>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goshpech, do.</td>
<td>1 to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhīnt, per yard</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazīna, per piece</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silāhāti, per yard</td>
<td>2 to 4 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. Woollen stuffs.**

Scarlet Broadcloth, from Turkey, Europe, and Portugal, per yard 2 R. to 4 M.

Do., from Nāgor and Lāhor, per piece 2 R. to 1 M.

Sūf-i murabbaç, do. 4 to 15 M.

Sūf-i, 2 do. 3 R. to 1 M.

Parmnarm, do. 2 R. to 20 M.

Chīra-yi Parmnarm, do. 2 R. to 25 M.

Fota, do. $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 M.

Jānavār-i Parmnarm, do. $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 M.

Goshpech, do. 1 R. to 1 M.

Garpech, do. 1 to 4 M.

Aghrī, do. 7 R. to 2 M.

---

1 The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broadcloth; musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (vide Badāonī II, p. 290, l. 2 from below; p. 338, l. 7) and, since 1600, tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abū l-Fazl several are no longer known, as native weavers cannot compete with the English Longcloth and the cheap European Muslims, 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 woolen stuffs and, for the poorer classes, blankets, was much more general than now. Even the light caps generally worn by Muhammadans in this country, called in Hind. ūpī, and in Persian taḫtīfā (vide Bahār-i Čājam) 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.
Pargarm, 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.
Patū, do. ......................................... 1 to 10 R.
Rewkār, do. ................................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Mīrī, do. ........................................ 5 to 50 R.
Būrd-i Yamanī, do. ............................ 5 to 35 R.
Mānji (?) namad, do. ......................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Kanpak (?) namad, do. ...................... 2 R. to 1 M.
Takyal 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.
Kashmīrian Caps, do. ......................... 2 d. to 1 R.

* The price is not given in the text.

Ā'in 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.

Ā'in 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 Khilqi (from khilqat) referring to states of mind natural to us, as benevolence, wrath, etc. These, Abü l’Fasîl 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, Häfiz would make a present of Samargand and Bukhara. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

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 qara⁵ we mean the striking together of two hard substances; and by qalâ⁶, 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 qara⁵, or the qalâ⁶, 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 Abû ṣAli Sinâ, call this modifying element (ṣâris) the sound of the letter; others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (maṣrûṣ); 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 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 (l) separately as the end of the single letters; the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a sâkin letter, which must necessarily be joined to another letter; and the reason why the letter lām is preferred² as an example is because the letter lām is the

¹ Abû 'l-Faṣl has forgotten to put in the number. He counts eighteen letters, or rather signs, in Persian, because  أ,  ی, and  ع, have the same fundamental sign.
² Or rather, the alif was preferred to the waw or yâ, because these two letters may be either sâkin or mutabârrik. But the custom has become established to call the alif, when mutabârrik, hamzah; and to call the alif, when sâkin, merely alif. ẒAbdulwâsî, of Hânsâh, in his excellent Persian Grammar, entitled Risâla-yi ẒAbdulwâsî, 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 Khalil 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, *Maṣqalī*, *Kūfī*, *Kashmūrī*, Abyssinian, *Rayḥānī*, Arabic, Persian, Hynaritic, Berbery, Andalusian, *Rūḥānī*, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ḡad-i Haftahzārī; but some mention Idrīs as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idrīs perfected the *Maṣqalī* character. According to several statements, the *Kūfīc* character was derived by the Khalīfah ʿAli from the *Maṣqalī*.

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes; thus the *Kūfīc* character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; the *Maṣqalī* 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 Ḣiran and Ṭurān, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

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i.e., "do not read this compound *lām-alif*, but pass over it, when you say the Alphabet: look upon it as a mere example of a *sūfīn* letter."

The term *Hamzah*, as used here in native schools, is carefully distinguished from the terms *Shakl-i Hamzah* and *Markiz-i Hamzah*. *Shakl-i Hamzah* is the small sign consisting of a semicircle, one extremity of which stands upon a straight line slightly slanting. *Markiz-i Hamzah* is either of the letters *alif*, *wāw*, or *yā*, but chiefly the latter, when accompanied by the *Shakl-i Hamzah*. *Hamzah* is a general term for either of the three letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yā*, when accompanied by the *Shakl-i Hamzah*. In European grammars, the chapter on the *Hamzah* is badly treated, because all explain the word *Hamzah* as the name of a sign.

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

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.

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

*Idrīs*, or *Enoch*.
systems, of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i Muqlah from the Maṣqalāt and the Kūfic characters, viz., the Suls, Taqīṣ, Muḥaqqaq, Naskh, Rayhān, Riqaṣ. Some add the Ghubār, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The Naskh character is ascribed by many to Yaqūt, a slave of the Khalifah Mustaʿsam Billah. The Suls and the Naskh consist each of one-third curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the suls) is jali, whilst the latter (the naskh) is khaṭī. The Taqīṣ and Riqaṣ consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines; the former is jali, the latter is khaṭī. The Muḥaqqaq and Rayhān contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is jali, and the Rayhān is khaṭī.

Among famous copyists I must mention ʿAli ibn-i Hilāl, better known under the name of Ibn-i Bawwāb; he wrote well the six characters. Yaqūt brought them to perfection. Six of Yaqūt’s pupils are noticeable: 1. Shaykh Aḥmad, so well known under the name of Shaykh-zāda-yi Suhrwardi; 2. Arghūn of Kābul; 3. Mawlānā Yūsuf Shāh of Mash,had; 4. Mawlānā Mubārik Shāh, styled Zarrīn-galam (the golden pen); 5. Haydar, called Gandahnaweis (i.e., the writer of the jali); 6. Mīr Yahyā.

1 It is remarkable that, in the whole chapter, there is not the slightest allusion to the art of printing. Nor do Abū ʿl-Fażl’s letters, where nearly the whole of this section 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 Tamulic characters in the year 1577. After this appeared, in 1578, a book entitled Flos Sanctorum, which was followed (1) by the Tamulic Dictionary of Father Antonio de Proenza, printed in 1679, at Ambalacate, 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 Salutaris lux Evangelii. Johnston’s translation of Fr. P. Da San Bartolomeo’s Voyage to the East Indies, 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 Hulāgū, grandson of Chingiz Khān. [Billāh is not in the text.—P.]

3 Hence, the name suls, 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. Ghīṣ.—Khaṭī (hidden) is the opposite.

5 Ibn Muqlah, Ibn Bawwāb, and Yaqūt are the three oldest calligraphers mentioned in various histories. The following notes are chiefly extracted from Bakhātwar Khān’s Mirʿulī Alam:

Ibn Muqlah, or according to his full name, Abū ʿl-Muhammad ibn-i Ṭalī ibn-i Ṭalī ibn-i Hasan ibn-i Muqlah, was the vizier of the Khalifahs Muqtedir billah, Alqādir billah, and ArRāzi billah, who reigned from A.D. 907 to 940. The last, cut off Ibn-i Muqlah’s right hand. He died in prison, A.H. 327, or A.D. 938-9.

Ibn-i Bawwāb, or Abū ʿl-Hasan ʿl-Muhammad ibn-i Hilāl, lived under the twenty-fifth Khalifah, Alqādir billah (A.D. 992-1030), the contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghazni, and died A.H. 416, or A.D. 1025.

Yaqūt, or Shaykh Jamāl ʿd-Dīn, was born at Baghdād, and was the Librarian of Mustaʿsam billah, the thirty-seventh and last Khalifah, who imprisoned him some time on account of his Shiʿah tendencies. He survived the general slaughter (1258) of Hulāgū Khān, and died, at the age of one hundred and twenty, A.H. 697, or A.D. 1297, during the reign of Ghāzān Khān Hulāgū’s great grandson.
The following calligraphers are likewise well-known: Sūfi Naṣrū l-lāh, also called Sadr-i Ṭrāqi; Arqūn; Ābdū l-lāh; Ḥāji Muḥammad; Mawlānā Ābdū l-lāh-i Ṣayrafī; Ḥāji Muḥammad; Mawlānā Ābdū l-lāh-i Ashpaz; Mawlānā Muḥī of Shirāz; Muṣīnūd-Dīn-i Tanūrī; Shamsūd-Dīn-i Khaṭātī; Ābdūr-Raḥīm-i Khašūlī (?); Ābdūl-Hayy; Mawlānā Jaṣfar of Tabriz; Mawlānā Shāh of Mashhād; Mawlānā Muṣīnūd-Dīn of Fārāh; Ābdūl-Ḥaqq of Sabzavār; Mawlānā Nīṣhāmatū l-lāh-i Bawwāb; Khwājajī Mūminū Mawārid, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper: Sultan Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh; Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥākim Ḥāfiz; Mawlānā Maḥmūd Siyāṣūsh; Mawlānā Ja;mālūd-Dīn Husayn; Mawlānā Pīr Muḥammad; Mawlānā Fażlūl-Ḥaqq of Qazwīn.  

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

Of modern calligraphers I may mention: Mawlānā Ābdūl-Ḥayy, the Private Secretary of Sultan Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, who wrote Taṣlīq well; Mawlānā Darwish; Amīr Maḥṣūr; Mawlānā Ibrāhīm of Astarābād; Khwāja Ikhtiyār; Munshi Jamālūd-Dīn; Muḥammad of Qazwīn; Mawlānā Idris; Khwāja Muḥammad Husayn Munshi; and Ashraf Khān. 

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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 Salmān of Sāwah (died 769). The name Maṣūf appears to have been common in Baghdād since the time of the famous saint Maṣūf of Karbāla (a part of Bagdad).
3 The Maktūbāt and the Mirāt also mention Mullā Abā Bakr, and Shaykh Maḥmūd.
4 According to the Maktūbāt and several MSS., Sulaymānī.
5 In the original text, p. 114, l. 5, by mistake, Mawlānā Ābdūl-Ḥayy and the Munshi of Sultan Abū Saʿīd.
6 Mawlānā Darwish Muhammad was a friend of the famous Amīr Āli Sher, the vizier of Sultan Husayn Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān (A.D. 1470 to 1500), and the patron of the poet Jāmī. Mawlānā Darwish entered afterwards the service of Shāh Junayd-i Safawī, king of Persia (A.D. 1499 to 1525). A biography of the Mawlānā may be found in the Maṣūr-i Rāhīmi, p. 751.
7 Khwāja Ikhtiyār, the contemporary and successful rival of the preceding calligrapher. He was Private Secretary to Sultan Husayn Mīrzā.
8 This is the title of Muhammad Asghar, a Sayyid from Mashhad—or according to the Tabaqāt-i Akbari, from Ǧurābshāhī. He served Humāyūn as Mīr Munshi, Mīr Ǧaršī, and Mīr Mālī. He accompanied Tādī Beg on his flight from Dihlī, was imprisoned by Bayrām, and had to go to Mecca. He rejoined Akbar in A.H. 968, when Bayrām had just fallen in disgrace, received in the following year the title of Ashraf Khān, and served under Mūṣīm Khān in Bengal. He died in the tenth year of Akbar's reign, A.H. 973. In Abū l-Fażl's list of grandees, in the second book, Ashraf Khān is quoted as a commander of two thousand. Bāḏarīnī mentions him among the contemporaneous poets. Abū l-Muṣaffar, Ashraf Khān's son, was, A.D. 1596, a commander of five hundred.
the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the Taṣliq very much.

The eighth character which I have to mention is the Nastaṣliq; it consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mir ʿAli of Tabriz, a contemporary of Timur, derived it from the Nashk and the Taṣliq; but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the Nastaṣliq character written before Timur’s time. Of Mir ʿAli’s pupils, I may mention two: 1 Mawlānā Jaʾfar of Tabriz, and Mawlānā ʿAzhar; and of other caligraphists in Taṣliq, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Awnbā (near Hīrāt), an excellent writer; Mawlānā Bārī of Hīrāt; and Mawlānā Sulṭān ʿAlī2 of Mashhad, who surpasses them all. He imitated the writing of Mawlānā ʿAzhar, though he did not learn from him personally. Six of his pupils are well known: 3 Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Ḧandān; 4 Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr; 5 Mawlānā ʿAlīa ʿd-Dīn4 of Hīrāt; Mawlānā Zaynu ʿd-Dīn (of Nishāpūr); Mawlānā ʿAbdī of Nishāpūr; Muḥammad Qāṣim Shādī Shāh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities.

Besides these, there are a great number of other good caligraphists, who are famous for their skill in Nastaṣliq; as Mawlānā Sulṭān ʿAlī, of Qāyīn; 6 Mawlānā Sulṭān ʿAlī of Mashhad; 6 Mawlānā Ḥijrānī; 7 and after them the illustrious Mawlānā Mir ʿAlī,8 the pupil, as it appears, of Mawlānā Zaynu ʿd-Dīn. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sulṭān 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 Miṟraḍ mentions a third immediate pupil of Mir ʿAlī Mawlānā Ḧawāja Muḥammad, and relates that he put Miṟ ʿAlī’s name to his own writings, without giving offence to his master.
2 He also was a friend of Amīr ʿAlī Sher, and died A.H. 910, during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, mentioned in the fourth note.
3 He was called Ḧandān, as he was always happy. He was a friend of Amīr ʿAlī Sher, and died A.H. 915.
4 In the Miṟrāb, Miṟ ʿAlī Muḥammad of Hīrāt.
5 He was the instructor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā’s children, and died A.H. 914.
6 Qāyīn is a Persian town, S.E. of Khurāsān, near the frontier of Afghānistān. It is spelt Ghayān on our maps.
7 According to the Miṟrāb, Mawlānā Sulṭān ʿAlī sher of Mashhad, which is evidently the correct reading.
8 A poet and friend of Ḥusayn Mirzā. He died A.H. 921.
9 As a poet he is often mentioned together with Miṟ Ahmad, son of Miṟ Khurāw of Dihlī, and Bayrām Khān, Akbār’s Khāṅkhānān, as a master of Dakhī poetry. Dakhī, or entering, is the skilful use which a poet makes of verses, or parts of verses, of another poet.
In conclusion, I may mention: Shāh Maḥmūd 1 of Nishāpūr; Maḥmūd Is-hāq; Shams’ ʿd-Din of Kirmān; Mawlānā Jamshed, the riddle-writer; Sultān Husayn of Khujand; Mawlānā ʿAyshī; Ghiyāšuʿ ʿd-Din, the gilder; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿṣ-Ṣamad; Mawlānā Malik; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Karīm; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥīm of Khwārizm; Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad; Mawlānā Shāh Maḥmūd-i Zarrīnqalam (or gold pen); Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn 2 of Tabrīz; Mawlānā Ḥasan ʿAli of Mashhad; Mir Muṣīz of Kāshān; Mirzā 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 caligraphists. 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 Muḥammad Ḥusayn 3 of Kashmīr. He has been honoured with the title of Zarrīnqalam, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-ʿAzīz; his maddāt and dawṭ 4 show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā ʿAlī. Of other renowned caligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mawlānā Bāqīr, the son of the illustrious Mullā ʿAlī; Muḥammad Amin of Mashhad; Mir Ḥusayn-i Kulānī; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Ḥay; Mawlānā Dawrī; 5 Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥīm; Mir ʿAbdu ʿllah; Nizāmī of Qazwīn; ʿAlī Chaman of Kashmīr; Nūr ʿllah Qāsim Arsalān.

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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1 According to the Maktūbāt and the Mir isṭāṭ, Shāh Muḥammad of Nishāpūr. Both mention another calligraphist, Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad.

2 He was the teacher of the celebrated calligraphist ʿImād, whose biography will be found in the Mir isṭāṭ. Vide also the preface of Dr. Sprenger’s Gulistān.

3 He died A.H. 1020, six years after Akbar’s death.

4 By Maddāt (extensions), caligraphists mean letters like 赟; by dawṭ (curvatures), letters like ٌٍ َ ٌ.

5 Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals; call the spaces between them a, b, c, of which a is the highest. Every letter which fills the space b is called a shūsha; as ی، ى، أ، ی. The diacritical points are inmaterial. Every line above b is called a markaz; every line below b, i.e., in c, a dāman. Thus ٌ consists of a shūsha and a markaz; ٌ ٌ of a shūsha and a dāman. The knob of ٌ or ٌ is called kalla. Thus ی is a Madda, consisting of a kalla, and a dāman; so also ٌ ٌ. The ٌ consists of a markaz and a dāman.

In Grammar the word markaz means the same as shūsha in caligraphy; thus ی، ى، أ، ی, consist of a markaz, and a shakl-i hamza.

6 By یش, caligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes, or resiling a written letter with ink (Hind. siyāhi bhārā), or erasing (Hind. chhīnā).

7 His name is Sultān Bāyīzīd; he was born at Hirāt. Dau īrī is his poetical name. Vide Badāonī’s list of poets (vol. iii of the Bibl. Indica). Akbar bestowed on him the title of Kātbī ʿl-Mulīk, the writer of the empire. His pupil was Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusayn, an Abādī (vide Badāonī, ii, p. 394, where for Ḵᵛāhīm, in the Tarikh, 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,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 Nāshirī, the Kimiyā-yi Sa’ādī, the Qābāsnāma, the works of Sharaf of Munayr (vide p. 50), the Gulistān, the Ḥadiqā of Ḥakīm Sanā’ī, the Maṣnawi of Maṣnawi, the Jām-i Jam, the Bustān, the Shāh-nāma, the collected Maṣnawīs of Shaykh Nizāmī, the works of Khusraw and Mawlānā Jāmī, the Diwāns of Khāqānī, Anwārī, and several works on History, are continually read out to His Majesty. Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindi, Greek, Arabic, and Persian books, into other languages. Thus a part of the Zīchi-i Jadid-i Mīrzā-i (vide 3rd book, A in 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amir Fath-‘Allah of Shīrāz (vide p. 34), and also the Kishnjoshi, the Gangādhar, the Mohesh Mahānand, from Hindi (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahābhārata which belongs to the ancient books of Hindūstān has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqīb Khān,² Mawlānā ʿAbdul ‘l-Qādir of Badāūn,³ and Shaykh Sultan of

¹ Observe that the Arabic books are placed last. [But see p. 104, line 4.—B.]
² Regarding this renowned man, vide Abū ‘l-Fażl’s list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 161.
³ Mullā ʿAbdul ‘l-Qādir, poetically styled Qādirī, was born A.H. 947 [or 949] at Badāūn, a town near Dihlī. He was thus two years older than Akbar. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaykh Mulūk Shāh, and was a pupil of the Saint Bechū of Sambhal. ʿAbdul ‘l-Qādir, or Badāūnī, 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 Muntakhab. He excelled in Music, History, and Astronomy, and was on account of his beautiful voice appointed Court Jīmān for Wednesdays. He had early been introduced to Akbar by Jalāl Khān Qūrchi (vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 213). For forty years Badāūnī lived in company with Shaykh Mubārak, and Fayṣal and Abū ‘l-Fażl, the Shaykh’s sons; but there was no sincere friendship between them, as Badāūnī looked upon them as heretics. At the command of Akbar, he translated the Ramāyan (Badāūnī,
Thanesar.  

The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history Razmnāma, the book of Wars. The same learned men translated also into Persian the Ramāyan, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan, which contains the life of Rām Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy. Ḥāji Ibribāhīm of Sarhindi translated into Persian the Atharban ² which, according to the Hindūs, is one of

II, pp. 336, 366), from the Sanscrit into Persian, receiving for twenty-four thousand sloks 150 Ashrafsis and 10,000 Tangahs; and parts of the Mahābhārata; extracts from the History of Rashid; and the Bahra, 'l-Asmār, a work on the Ḥadīṣ. A copy of another of his works, entitled Najāt 'r-Rashid, may be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc. Bengal. His historical work, entitled Muntu bāha, 'l-Tawârīkh, 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 Akbarnāma or the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī or the Maṣār-i Raḥimī. 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 Badaonī died soon after that year. The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the Mirzā, ʿl-ṢĀlam, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badaonī's children that they themselves had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tunduk: Jahāngīr unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badaonī's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which the Maṣār-i Raḥimī was written, whose author complained of the want of a history beside the Ṭabaqāt, and the Akbarnāma.

In point of style, Badaonī is much inferior to Bakhštāwar Khān, (Mirzā, ʿl-ṢĀlam) and Muhammad Kājīm (the Ālam-gīr Nāma), but somewhat superior to his friend Mirzā Niẓām-u-Din Ahmad of Hirāt, author of the Ṭabaqāt, and to Abū-l-Ḥamīd of Lāhor, author of the Pādischāh-nāma.

Abū-l-Qādir of Badaon must not be confounded with Mawlānā Qādirī, another learned man contemporaneous with Akbar.

¹ Vide Badaonī II, p. 278; and for Ḥāji Ibribāhīm, iii, p. 139. [ii, p. 278.—B.]
² In this year (A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575) a learned Brahmin, Shaykh Bhāwan, had come from the Dakhin and turned Muhammadan, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the Atharban. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islam. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaykh Bhāwan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaykh Faysi, and then Ḥāji Ibribāhīm, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the Atharban, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter l, and resembles very much our Lā lillāh illā l-lāh. 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 Islam. Let us praise God for his conversion!"

Badaonī, 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 Khān to write down the general meaning in Persian; the third night he associated me with Naqīb Khān; and, after three or four months, two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty. But the emperor took exception to my translation, and called me Harām-Kār and a turnip-eater, as if that was my share of the book. Another part was subsequently finished by Naqīb Khān and Mullā Sherī, and another part by Sultān Ḥāji of Thanesar; then Shaykh Faysi was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Ḥāji wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out. He thus got a hundred juz 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 Hindū veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaykh ʿAbdū ʿl-Fayz-i Fayzi. At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khān of Gujrat translated into Persian the Tajak, 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 ʿAbdū r-Raḥīm Khān, the present Khān Khānān (Commander-in-Chief). The History of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmirian into Persian by Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād. The Muṣjam ʿl-Buldān, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars, as Mullā Aḥmad of Thathah, Qāsim Beg, Shaykh Munawwar, and others. The Harībūs, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlānā Sheri (vide the poetical extracts of the second book). By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the Kalīlah Damnah, and published it under the title of ʿAyār Dānish. The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Naṣr ʿllah-i Mustawfi and Mawlānā Ḥusayn-i Wāṣīz 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 Pandūs and the Kurūs. 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 Rāzmānā was illuminated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and ʿAbdu ʿl-Faṣl wrote an introduction to it of about two juz, etc.' Badāoni, ii, p. 302. A copy of this translation in two volumes, containing eighteen fana (ο) is among the MSS. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, No. 1329. One juz (ο) = sixteen pages quarto, or two sheets. 1 This work has been printed. Abū ʿl-Faṣl's words Hindū 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 Mullā 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." Badāoni, ii, p. 374.

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

5 For ʿAyār-i Dānish. Such abbreviations are common in titles.
brother Shaykh Fayz-i Fayyāzi, in the maṣnawī metre of the Laylān Majnūn, and is now everywhere known under the title of Naṣr Daman.\(^1\)

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 Aḥmad of Thatah, and the whole concluded by Jaṭfar Beg-i Asaf 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 Daroghas 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 Bihzād,\(^3\) 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 inanimate

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\(^1\) "Naqīb’s Naṣr Daman (for Naṣr Daman contains about 4,200 verses, and was composed, A.H. 1003, in the short space of five months). It was presented to Akbar with a few ashrāfs as naẓar. 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 maṣnawī, the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Mir Khursraw of Dihlī, has composed." Badāoni, ii, p. 296.

\(^2\) In A.H. 1000, A.D. 1591–2, the belief appears to have been current among the Muhammadans that Shāh Ismāʾīl and the world were approaching their end. Various men arose, pretending to be Ismāʾīl Mahdī, who is to precede the reappearance of Christ on earth; and even Badāoni’s belief got doubtful on this point. Akbar’s disciples saw in the common rumour a happy omen for the propagation of the Din-i Ilāhī. The Tārīkh-i Alfi was likewise to give prominence to this idea.

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 ‘Umār ibn-i Ṭālib (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 Badāoni, ii, p. 317.

\(^3\) "Bihzād was a famous painter, who lived at the court of Shāh Ismāʾīl-i Ṣafawī of Persia." Sirājullughāt.
objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus;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 al-ʿṢ-Ṣamad, styled Shīrīngqalam, or sweet pen. He comes from Shīrāz. 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. Daswanth. He is the son of a palkee-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, Farruḵh the Qalmaq (Calmuck), Mādhū,⁴ Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tārā, Sāwla, 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 ʿl-Faṣl's opinion, Elphinstone's History of India, second edition, p. 174.
² Better known as a poet under the name of Ḫudāī. Vide the poetical extracts of the second book. He illuminated the Story of Amir Hamzah, mentioned on the next page.
³ He was a Chahārparī. Vide the list of grandees in the second book, No. 266.
⁴ Mentioned in the Maʿṣir-i Rahimī (p. 753) as in the service of ʿAbd al-ʿr-Raḥim 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,¹ this book, the Razmnâma, the Ramâyana, the Nal Daman, the Kalilah Darnah, the ²Ayâr Dânish, 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 Mansabdârs, Ahdâs, and other soldiers, hold appointments in this department. The pay of foot soldiers varies from 1,200 to 600 dâms.

**Âsin 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 bazārās.

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords (khaśa 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 khaśa swords (in consequence of presents, etc.) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the kotal swords. There are also twelve Yakbandi (?), the turn of every one of which recurs after one week. Of Jāmdhars and Khapwas, there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week; and each has thirty kotal swords, from which deficiencies are supplied as before. Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and barqhas are required monthly. Of eighty-six Mash, hadi bows, Bhadāyans, 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 ṢĀm, or Levee, the sons of the Amirās, and other Mansābdārs and Āhadīs, 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, piyāzī 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 Amirās 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, naqqāras, flags, the kavakbas, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the Qur, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the Mirbaklishīs. 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.

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

2 The text has an unintelligible sentence.

3 Five camels are called qitār, in Hind. qatār. A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it, and so on. Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers.
1. Swords (slightly bent) ........................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 15 Muhurs.
2. Khâdâ (straight swords) ......................................... 1 to 10 R.
3. Gâpî șaça (a sword in a walking stick) ...................... 2 to 20 R.
4. Jamâhâr (a broad dagger) ....................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 2$\frac{1}{2}$ M.
5. Khańjar ...................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
6. Khâpva ........................................................................ $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1$\frac{1}{2}$ M.
7. Jam khâk ....................................................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 1$\frac{1}{4}$ M.
8. Bâk .............................................................................. $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
9. Jhanbwa ...................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
10. Katâra ......................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
11. Narsink moth ................................................................ $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
12. Kamân (bows) ........................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 3 M.
13. Takhsh kamân ............................................................ 1 to 4 R.
14. Nâvak ......................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
15. Arrows, per bundle .................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 R.
16. Quivers ........................................................................ $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
17. Dađi ........................................................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 R.
18. Tirbardâr (arrow drawers) .......................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
19. Paikânkash (do.) ...................................................... $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 R.
20. Neza (a lance) ............................................................ 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 6 M.
21. Barchha ................................................................. $\frac{3}{4}$ R. to 2 M.
22. Sâck ........................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1$\frac{1}{2}$ R.
23. Sainthî ....................................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 R.
24. Selara ......................................................................... 10 d. to 3 R.
25. Gurz (a war club) ....................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
26. Shashpar (do.) .......................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 3 M.
27. Kestan (?) ................................................................. 1 to 3 R.
28. Tabar (a war axe) ........................................................ $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.
29. Piyâţî (a club) ........................................................... $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.
30. Zâghnol (a pointed axe) ............................................. $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 1 M.
31. Châkar-basola ........................................................... 1 to 6 R.
32. Tabar zâghnol ............................................................ 1 to 4 R.
33. Tarangâla .................................................................. $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 R.
34. Kârd (a knife) ......................................................... 2 d. to 1 M.
35. Guptâ kârd .............................................................. 3 R. to 1$\frac{1}{2}$ M.
36. Qamchî kârd .............................................................. 1 to 3$\frac{1}{2}$ R.
37. Châqû (a clasp knife) ................................................... 2 d. to $\frac{1}{4}$ R.

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1 If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be tir-i pardâr, 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, p. 121, l. 1. The dictionaries give no information.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Kamān-i guroha (bullet bow)</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Kamtha</td>
<td>5 d. to 3 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Tufak-i dahān (a tube; Germ. Blaserohr)</td>
<td>10 d. to $\frac{1}{2}$ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Pushukhār</td>
<td>2 d. to 2 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Shastāvez</td>
<td>2 d. to 1 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Girihkushā</td>
<td>1 d. to $\frac{1}{4}$ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Khār-i māhī</td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Gobham (a sling)</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $\frac{1}{4}$ R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Gaibāq</td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Sipar (a shield)</td>
<td>1 to 50 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Dhāl</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Khera</td>
<td>1 R. to 4 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Pahri</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Udāna</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Dubulgha</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4}$ R. to 3$\frac{1}{2}$ M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Khōghī</td>
<td>1 to 4 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Zirih kulāh</td>
<td>1 to 5 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Ghūghuwa</td>
<td>1 R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Jaibāh</td>
<td>20 R. to 30 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Zirih</td>
<td>$1\frac{3}{4}$ R. to 100 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Bagtar</td>
<td>4 R. to 12 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Jōshan</td>
<td>4 R. to 3 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Chār ātaina</td>
<td>2 R. to 7 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Koṭhī</td>
<td>5 R. to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Şādiqi</td>
<td>3 R. to 8 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Angirkha</td>
<td>$1\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 5 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Bhanjū</td>
<td>3 R. to 2 M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Chihrzaghir-i āhanī</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Salahqabā</td>
<td>5 R. to 8 M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Chihilqad</td>
<td>5 to 25 R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Dastvāna</td>
<td>$1\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 2 M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Rāk</td>
<td>1 R. to 10 M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] A blow-pipe.—P.]
[3] A weapon resembling the following. The word Shastāvez, or more correctly shastāvez, means a thing by which you can hook anything. In Vullers’ Persian Dicy., ii, p. 426b, read bis for paniَr (!).
[4] This word is used in a general sense, an armour. It is either Turkish, or a corruption of the Arab. jubbah. The form jaibā is occasionally met with; but jābah, as given by Vullers, i, p. 508a, is wrong, and against the metre of his quotation.
[5] Baktar?—P.]
70. *Kantha sobhā*  
71. *Moza-yi āhanī*  
72. *Kajem*  
73. *Artak (the quilt) -i kajem*  
74. *Qashqa*  
75. *Gardanī*  
76. *Matchlocks*  
77. *Bān (rockets)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 to 10 R.</td>
<td>1 to 10 R.</td>
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<td>4 R. to 7 M.</td>
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<td>1 R. to 2½ M.</td>
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<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
<td>1 R. to 1 M.</td>
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<td>½ R. to 1 M.</td>
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<td>2½ to 4 R.</td>
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*A* in 36.

**ON GUNS.**

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

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

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

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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 Damānaka. 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 Kābir and Ħusayn.

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 tānks, 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

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

2 Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. Vide Tusuk i Jahāngiri, 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 tarāwisch ¹ 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 filer. He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the harem. The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on. Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected and completed at His Majesty’s command. It is then entered in another place; the transverse bottom-piece is fixed; and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the pargaz,² 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 Tarāwisch means a trickling; the particular meaning which it here has, is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries.
² Pargaz, or Pargaz, 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 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 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 peshkash presents, or from such as were bought; damānaks, selected from peshkash, 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 kishk, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays two are taken from the first; four from the second; five from the third; four from the fourth. This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first; five from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such 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 koftkār not in charge of the slaves, the koftār in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected Damānakṣ, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (i.e. ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the harem.

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

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

\[ \text{40.} \]

ON THE PAY OF THE MATCHLOCK BEARERS.

The pay of a Mirdaha\(^1\) 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. First grade, 250 d., 240 d., 230 d. Second grade, 220 d., 210 d., 200 d. Third grade, 190 d., 180 d., 170 d. Fourth grade, 160 d., 150 d., 140 d. Fifth grade, 130 d., 120 d., 110 d.

\[ \text{41.} \]

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

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\(^1\) A man placed over ten. The rank of the Mirdaha appears to have been the only non-commissioned rank in the Mogul armies. The lowest commissioned rank was that of a Dabhāshi, which word, though of the same etymological meaning, differs in usage, and signifies a man in command of ten. The rank of a Dabhāshi was the lowest Mambadār rank (vide the second book). Mirdaha is also used in the sense of a servant who looks after ten 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;

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

There are four kinds of elephants. 1. **Bhaddar.** It is well proportioned, has an erect head, a broad chest, large ears, a long tail, and is bold, and can bear fatigue. They take out of his forehead an excrescence resembling a large pearl, which they call in Hindi **Gaj manik.** Many properties are ascribed to it. 2. **Mand.** It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized belly, a long penis, and is wild and ungovernable. 3. **Miry.** 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 Gajmoti, or elephants’ pearl. Forbes has also Gajmanik, and the Dalil-i Satti, gaj wati (2).

2 In the fourth book of this work.

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

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

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

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

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1 Ghalla afahān. 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 Mirg 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 hastī, gaj, pīl, hāthī, 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. Airāvata, in the East; 2. Pandarika, south-east; 3. Bāman, south; 4. Kumada, south-west; 5. Anjan, west; 6. Puhpadanta, north-west; 7. Sūrbhabhūma, 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 . . . 1 good-looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third; if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth; if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-feet, from the

1 The MSS. have an unintelligible word. Perhaps khushēnj, 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 mizāj (of a divine temper).

2. Such as possess all the good qualities of elephants, and are quick in learning, moving about the head, ears, trunk, forelegs, hind legs, and the tail, and do no one harm except they be ordered to do so, are Gandharba mizāj (angelic).

3. If irritable, of good appetite, fond of being in water, they are Brahmān mizāj (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 Khattrī, 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 mizāj.

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 serpent.

7. Such as squint, and are slow to learn, or feign to be hot, have the temper of a Pishācha (spectre).

8. Those which are violent, swift, and do men harm, and are fond of running about at night, have the qualities of a Rāchhas (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 Śūbah of Āgra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar,1 as far as Barār; in the Śūbah of Ilāhābād (Allahabad), in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, and Ratanpūr, Nandanpur, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Śūbah of Mālwa, in Handiyah, Uchhod, Chanderī, Santwās, Bijāgarh, Rāisīn, Hoshangābād, Garha, Haryāgarh; in the Śūbah of Bihār, in the neighbourhood of Rahtās

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1 Narwar, where Abū ‘l-Ḥāżīl was subsequently murdered at the instigation of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), Long. 77° 58′, Lat. 25° 39′; Ghorāghāt, near Dinapore, Long. 89° 17′, Lat. 25° 12′; Ratanpūr (Abū ‘l-Ḥāżīl) evidently means the one south-east of Sargachh, Long. 82°, Lat. 22° 14′; Sargachh, Long. 83° 8′, Lat. 23° 8′; Bastar, Long. 81° 58′, Lat. 19° 13′. The towns from Handiya to Haryāgaōth lie all between Long. 75° and 79°, and Lat. 21° and 24° (Gwālīār). For Uchhod (29°) the third book has Uchhod (25°). The Fort of Rahtās, the scene of Sher Shāh’s first exploit, lies Long. 84°, Lat. 24° 38′. The name Pāthā (34°) is doubtful, each MS. having a different reading.

Wild elephants have nowadays disappeared in nearly all the places mentioned by Abū ‘l-Ḥāżīl.
and Jhārkhand; and in the Śuṅga of Bengal, in Oṛīṣā, and Sāṭgāw. The elephants from Pannah are the best.

A herd of elephants is called in Hindī sāhn. 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 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 Dāroghas. Certain elephants were also declared khāsa, i.e., appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty.

\[ \text{Ai\textsuperscript{in} 42.} \]

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS.

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience:

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., \textit{large sized}, \textit{middle}, \textit{young} ones; the last class contains ten kinds. A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class.

\[ \text{Ai\textsuperscript{in} 43.} \]

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,\(^1\) 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. Mast 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. Sadas. Large ones, 1 m. 34 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 29 s.; small ones, 1 m. 24 s. 4. Manjholas. Large ones, 1 m. 22 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 20 s.; small ones, 1 m. 18 s. 5. Karhas. Large ones, 1 m. 14 s.; middle-sized ones, 1 m. 9 s.; small ones, 1 m. 4 s. 6. Phandurkiyas. Large ones, 1 m.; middle-sized ones, 36 s.; small ones, 32 s. 7. 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. Mast elephants. There are five and a half 1 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 dāms per month; but if the elephant be khutahar, 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 dāms 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 Sāda, 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 Manjhola, 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 ḫalqa; 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 Sādi (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 Sādi is different. Some Faujdārs have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court. A Sādi 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 Aḥadīs. 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 ḫalqas 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 (Āṭīn 78).

Āṭīn 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 Āndū 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 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 berī resembles the Āndū and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants.

6. The Loh langar is a long chain, suitable for an elephant. One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length. This the driver keeps near him, and drops it, when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey. The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such 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 Charīkhi 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 fuzeē wrapped 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. Anđhiyāri, 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 Kīlāwa (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 Kīlāwa 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 kalāwa, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head.

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

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

12. The Ḍor 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 dūltī. It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort.

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

15. The Pichwa 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 Chaurāsi consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

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1 This should be Kalāwa. Abū ʾl-Faḍl spells the word wrong; vide my text edition, p. 136, l. 16. It looks as if Abū ʾl-Faḍl had mistaken this Persian word for a Hindi term; else, why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers' Persian Dictionary, ii, p. 862B, read khaṭ for khat, and ba tanid for his emendation (?) tabyin.
broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it. It looks ornamental and grand.

17. *Piṭkachh* 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 *kalāwa*, the latter being added by His Majesty.

19. *Quitās* (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 *Taṇyaṇa* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both sides of the *Taṇyaṇa* there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the *kalāwa*, to which both are attached. Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the *kalāwa*; and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs. The *Quitās* 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 tusk. To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down. *Quitās* 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 *Ranpiyal* is a fillet for the forehead made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and *quitās* hang down.

25. The *Gateli* consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter. It is attached to the feet of the elephant. Its sound is very effective.

26. The *Pāy ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged.

27. The *Ānkus* is a small crook. His Majesty calls it *Gajbāga*. It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him.

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1 i.e., an elephant-rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ānkus*, “which sounds offensive to a Persian ear.” *Rashidi*. Hence the Persians pronounce it *anguzh*. 
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 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 Jagwāt resembles the Gad (No. 28), and is a cubit long. The Bhoi uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant.

31. The Jhandā, or flag, is hung round with Qutās, like a topā.1 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 Shergīr and Sūda, 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 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 ḥalqa-dār 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 kalāwa of the elephant on which the Fawjdār 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.

[*A*46

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY’S USE (KHĀṢA).]

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 ghi, and half a man of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc.; and some have one and a half man2 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 Mahāwat.

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 *Topā* is the same as *toq*. Vide [*A*46 in 10, p. 52.

2 Liquids are sold in India by the weight.
Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four Meths. In the Ḥalqas, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each ḥāṣa 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 Ḥalqas.

As each Halqa is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every ḥāṣa elephant put in charge of one of them. Likewise, for every ten ḥāṣa elephants, a professional man is appointed, who is called Dāhā,īdār. They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees per mensem. 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 Ahadî. 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.

Ā‘īn 47.

THE MANNER OF RIDING KHĀṢA-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 bhoīs. 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 Dāhā, 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 bhoīs receive 250 dāms as a present; but if other elephants, the bhoīs get 200 d.

The Dāhāidār of khāṣa elephants receives one dām for every rupee paid as wages to the bhoīs and meths; the Mushrif is entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and the Naqīb to $\frac{1}{4}$ d. In the case of ḡalqa elephants, the Ṣadīwāl, the Dāhbūshī, and the Bisti, are entitled to 1 d. for every rupee; and the Mushrif and the Naqīb receive the allowance given for khāṣa elephants.

A* 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 khāṣa elephant the Bhoīs are fined three months’ wages. If any part of the harness is lost, the Bhoīs and Meths are fined two-thirds of the value of the article; but in the case of a saddlecloth, the full price. When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the Bhoīs 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 Bhoīs 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 Pāgosht Regulation (vide Ā* in 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the bhoīs are likewise liable to lose a month’s wages. In the case of ḡalqa elephants, Ḥadīs are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty. If an elephant dies, the Mahāwat and the Bhoī 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 Faujdār 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 ʾIrāq-i ʾArab and ʾIrāq-i ʾAjam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān, Qirghiz, Thibet, Kashmir, and other countries. Drovers after droves arrive from Tūrān and Īrān, 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 Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia, whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from the ʾIrāqī 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 ʾIrāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum): they go by the name of Sanūjī;¹ so also in the district of Patī Haybatpūr,² Bajwāral, Tihāra, in the Śūbaof Āgra, Mewāt, and in the Śūba of Ājmīr, where the horses have the name of pachvariya. In the northern mountainous district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horse is bred, which are called gūṭ: and in the confine of Bengal, near Kūch [Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the gūṭ and Turkish horses, and are called tānghan,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 Satājī.
² Halbatpūr, Lat. 29° 51', Long. 76° 2'; Tihāra, Lat. 30° 57', Long. 75° 25'.
³ Tānghan.—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 Kârvânsarâ, 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.

Ā'in 50.

THE RANKS OF THE HORSES.

There are two classes of horses: 1. Khâsa; 2. Those that are not khâsa. The khâsa 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-aspi, bîst-aspi, dah-aspi, 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-Faḍl mentions this very often in the Ā'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 Mahâjans (bankers). It was the same in Persia. "The clerks, whose habit it is to annoy people, gave him (Wazir Mirzâ Šâlih, brother of the great Persian historian Sikandar Beg) in payment of his claims a lot of transfer receipts, and left him in the hands of the collectors (muhâsibîl), who, like the clerks, always pretend to be in a hurry; and although Mirzâ Rahim, a relation of his, tried to come to an understanding with them, in order to help Mirzâ Šâlih 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." Tahir Našrûbâdi's Taşkira.
whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a Dah-muhri stable; those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a Bist-muhri stable, and so on.

Grandees and other Mansabdars, and Senior Ahdís are in charge of the stables. Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except the horse which the Yatāqdār (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain¹ and grass at his own expense.

A'sin 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.¹ 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 ghī. Two dāms are daily allowed for hay; but hay is not given, when fresh grass² is available. About three bighās of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse. When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses,³ they stop the ghī; and when the season of fresh grass² comes, they give no grain for the first three days, but allow afterwards six sers of grain and two sers of molasses per diem.³ In other Īraqi and Turkī stables, they give seven and a half sers of grain.¹ During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain¹ 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 grass² 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 grass² 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.² Salt is given at the daily rate one-fiftieth of a dām, though it is mostly given in a lump. Īraqī and Turkī 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 Motā, a small, hard, blue grain used, when well boiled, for fattening horses. Dāna "grain" colloquially amongst horse-dealers, etc., means "gram."—P.]
² Kharsūd is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.
³ Qand-i siyāh 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 mans of molasses, the same quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain.

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid. When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the horse doctor.

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a khāṣa horse. The gūt horses get five and a half sers of grain, the usual quantity of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half d. per diem, if at court, and at the rate of 1 3/5 d., when in the country; but they do not get ghī, molasses, or green oats. Qisrāqs [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.

Ā'in 52.

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 277 1/2 d. per annum; viz., an artak, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 d.; a yālposh (a covering for the mane), 32 d.; a woollen towel, 2 d.—these three articles are renewed every six months; in lieu of the old artak, half the cost price is deducted, and one-sixth for the old yālposh; a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 d.; halters for the

[1 Khavīd is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed; it is cut and used as fodder.—P.]
[2 Qand-i siyith is probably gur.—P.]
[3 Dāna colloquially means, as here, gram.—P.]
nukhata\(^1\) (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 nukhata and qayza\(^3\) (the bit), 14 d.; a curry-comb, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a grain bag, 6 d.; a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) d. These articles are given annually, and fifteen dāms, ten jetals, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one muhurs, is 196\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. per annum, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty-five and a half dāms are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven muhurs, the annual allowance is 155\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; viz., for the artak, 39\(\frac{3}{4}\) d.; the yālposh, 27\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a coarse saddle cloth, 30 d.; the girth, 6 d.; the nukhata and qayza, 10 d.; and the nukhata ropes and feetropes, 32 d.; the magas-rān, 2 d.; a towel, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) d.; a curry-comb, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a basket, 1 d.; a grain bag, 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) d. Twenty dāms are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and qisrāq, and gūt, the allowance is 117\(\frac{3}{4}\) d.;\(^5\) viz., an artak, 37 d.; a yālposh, 24\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a jul, 24 d.; a nukhata band and a pāy-band, 8 d.; a nukhata 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\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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 Satl, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten khāsa 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

\(^{[1]}\) Nukhata for nukta.—P.\(^{[2]}\)

\(^{[2]}\) 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 feeding horses, generally squat on the ground, pushing the grain in the bucket towards the mouth of the horse. The word nukhtah, which, like hundreds of other words, is not given in our dictionaries, is generally pronounced nuqta. Similarly, qaizah is pronounced qaizah; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, I. p. 36 b.c.

\(^{[3]}\) In modern Urdu qaza is a snaffle.—P.\(^{[4]}\)

\(^{[4]}\) The items added only give 116\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.

\(^{[5]}\) Altogether 196\(\frac{1}{2}\) d., and 81 d. on account of the first three articles renewed after six months. The deduction in lieu of old articles refers, of course, to the wages of the grooms.

\(^{[6]}\) Karuā or karuā, H. ?—P.
wages of the rope maker. 4. The Āhanīn 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 khāsa stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dāroghās; 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. Naḏl, 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.\(^1\) The price of it is 80\(\frac{3}{4}\) R.

Ā'īn 53.

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES.

1. The Āţbegī 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\(^2\) (Commander-in-Chief). 2. The Dāroghā. 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 Aḥadīs. 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-ward, 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 Aḥadīs. 5. The Akhtachīs look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Aḥadīs. 6. The Chābuksuwār rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Aḥadī. 7. The Ḥāḍā. This name is given to a class of Rājpūts, who teach horses the elementary

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\(^1\) This appears to be the same as the Hind. ទុយ, which our meagre dictionaries describe as a "kind of tent".

\(^2\) Or Mīrā Khān Khānān, i.e., ǦAbdu-r-Rahim, 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 Mirdaha is an experienced groom placed over ten servants. He gets the pay of an Aḥadi; 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 dah-aspī stables, 30 d. Besides he has to look after two horses. 9. The Baytār, or horse-doctor, gets the pay of an Aḥadi. 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 Naqībūs are Aḥadīs, and they have thirty people under them, who receive from 100 to 120 d. 11. The Sāīs, 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 dah-aspī stables, 100 d. 12. The Jilawdār (vide A. 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 Našīband, or farrier. Some of them are Aḥadīs, some foot soldiers. They receive 160 d. 14. The Zīndār, 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 Ābkash, 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 Sipandsoz 1 is only allowed in the stables of forty horses;

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1 The seeds of sipand (in Hind. sarsū, a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (nazar-i bad, chashm rasīdan), 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 Sipandsuz. Vide the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under Shikebi. 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 Fathpūr Siyāh.

[Sipand P., or harmal A., is wild rue not mustard.—P.]
his pay is 100 d. 18. The Khākrūb, or sweeper. Sweepers are called in Hindustan Halālkhor;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.

A* 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 Mushrifs. When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the Būtikhī (writer); but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse. A man so mounted is called a Bārgīrsuwār.

A* 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 (nazr, sight), sometimes with the word دَاَمَ (dāgh, mark), and sometimes with the numeral ٧ (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 ٨Irāqī and Mujannas³

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. 90, l. 22; also Forbes' Dictionary under rauqtār. Halālkhor, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows, is a euphemism for ḫarrāmkhor, one who eats forbidden things, as pork, etc. The word Halālkhor 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 miktār, a prince, which like the proud title of ḫalīfa, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc., is an example of the irony of fate.
² Vide A*ins 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in a.d. 1573, when Shāh Shāh had been appointed Mīr Bakhshāī. He followed the regulations of ٩Alā'ud-Dīn Khālīfā and Sher Shāh; vide Badshānī, pp. 173, 190.
³ Mujannas, i.e., put nearly equal (to an Irāqī horse); vide 2nd book, A* in 2. [I think mujannas means half-bred.—P.]
horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek; and in the case of Turkī and Arab horses, on the left. Nowadays the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals. Thus, a horse of ten muhrs is marked with the numeral ten; those of twenty muhrs 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.

Å*în 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 khāṣa 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.

Å*în 57.

ON FINES.

When a khāṣa horse dies, the Dārogha has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdaha ten d., upon every muhir 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 muhir; 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.

Āʿin 58.

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS.

There are always kept in readiness two khāsa 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 chihilaspī stables; one from the stable of the eldest prince; one from those of the second prince; one from the stable of khāsa courier horses. Second misl: one from the stable of the youngest prince; one from the stud-bred; one from the chihilaspī 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, khāsa 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] Rāhwār, ambling, a roadster.—P.

[2] "Prince Murād in the beginning of the fortieith year (1596) of Akbar's reign, was put in command of the army of Gujrat, and ordered to take Ahmadnagar. But when, some time after, Akbar heard that 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-Faẓl to bring the prince back to court. Abū 'l-Faẓl came just in time to see the prince die, who from the preceding year had been suffering from epileptic fits (yarṣ, delirium tremens?) brought on by habitual drunkenness." Mīrāṭ.
ON DONATIONS.

Whenever his Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six khāsā 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 khāsā horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one dām to the Ātbegī, two to the Jilawdār; eighteen and one-half to the grooms, 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, the donations decreasing by the same fraction; and for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses,¹ 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.²

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 muhr of the value of the horse. These ten dāms per muhr are divided as follows:—The Ātbegī gets five dāms; the Jilawbegī, two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqībs, nine jetals; the grooms, 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 Rāhwār, ambling; a roadster.—P.] ² Jilaw is the string attached to the bridle, by which a horse is led. A led horse is called janiba. The adjective jilawāna, which is not in the dictionaries, means referring to a led horse. We have to write jilawānah, not jilawāna, according to the law of the Persian language, to break up a final diphthong in derivatives; as na-in, javin, from nai, jau, not na-in, or jau-in. The jilawdār, or janibadar, is the servant who leads the horse. The jilawbegī 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 Irán and Türkén.

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 Shāḥpasand (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, Bikānīr, Jaisalmīr, Batinḍā, and Bhaṭnīr; the best are bred in the Ṣūba of Gujrāṭ, near Cachh. But in Sind 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 Arwānas, i.e., female camels. In every country they get hot in winter and couple. The male of two humps goes by the name of Bughur. The young ones of camels are called nar (male) and māya (female), as the case may be; but His Majesty has given to the nar the name of buqhdī, and to the female that of jammāza. The buqhdī is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting; the jammāza excels in swiftness. The Indian camel called lok, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them. The offspring of a bughur and a jammāza goes by the name of ghurd; the female is called māya ghurd. If a buqhdī, or a lok, couples with a jammāza, the young one is called buqhdī or lok respectively. But if a buqhdī or a lok couples with an arwāna, 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 māya ghurd.

1 In the text māya, which also means a female camel—a very harmless pun. Vide Dr. Sprenger's Gulistān, preface, p. 6. Regarding the word bughur, vide Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 59.

[* Corruption of buqhtī.—P.]
When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into qaṭārs (strings), each qaṭār consisting of five camels. The first camel of each qaṭār is called peshang; the second, peshdara; the third, miyāna qaṭār; the fourth, dumdast; the last camel, dumdār.

\[\text{A*in 62.}\]

THE FOOD OF CAMELS.

The following is the allowance of such buγhdī̄s 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 buγhdī 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 buγhurs. Similarly in the case of jammāzas, ghurds, māyah ghurds, 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 dāms per ser. As the ser has now 30 dāms, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance. When buγhdī̄s 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 (\[\text{A*in 83}\]); 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 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.

\[\text{A*in 63.}\]

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS.

The following articles are allowed for khāṣa camels: an Afsār (head stall); a Dum-afsār (crupper); a Mahār kāthī (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 peshāhang, the leader of a troop. Peshdara means "in front of the belly, or middle, of the qaṭār".

2 Charā-gāh, grazing-places.—P.}
(which serves as a saddle-cloth); a Qatārchī; a Sarbchī;\(^1\) a Tang (a girth); a Sartang (a head-strap); a Shebband (a loin-strap); a Jalājīl (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells); a Gardanband (a neck-strap); three Chādarś (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 Miḥaffa, 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 Bughdās, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225\(\frac{3}{4}\) d., viz., a head-stall studded with shells, 20\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a brass ring, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; an iron chain, 4\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a kallagī (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 d.; a pushtquzī (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 d.; a dum-afsār (a crupper), 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; for a takaltū (saddle-quilt) and a sarbchī, 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 mahārkāthi (vide above), 40 d.; a tang, shebband, gulūband (throat-strap), 24 d.; a tāqe tānaū, or kharwār—38 d.; a bālāposh, or covering, 15 d.\(^4\)

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

The cost of a set of plain furniture for Bughdās and Jammāzas amounts to 168\(\frac{1}{4}\) d., viz., an afsār, studded with shells, 10 d.; a dum-afsār, ½ d.; a jahāz, 16\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a jul, 52\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a tang, a shebband, and gulūband, 24 d.; a tāqe tānaū, 37\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.; a bālāposh, 28 d.\(^5\)

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

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\(^1\) The meaning is doubtful. The Arab. sarb, like qitār, signifies a troop of camels. From the following it appears that sarbchī is a sort of quilt.

\(^2\) A jul (ṣ-jāl ḥūf) 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 appurtenances, generally made of coarse canvas steepled in lime (gaj). Hence gajkārī, white-washed.

\(^4\) These items added up give 246 d., not 225\(\frac{3}{4}\), as stated by Abū ʿl-Fazl. 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\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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 169 d., instead of Abū ʿl-Fazl’s 168\(\frac{1}{4}\) d.
kharwār, according to the former rates; a jūl, 37½ d.; a tang, shebband, gūlāband, 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 qaṭār, 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

Ṣalāfī 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 jūl, 36½ d.; a sardož, ¼ d.; a tang and a shebband, 10¾ d.;³ and [for loks], an afsār, a tang, and a shebband, as before; a jūl, 45½ d.; a sardož, ¾ d.

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

Shalīta tāts, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every qaṭār, at a price of 30½ d. for bughdis 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 Ṣalāfī camels.

A* in 64.

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

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

¹ The items added up give 144 d., instead of Abū 'l-Faḍl's 143 d.
² Hence the Government paid, as a rule, $\frac{28 \times 2}{3} = 18\frac{2}{3}$ of the estimates presented.
³ The addition gives 52½ d., instead of 52½. The following items, for loks, give added up 62½.
For each Buqhidī 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 2 s. of brimstone, and 6½ s. of butter-milk. For other kinds of camels the allowance is 2½ s. of brimstone, 6½ s. of butter-milk, and 2 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 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 Panjšadī, 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 Bistopanjīs are under his orders. Their salary varies; nowadays many Yūzbashis 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 Panjšadī 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 Panjšadī. 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 Raibārī is also put in charge of fifty stud arvānas, to which for the purpose of breeding, one bughrur 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 bughrur, bughrūdī, and jammāza in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 s. of sesame oil, \( \frac{2}{3} \) s. of brimstone, 6\( \frac{1}{2} \) s. of butter-milk.\(^1\) The first includes \( \frac{3}{4} \) s. of oil for injection. Loks, arvānas, ghurds, and māya ghurds, get only 3\( \frac{2}{3} \) s. of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6\( \frac{1}{2} \) s. of butter-milk,\(^1\) and \( \frac{3}{4} \) s. of brimstone.

Botas and Dumbālas—these names are given to young camels; the former is used for light burdens; they are allowed 2\( \frac{1}{2} \) s. of oil, inclusive of \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. for injection into the nostrils, \( \frac{1}{3} \) s. of brimstone, and 4\( \frac{1}{2} \) s. of butter-milk.\(^1\)

Full-grown stud-camels get weekly \( \frac{1}{2} \) s. of saltpetre and common salt; botas get \( \frac{1}{2} \) s.

The wages of a herdsman is 200 d. per mensem. For grazing every fifty stud-camels, he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 d. per 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 bughrūdī and jammāza, each camel being assessed to yield four sers of wool. This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with dum-afsārs, wooden pegs, etc.

The following are the prices of camels:—a bughrūdī, from 5 to 12 muhurs; a jammāza, from 3 to 10 M.; a bughrur, from 3\( ^{2} \) to 7 M.; a mongrel lok, from 8 to 9 M.; a country-bred, or a Bālūchī 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 bughrūdī, not more than 10 mans; 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.

\(^{1}\) Māś, curds.—P.\(^{2}\)

\(^{2}\) In text “from 4 to 7”.—P.

\(^{2}\) The text has also here “a māya bughrūdī from 3 to 5; a ghurd from 3 to 8; a māya ghurd 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 muhrs. 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 muhrs. 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 Quṭḥās, 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, A* 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-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 A* in 22).

[^2 Gāv, ox. The bullock only is used for work.—P.]  
[^1 Māst, curds.—P.]
There is also a species of oxen, called gaini, small like gut horses, but very beautiful.

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

A6 in 67.

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD.

Every head of the first khasa 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 Dārogha, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office. Cattle of the remaining khasa classes get daily 6 s. of grain,1 and grass as before, but no molasses2 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 gainis get 3 s. of grain, and 1 d. of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ d. Second class do., 2½ s. of grain,1 and ¾ d. of grass at court, otherwise only 1½ d.

A male buffalo (called arna) gets 8 s. of wheat flour boiled, 2 s. of ghī, ½ s. of molasses,2 1½ s. of grain,1 and 2 d. of grass. This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion3 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-waggons4 get 6½ s. of grain; and other classes, 5 s. of grain, but the same quantity of grass. Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 s. of grain, and 1½ d. for grass; but now they get a quarter ser less, and grass as before.

The 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 thāt. A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 s. of milk; a buffalo from 2 to 30 s. The buffaloes of the Panjab 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 ser of milk.

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[1] Dāna—gram, see p. 142, note 1.—P.]
[2] Qand-i aiyāh, see p. 142, footnote 3.—P.]
[3] Sher in India is the tiger, but shir in Persia is the lion.—P.]
THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW STABLES.

In the khāsā 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 Aḥadīs; others get 360 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 Mirdaha, 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 Dārogha 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 ūng money—ūng is hemp smeared with ghī, 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 Dāroghaship 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 mans of fuel to the Imperial kitchen. And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court. The drivers are not subject to the Pāgosht regulation (vide Ārin 83). If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another.

[1 Gār, ox; vide p. 157, note 1.—P.] [2 Ghur-bahal.—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 4 s., and 1½ 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 ūng, 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.

Ārin 69.

THE MULE STABLES.

The mule possesses the strength of a horse and the patience of an ass, and though it has not the intelligence of the former it has not the stupidity of the latter. It never forgets the road which it has once travelled. Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to 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

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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 Sarkār of Pakhali lies between Atak (Attock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindī. Vide 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 ۰Iراق-ی Arab and ۰Iراق-ی Ajam. Very superior mules are often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.

Like camels, they are formed into ḍaṭārs of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each ḍaṭār, which is called bardast, [instead of peshdara, vide ۰ی in 61, end].

Mules reach the age of fifty.

\[۰ی in 70.\]

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.

\[۰ی in 71.\]

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.; and tāqa ṭanāb (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 d.; a qāṭir shalāq (a short whip), 6 d.; a bell, one for every qaṭār, 10 d.; a horse-hair saddle, 40 d.; a kalāwā (vide ۰ی in 45, No. 9) of leather, 13 d.; a set of ropes, 9 d.; a saddle cloth, 4½ d.; a sardoz (a common head stall), 4 d.; a 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 ṭanāb 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. Tūrānīs, Īrānīs, 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 ¹ (first mule of their qaṭār) 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; ond 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.

Åṭēn 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 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 lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

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

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

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty’s devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening when that fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in 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.\(^1\) And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of

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\(^1\) Vide Abū l-Fażl’s Preface, pp. iii 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 Sufis, 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 gharias are left till morning His Majesty retires
to his private apartments, brings his external appearance in harmony
with the simplicity of his heart, and launches forth into the ocean of
contemplation. In the meantime, at the close of night, soldiers,
merchants, peasants, 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 korrish (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.

\section*{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{darsan} (view); and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time. The second time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day. But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night. He also frequently appears at a window, which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business; or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections or 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 Bitikchis (writers) set forth their several wants; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiasedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest: the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure!

**Regulations Regarding the Kornish and the Taṣlīm.**

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit and build up the arch of true humility.¹

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to show their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead and the head to be bent downwards. This

¹ Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. Vide Ā 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 *mangab*, a *jāgīr*, 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 (sijdā); 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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1 The prostration, or *sijdā*, 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 προσκυνέω had been the usual salutation. It was Nizām of Badakhshān who invented the prostration when the emperor was still at Fathpūr (before 1586). The success of the innovation made Mullā Aʿlām of Kābul exclaim, "O that I had been the inventor of this little business!" *Bād.* III, p. 153. Regarding Nizām, or Ghāzī Khān, vide Abū l-Fazl's list of Grandees, 2nd Book, No. 144. The *sijdā* 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 Darbār-i Ḡān (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.

Āḍāb-i 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 kornish, and then remain standing at their places, according to their rank, with their arms crossed,² partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service.

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 kamarband. When in this position, a servant is called āmāda-yi ḍhīdmat, 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 ġaff-i ničāl. The emperor sits on the throne (vide Plate VII) with crossed legs, or chahār-zām; a position of comfort which Orientals allow to persons of rank. This position, however, is called fr-eṣām nishāst, 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 duwān—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 Yasan. One or two attendants 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 Dīhish, 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 Īrān, Turkey and Europe, Hindustān and Kashmir, are fixed by the proper officers in

1 *Yasan* signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided. The place before the throne remains free. One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court and the chief functionaries; on the other wing stood the Qur (vide p. 116), the Mullās, and the Ī'lamā, etc.
2 The servants who hold the säya-bān, A*in 19, or the fans.
3 This is to be taken literally. The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy. Vide next A*in.
4 As settling a family-feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new-born child a suitable name, etc.
5 Abū 'l-Faḍl 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, 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 Aḥadī 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 dōms for each horseman.

Special Bitikchis [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Aḥadīs. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Aḥadī to buy his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Aḥadīs who may have lately died, which he hands over to the newly appointed Aḥadīs 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.

Æzin 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 Aḥadīs drew a higher salary (II, Æzin 4) they could buy, and maintain, horses of a superior kind.
2 Æzin 4 of the second book mentions only one officer appointed to recruit the ranks of Aḥadīs.
3 So according to two MSS. My text edition, p. 158, l. 10, has As it is not customary for Aḥadīs to buy a horse, etc. Both readings give a sense, though I should prefer the omission of the negative word. According to Æzin 4 of the second book, an Aḥadī was supplied with a horse when his first horse had died. To such cases the negative phrase would refer. But it was customary for Aḥadīs to bring their own horse on joining; and this is the case which Abū 'l-Fażl evidently means; for in the whole Æzin he speaks of newcomers.
4 A note will be found at the end of this Æzin.
among men, one class of whom turn to religious (dīn) and the other class to worldly thoughts (dunyā). Each of these two divisions selects different leaders, and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture. It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light; it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with.

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it.

The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one; Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol. 
There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which, Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me.

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God; and another finds self-discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation. The religion of 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

\[1\] 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 dīn and dunyā. Let men rally round Akbar, who joins Śūfic 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-Fażl's preface with this Aṣ′in.

\[3\] The world.

\[4\] These Śūfic 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 lamp = thought of God; house = man's heart. The thoughtful man sees everywhere "the bright assembly of God's works".

\[5\] The text has taqšid, 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-Fażl, Ḥakim, Abū 'l-Fath, etc.] called taqšidīdya, i.e., things against reason, because they put the basis of religion upon reason, not testimony. Besides, there came [during A.H. 985, or A.D. 1575] a great number of Portuguese, from whom they likewise picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning." Badū, ori 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 Abū l-Farā'is pref. p. iii, l. 19.
2 This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor. Akbar spoke, "I asked Nawāb Šāhīz Kokah, who has the title of Khān-i Āṣām [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," Dabistān ul Mażāhib, Calcutta edition, p. 390. 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. 5, 111.
could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as Sanāṣīs, Jogīs, Sevrās, Qalandars, Ḥakīms, and Sūfīs, 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 fulfils 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 Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1595, in Murray’s Discoveries in Asia, II, p. 96.
2 His thought was this. If Akbar is a prophet, he must, from his supernatural wisdom, find out in what condition I am lying here.
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 Shast, upon which is engraved “The Great Name”, and His Majesty’s symbolical motto, “Allah 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 zabn-i hul, and a little lower down, zabn-i bezafani. Zabn-i hul, or symbolical language is opposed to zabn-i maqal, spoken words.

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

4 Shast means aim: 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 Badawini, the members wore on their turbans.

5 The Great Name is a name of God. Some say it is the word Allah; others say it is As-Samad, the eternal; others Al-Hayy, the living; others Al-Qayyum, the everlasting;
"The pure Shaṣṭ 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 advice.

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

**Ordinances of the Divine Faith.**

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "Allāhu Akbar," and the other responds, "Jallu Jallaluhu." 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,

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1 These formulae remind us of Akbar's name, Jallālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. The words Allāhu Akbar are ambiguous; they may mean, God is great, or Akbar is God. There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the Imperial seals, and the heading of books, farmans, etc. His era was called the Divine era; his faith, the Divine faith; and the note at the end of this Ḥ in shows how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the Mujahid of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's Vice-regent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. "It was during these days [A.H. 983, or A.D. 1575-6] that His Majesty once asked how people would like it if he ordered the words Allāhu Akbar to be cut on the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said, people would like it very much. But īlāh Ikhsā'ī objected, and said, the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and the emperor might substitute the Qur'an verse Lu-gîsrn 'Īlāh 'Akbar (To think of God is the greatest thing), because it involved no ambiguity. But His Majesty got displeased, and said it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." *Badāwī*, p. 210.
and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

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

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

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

In connexion with the preceding Āxin, 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 Āxin, the *Muntakhabu’s-Tawārikh* by ʿAbdul-Qādir ibn-i Mulāk Shāh of Bādāo—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 *Dabistān* ’l-Mazāhib, a work written about sixty years after Akbar’s death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Parṣi 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 Enriques, etc., of whom the first is mentioned by Abū ’l-Faḍl under the name of Pāḍrī Radaf. There exist also two articles on Akbar’s religious views, one by Captain Vans Kennedy, published in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, which had originally appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, vol. i, 1824, and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson’s works, London, 1862. Besides, a few extracts from Bādāoī, 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 *Padre Radif*, as in Elphinstone’s history, but لدغ, the letter (lám) having been mistaken for a ی (ya).
Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Edinburgh, 1820, vol. ii.

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

Abū ’l-Faḍl’s second introduction to Akbar. His pride.


It was during these days [end of 982 A.H.] that Abū ’l-Faḍl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor, came the second time to court. He is now styled ‘Allāmī. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the Šabūhīs, 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 Āyatā ’l-kursī, which contained all subtleties of the Qur’ān; and though people said that it had been written by his father, Abū ’l-Faḍl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words Tafsir-i Akbari (Akbar’s commentary) gives the date of composition [983]. But the emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abū ’l-Faḍl 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-Faḍl’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 Mīr Ḥabshī and others), Shaykh Abū ’n-Nabī and Makhdūm Abū ’l-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 this table:—
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 Fathpur, 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 Gujrat. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubārak applied to Mīrzā 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-Fażl 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 shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated,² 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 ³ for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods ⁴ 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 Vide p. 113, note 2.
² Badāoni belonged to the believers in the approach of the Millennium. A few years later, Akbar used Mahdawi rumours for his own purposes; vide below. The extract shows that there existed before 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 ʿUlāmāʾ a lesson. Abū ʿl-Fażl 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 ‘Ulamās (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 Mujtahid, 1 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 ‘Ulamās.

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 Muḥādiyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qurʾān), and the word of the prophet (the Hadīth, or Tradition). Questions of Ṣūfism, 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, 2 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, 3 ruler of Bengal, who, in company with 150

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1 A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muhammadan law. There are few Mujtahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding Rubā’ī is translated by Sir H. Elliot in the Muhammadan Historians of India, p. 244.

2 By some ascetic. Yā Ḥū means O He (God), and Yā Ḥādī, O Guide. The frequent repetition of such names is a means of knowledge. Some faqīrs repeat them several thousand times during a night.

3 The edition of Badāonī calls him كرمانی Kārānī. He is sometimes called Kārānī, sometimes Kārzanī. He reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980, or A.D. 1563 to 1573.
Shaykhs and Ulama, held every morning a devotional meeting, after which he used to transact state business; as also by the news that Mirza Sulayman, a prince of Sufi tendencies, and a Shuhub-i Hall was coming to him from Badakhshan.

Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called Anuptaloo, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers, met the Ulama and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the Ulama, and the heretical (Shiite) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mullah 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 Shaddad (vide Qur., Sur. 89). The result to which the discussions led will be seen from the following extract.

[Bad. II, p. 202.]

"For these discussions, which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Shaykhs, Ulama, 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 Ulama 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 Ulama 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 [Badouni], 'In future report any of the Ulama that cannot behave and that talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall.' I gently said to Asaf Khan, 'If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulama 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.


"Some people mentioned that Haji Ibrahim 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 Haji by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him."

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1 Hall is the state of ecstasy and close union with God into which Sufis bring themselves by silent thought, or by pronouncing the name of God.
2 The text has shab-i 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 ʿUlamāʾ 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 ʿUlamāʾ; 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 ʿAbduʾllāh of Sultānpūr, who had received the title of Makhdūm ʿl-Mulk, to come to a meeting, as he wished to annoy him, and appointed Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Shaykh Abū ʿl-Faqī (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 Qurʾān (Sūr. 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 ʿl-Mulk 1 had given a fatwā, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary fatwā, he had said, that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrāt, were impracticable, because people, in going by land (Persia) had to suffer injuries at the hand of the Qizilbāshes (i.e., the Shiʿah 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. 2

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1 This extract as given by Sir H. Elliott 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 Sunnī possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. If the wife, therefore, had the surplus for a part of the year, and the husband took it afterwards back, he escaped the paying of alms.
"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 Aimadārs 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 ʿAbd-ʿNabī had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlānā was fast sinking.'"

But a heavier blow was to fall on the ʿUlamās. [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 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 ʿAbd-ʿNabī had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives. Some of the ʿUlamās present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abī Layā; 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 four and four,' but this was improper. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh ʿAbd-ʿNabī, 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 ʿUlamās, 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, 3 + 3, 4 + 4 = 18. But the passage is usually translated, 'Marry whatever women ye like, two or three, or four.' The Mujtahid, who took nine unto himself, translated "two + three + four." = 9. The question of the emperor was most ticklish, because, if the lawyers adhered to the number four, which they could not well avoid, the ḥarāmzādagi of Akbar's freeborn princesses was acknowledged.
every tradition on the subject, decreed, first, that by mut'sah [not by nikāh] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and, secondly, that mut'sah marriages were allowed by Imām Mālik. The Shi'ahs, as was well known, loved children born in mut'sah wedlock more than those born by nikāh wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl-i Jamā'at.

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled Najāt" ʾr-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 Muwatta of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of mut'sah marriages.

"Another night, Qāzī Yaṣqūb, Shaykh Abū ʾl-Faṣl, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the Anūptālā, o tank. Shaykh Abū ʾl-Faṣl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding mut'sah 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 sectarians customs, is this:—Imām Mālik and the Shi'ahs are unanimous in looking upon mut'sah marriages as legal; Imām Shāfiʿi and the Great Imām (Ḥanīfah) look upon mut'sah marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that mut'sah is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfiʿi's and Ḥanafis. 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 Qāzī. 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 Qāzī Ḥasan ʿArab as the Qāzī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaṣqūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzī Ḥasan on the spot gave a decree which made mut'sah marriages legal.

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdūm ʾl-Mulk, Qāzī 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,
was ordered from Āgra (to Fatḥpur Sikri) and appointed Qāẓī of the realm. Qāẓī Yaṣqūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāẓī.

"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 ṣubḥ, given on p. 175, note 1.]

[Badāoni II, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Ḥakīm Abū Ḥarb, Ḥakīm Humayūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humayūn Quli, and lastly to Ḥakīm Humām), and Nūr al-Ḥarb, who as poet is known under the name of Qarāī. 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 Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazīdī, 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 Shi'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaykh Abū Ḥarb and Ḥakīm Abū Ḥarb, 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 Qāẓī Jalāl al-Dīn and several Ulāmās to write a commentary on the Qurān; but this led to great rows among them.

"Deb Chand Rāja Manjhola—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 (Ṣūrat al-Baqaraḥ) of the Qurān.

"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 taqlīdī, 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 [984], when His Majesty was at Dīpālpūr in Mālwah, Sharīf of Āmul 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 Sūfī nonsense in the school of Mawlānā Muḥammad Zāhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, 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 Mālwah, and settled at a place five ḳos 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 Islām casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called Nuqtawīs, 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 ¹ 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 ḏuzānū (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 ʿilm (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud. He called his silly views 'the truth of truths', or 'the groundwork of things'.

¹ Chashm-i azrāy. Europeans have blue eyes. The expression is as old as Ḥariri and the Crusades.
"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 Basakhwān (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 titāl, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language'. The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled Bahr o Ḫūza (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 Tarashshuh-i Zuhūr, in which he blindly follows Mir ʿAbduʾ-ʾl-Awwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words mifārmūdand (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 986, 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 ʿUlāmāʾ, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other Kāfīrs, or accursed.

[Bad. II, p. 255.]

"Makhdūm also wrote a pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbduʾ-ʾn-Nabī, in which he accused him of the murder of Khizr Khān of Shirwān, 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 ʿAbduʾ-ʾn-Nabī, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles. Upon this, Shaykh ʿAbduʾ-ʾn-Nabī called Makhdūm a fool, and cursed him. The ʿUlāmāʾ now broke up into two parties, like the Sibṭīs and Qibṭīs, gathering either round the Shaykh, or round Makhdūm ʿl-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 Islām. 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 Muḥammadan feeling was left in his heart. Matters then became very different."

[Bad. II, p. 239.]

"In 984 the news arrived that Shāh Ẓahmāsp of Persia had died, and Shāh Ismā'īl II had succeeded him. The Tārīḵh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words ẓā[r+da[n] ẓā[r+da[n] ẓā[r+da[n] = 984]. Shāh Ismā'īl 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 Shāh Ismā'īl, son of Shāh Ẓahmāsp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister ʻAlī ʻJān  Khánum. Mir Ḥaydar, the riddle writer, found the Tārīḵh of his accession in the words Shāhinshāh-i rūḥ zāmin [984] 'a king of the face of the earth'. and the Tārīḵh of his death in Shāhinshāh-i zār-i zāmin [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, Shirwān, and Māzandarān. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, son of Shāh Ẓahmāsp, but by another mother, succeeded; and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the Ẓahābah.

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

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1 As Ẓahmāsp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word ژک [930] as the Tārīḵh of his accession, we have:—

Ẓahmāsp from 930 to 984; Ismā'īl II, 984 to 985.

Prinsep's Tables (11th edition, p. 308) give:—Ẓahmāsp, 932 to 983; Ismā'īl II, from 983 to 985.
BADÀ,ONÎ’S SUMMARY OF THE REASONS WHICH LED AKBAR TO RENOUNCE
THE ISLÂM.

[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 [Islâmicit 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 Islâm, 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 (tanâsukh). 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."  

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 chārpaē, 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 Mahāmāi, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though some, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels. His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a deep root in his heart, and he approved of the saying—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence for this doctrine; and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

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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‘ū d-Dīn of Dihlī, who had to attend the emperor. This Shaykh is the son of Shaykh Zakariyā of Ajodhan. The principal Ulamās of the age call him Tāj‘ū l-ṣĀrifīn, or crown of the Ṣūfis. He had learned under Shaykh Zamān of Pānīpat, author of a commentary on the Liwā‘īh, and of other very excellent works, was in Ṣūfism and pantheism second only to Shaykh Ibn ʿArabī, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the Nuzhat‘u l-ʿArwāḥ. Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle. His Majesty listened whole nights to his Ṣūfī trifles. 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 Ṣūfis 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 Fuṣūṣ‘u l-Ḥikām, 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 Insān-i Kāmil (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy. In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct. Even the sjīdah (prostration), which people mildly call zamīnbos (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the Insān-i Kāmil; he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king Ka‘ba-yi Murādāt, the sanctum of desires.

1 As long as a Ṣūfī conforms to the Qur‘ān he is shari‘i; but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God, and does no longer require the ordinances of the profanum vulgus, he is azād, free, and becomes a heretic.
2 Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore malžān, accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the Fuṣūṣ, Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses to be a true prophet.
3 The Islām says, Al-ʿimān bayna l-khawf wa ’r-rijūs, “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 Qibla-yi hajāt, the cynosure of necessities. Such blasphemies\(^1\) 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 . . . .\(^2\)

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority. Thus Shaykh Ya‘qūb of Kashmir, a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʿAynu ʿl-Quṣūt of Hamadān, that our prophet Muḥammad was a personification of ʿīr divine name of Al-hādī (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God’s name of Al-muẓīl (the tempter),\(^3\) 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 Şahābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnis and the Ahl-i Jamāʿat,\(^4\) 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 Ghazzālī and Imām-i Rāzī,\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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 zaminbos, or the use of holy names as Kaṭbah (the temple of Makkah) or Qiblab (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying).

\(^2\) The text has an unintelligible sentence.

\(^3\) According to the Islām, God leads (hādī) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.

\(^4\) Ahl-i jamāʿat is a term which is often joined with the word Sunnis. All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾān, or upon the Tradition; or upon the opinion (qiyās) of famous Şahābās; or lastly, upon ʾijmāʿ agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the Hījrah. Hence Ahl-i jamāʿat comprises all such as believe ʾijmāʿ binding.

\(^5\) Two famous authorities in religious matters. The most popular books of Imām Ghazzālī are the Ihyāʾʾl-Sufūtūm and the Kīmiyāʾ-ʿl saʿādat which, according to p. 103, was one of the few books which Akbar liked.

\(^6\) The text has پادهري.
Jesus, ordered Prince Murād ¹ to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū 'l-Faḍl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual Bismi 'llāhī 'r-raḥmānī 'r-raḥīmī, ² the following lines were used—

\[ \text{Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristū} \]

(O thou those names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, “O thou whose name is gracious and blessed”; and Shaykh Fayzi added another half, in order to complete the verse

\[ \text{Subhāna-kə lâ siwā-kə Yā hū.} \]

(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 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,

¹ Prince Murād was then about eight years old. Jahāngīr (Salim) was born on Wednesday, the 17 Rabī‘a ‘l-awwal 977. Three months after him, his sister Shāhzāda Khānum was born; and after her in the year 978 on 3rd Muḥarram (Bad. II, 132) Shāh Murād, who got the nickname of Pahārī, as he was born in the hills of Fathpūr Sikri. Dānyāl was born in Ajmir during the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th, the Jumādā ‘l-awwal 979.

² The formula “Bismi ‘llāhī, etc.” is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book.

The words Ay nām-i tu Jesus o Kiristō are taken from the Dabistān; the edition of Badā’i anī has Ay nāmī wai hāzho Kiristō, which, though correct in metre (vide my “Prosody of the Persians”, p. 33, No. 32), is improbable. The formula as given in the Dabistān has a common Māshawi metre (vide my “Prosody”, p. 33, No. 31), and spells Jesus jīs dezū. The verse as given by H. Wilson (Works II, p. 387) has no metre.

³ Vide the Tarīkh-iMultī, 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, formulæ to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them mornings and evenings as a religious exercise. He also believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship; he looked upon cow-dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?) 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 Pārsās, and ordered Abū 'l-Faḍl 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 Qurʾān 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.

**Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation.**

[Bad. II, p. 268.]

“In this year [987], His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amīr Tīmūr Sāhib-qirān, and Mirzā Ulugh Beg-i Gurgān, and several others, had themselves read the Khutba (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 Jumāda ’l-Awwal 987, in the Jāmi’ Masjid of Fathpur, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the Khutba. 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 Ḥáfiz Muḥammad Amin, the Court Khatib. 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 Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead. It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abū l-Faḍl, 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

1 As Abū l-Faḍl has done in the Ā’in. “But Fayzī added the usual praise of the prophet (nasāti) to his Nal Daman, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends,” Badū, onī.
2 Because books were sure to be copied; hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula “Bism’ llāh, etc.”, had been changed to Allāḥ Akbar, we also find Allāḥ 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 Makhdûm 'l-Mulk, of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabî, šadr al-ṣudūr, of Qâzî Jalâl al-Dîn of Multân, Qâzîyâ ʿl-quţāt of Ṣâdîr Jahân, the mufti of the empire, of Shaykh Mubârak, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghażî Khân of Badakhshan, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. The objects of the document was to settle the superiority of the Imâm-i ʿĀdîl (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 ʿijtīhād, and as to whom the term Mujtahid was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just Imâm 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 Hindûstân 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 Ulamâs, 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 Qurändân (Sûr. 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 Imâm-i ʿĀdîl: whosoever obeys the Amîr, 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 Sultân-i ʿĀdîl (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, shadow of God in the world, 'Abdu l-Fath Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Pâdis’hâh-i ghâzi, 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 Ulama 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 Abû l-Fâzîl resembled that of the poet Hayrate of Samargand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Mâ-warâ ’n-nahr (Turkistân), joined the old foxes of Shî’ite 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 Hayrate is not exactly known, though he belongs to Turkistân. It is said that he was a great wine-bibber, and travelled about in search of places where wine-drinking was connived at. At last he settled at Kâshân, and became a Shî’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'bân, at the distance of five kos from the town, the emperor alighted, and went on foot to the tomb of the saint (Mu'în 'd-Dîn). But sensible people smiled, and said, it was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwâja 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 Makhdûmu 'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu 'n-Nabî had left for Makkah (987), the emperor examined people about the creation of the Qur'ân, 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 Jîns, 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'ân 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'ân, 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'ân.
An 'Id has come again, and bright days will come—like the face of the bride.
And the cupbearer will again put wine into the jar—red like blood.
The reins of prayer and the muzzle of fasting—once more
Will fall from these asses—alas, alas!  

"His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God, but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed the date of this event by the words fitnâhâ-yi ummat, the ruin of the Church (987). The emperor tried hard to convert Quṭbu 'd-Dîn Muhammad Khân and Shâhâz Khân (vide List of grandees, 2nd book, Nos. 28 and 80), and several others. But they staunchly objected. Quṭbu 'd-Dîn said, 'What would the kings of the West, as the Sulṭân of Constantinople, say, if he

1 Badâ,oni bewails the blindness of Akbar, Abû 'l-Faṣl, 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. Shāhbāz got excited, and took a part in the conversation; and when Bir Bar—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shāhbāz 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 Shāhbāz 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 Tamghā (inland tolls) and the Jazya (tax on infidels), which brought in several krons of dāms, 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 Muḥammad Maṣṣūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Maṣṣūm Khān, Muṣīzzu 'l-Mulk, ṢArab Bahādūr, and other grandees. They objected to Akbar’s innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. The rebels had consulted Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd (vide above, pp. 184, 191), who was Qāziyyu 'l-quẓāt 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 Muṣīzzu 'l-Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion, were called by the emperor to Āgra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnā.

"In the same year the principal ṢUlmās, as Makhdū 'l-Mulk, Shaykh Munawwar, Mullā ṢAbdu 'sh-Shukūr, etc., were sent as exiles to distant provinces."

[p. 278.]

"Ḥājī 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 Ibn ṢArabī. In this book, it was said that the Şāhib-i Zāmān 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 Şāhib-i Zāmān, or "Man of the Period", is a title frequently given to Imām Mahdi.
were found to agree with the usages of His Majesty. He also brought
a fabricated tradition that the son of a Ṣaḥābī (one who knew Muḥammad)
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 Ḥāji during discussions, behaved imprudently towards
Abū 'l-Fażl, Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fāṭḥ and Shāh Fāṭḥu 'Ilāh, he was sent to
Rantanbhūr, where he died in 994.

"Farmāns were also sent to the leading Shaykhs and Ulamās of the
various districts to come to Court, as His Majesty wished personally to
inquire into their grants (vide 2nd book, Āʾin 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 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
Ṣāhib-i Zamān, who would remove all differences of opinion among the
seventy-two sects of the Islām. Sharif of Āmul brought proofs from the
writings of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān (vide 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 Mawlānā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Jafardān,
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 Mahdī would
immediately take place. The Mawlānā also brought a pamphlet written
by himself on the subject. The Shiʿahs mentioned similar nonsense
connected with ʿAlī, and some quoted the following Rubāʿī, 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
Shiʿah, his poems were much read at the time of Akbar. The Farkang-i Jahāngīrī 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." 1

[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 Haşim Humām (vide above, p. 184) mentioned himself, and Shaykh
Abū 'l-Fażl 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 faqīrs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

"A large number of Shaykhs and Faqīrs were also sent to other places,
mostly to Qandahār, where they were exchanged for horses. About the
same time, the emperor captured a sect consisting of Shaykhs and
disciples, and known under the name of Ḥāfīāī. 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 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 sijda, or prostration, was ordered to be performed as being proper for kings; but instead of sijda, the word zamānbos 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 Shaitānpūra, or Devilsville.

[1 The coin showed the word ʿImran. — B.]
[2 Ḫot dār o marz, which is impossible. Akbār's order was well meant; but according to Bādā, this Act of Segregation was unpractical. 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 deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were punished or censured, or confined for a long time in fortresses. Among them His Majesty came across one whose name was Rāja Bir Baṛ, 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 Karah; and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogi; but His Majesty ordered him to come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid.

"Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu libertines, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from everything which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him. Hence this custom has become very general. 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 Faṣḍil-i arbaṣa, or the four virtues, viz., hikmat wisdom; shujāyat courage; ṣiffat chastity; ḍādālat justice. Books on Akhlāq 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 Islām looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow. (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy.) Lying, cheating Muftīs also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qāzīs' of Persia had shaved their beards. But the words ka-mā yafṣālū baṣzū 'l-guṣṭāt (as some Qāzīs have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be ka-mā yafṣālū baṣzū 'l-ṣuṣṭ (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 Kuff shāyiṣ shud, or 'heresy became common', express the Tārīkh (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 Islām in all its phases, whether low or high, as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Shāh Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion.' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid (Abū 'l-Fażl) of the new Creed, and were considered a source of confidence or promotion. The Heavens might have parted asunder, and earth might have opened her abyss, and the mountains have crumbled to dust!

"In opposition to the Islām, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean. A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily was considered a religious exercise. The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed.

"'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say.'

"The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possesses one of them, was a saint, was also quoted as a proof. Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their

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1 The text has o balbalān (?) [ωκ cunabula B.] kih khusghāh-i īshānast, 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 Hindustânis, followed this example, even taking the tongues of dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it.

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

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

"The ceremonial ablution after emission of semen was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the sperma 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 ablution; it would be far better, if people would first bathe, and then have connexion.

"Further, it was absurd to prepare a feast in honour of a dead person; for the corpse was mere matter, and could derive no pleasure from the feast. People should therefore make a grand feast on their birthdays. Such feasts were called Ašh-i āyāt, 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 Mullâ Mubârak, a worthy disciple of Shaykh Abû 'l-Fażl 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 Nišâbūrī-š-šibiyân. Fourteen festivals also were

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1 Fayzi.
2 i.e., that you are a dog.
3 According to the law, bathing is required after jîmâṣ and iḥlâm.
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 Musalmâns, 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 Târikh-i Ilâhî, 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 Muhammed, 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 Qur'an, 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 غ, ﺃ, ﮏ, ﮜ, and ﺕ, were avoided. Thus for عبد الله, people wrote إد الله Abdâllah; and for احدي Ahadi, اهدى Ahadî, etc. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shâhnâmâ, which Firdawsî 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 Islâm, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islâm with reason, the doctrines of رضي الله عنك, Takiîf, and Takwiân,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 alf (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with alf on it (vide Marsden, p. 599) were struck about 991.
³ The word in the text is سجا راک (?). In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.
⁴ رضي الله عنك, or didâr-i Ilâhî dar jannat, 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.

Takiîf. A man is called mukallaf bi-sharîrî, bound by the law, first, if he belong to the Islâm; secondly, if he have saql or a sound mind; thirdly, if he have reached bulûgh, i.e., if he be of age.

Takwián means existence between two non-existences (सदांमयन). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islâm 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\textsuperscript{ā}n 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 Sham\textsuperscript{ā}il,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{2} 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',\textsuperscript{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 Khalifas, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Siffin,\textsuperscript{4} etc.—would that I were

\textsuperscript{1} The book of the famous Mubaddis (Collector of Traditions) Tirmizi, which contains all Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the prophet. The word idol is expressive of great beauty; but the courtiers laughed at the phrase as unsuited to Muhammad, who had abolished idols.

\textsuperscript{2} This refers to the charge of adultery brought against \\textsuperscript{4} Ayisha Muhammad's favourite wife. The whole story will be found in Sale's Qur\textsuperscript{ā}n, Sur. 24, p. 288.

\textsuperscript{3} The Chikil tan\textsuperscript{ū}s, or 40 Abd\textsuperscript{ā}ls. 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-two) holy men, Abd\textsuperscript{ā}ls, for whose sake He would let the earth remain. The chief of the Forty is called Ghaus.

\textsuperscript{4} Fadak is a village not far from Makkah, which Fatimah claimed as her own; but Ab\textsuperscript{ū} Bakr would not let her have it. Siffin is a place near the Euphrates, where a battle took place between \textsuperscript{4} Ali and Mu\textsuperscript{a}wiyaah.

Both affairs form, even now-a-days, subjects of quarrel between Sunnis and Shi\textsuperscript{ā}ahs. Hence the author of the Dabist\textsuperscript{ā}n has also made use of them in his Dialogues. The reader will find more particulars in the notes to the English translation of the Dabist\textsuperscript{ā}n.
deaf! The Shi'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself.' . . . The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but 'Allāh Akbar', and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise. Mullā Sherī, at this time, composed a ḥāfaṣ of ten verses, in which the following occur:

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
Will ever vanish from the earth.
I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor:

'This year the emperor has claimed prophetship,
Next year, if God will, he will be god.'

'At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the Ulama and the pious, nay even the Qāżīs and the Muftī of the realm, to drink wine. . . . And afterwards the Mujahids of the Divine Faith, especially Fayżī, called out, 'Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!' On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the fourteenth degree of Aries (a day called Sharafu'sh-sharaf, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jāžirs, 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 Salīma Sulṭān Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah. Soon after Shāh Abū Turāb also, and Istīmād Khān of Gujrāt, 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 Bīr Bar, 'Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are many in ours (Qurā'n); 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 Nâşir-i Khusraw was often quoted at court—
I see in 992 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdî 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 Hindûs 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 Râja. But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued. The Târîkh was found in the words Iḥdâs-i bidâsat, the innovation of heresy (990).

"During those days also the public prayers and the azân, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like Ahnâd, Muḥammad, Muṣṭâfa, 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 Yâr Muḥammad, Muḥammad 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 Rabî‘ "s-gârî 990, Mir Fatâh Ḥllâh came from the Dakhin (vide above, p. 34). . . . As he had been an immediate pupil of Mir Ghâyâs ‘d-Din Manşûr of Shîrâz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fatâh Ḥllâh would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fatâh Ḥllâh was such a staunch Shî‘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 tattles of bigoted Shi'ism. Even in the state hall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shi'ah prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots; but he connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge. Once the emperor in Fatḥu 'llah's presence,¹ said to Bīr Bārī, '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 (Bīr Bārī) 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 Fatḥu 'llah—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'oni 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'oni 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-Faḍl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the Aʿīn. 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 Fatḥu 'llah 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 Fatḥu 'llah to make a remark on the Prophet's ascension (miṣrāj).
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 Chaukídars. For the word jamāṣat (public prayer), His Majesty used the term jimāṣ (copulation), and for hayya1 ala, he said yalalā talalā.

"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-pūra and the other Dharm-pūra. Some of Abū'1-Fażl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of Jogīs also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of Jogipūra. His Majesty also called some of the Jogīs, 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 Sīvrāt, a great meeting was held of all Jogīs of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogīs, 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

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1 Hayya ċala, for *hayya ċala 's-salāt*h [the waqf form of ċalāt], "Come quick to the prayer," is a phrase which occurs in the Aṣām. Yalalā talalā 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 \(^1\) 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 Lāmās, or Mongolian devotees, and recluses, and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason, His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lāmās, 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 \(^2\) 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 Tawḥīd-i İlāhī, or 'Divine Monotheism'.

"He also called, according to the manner of the Jogīs, a number of special disciples Chelās (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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\(^1\) Zuḥal, in Persian Kaywān, Saturn. This planet is looked upon as the fountain of wisdom. Niẓām says sawīd-i saffīna ba-kaywān sūyārī, "He (Muhammad) gave Saturn the power of writing." Aṣwār Suhaylī, in praise of some physician, Zuḥal šāgird-i ā dar nuyta-dānī, "Saturn in wisdom is his pupil." Hence the famous astronomer Abū’l-Qāsim has the laqab (title) of Ghalām-i Zuḥal. Besides, there are several cycles of years, over which each of the seven planets reigns. The first cycle was that of Saturn, during which the ages of men were long. The last cycle is that of the moon, during which people do not attain a very old age. It existed already at the time of Hāfiz, who says, Īn chi shōrist ki dar dawē-r-i qamar mībānim, "What misfortune is this which we witness in the cycle of the moon?"

\(^2\) Vide my text edition, fourth book, p. 8, l. 9.
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 Brahmans and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the emperor, who believed every word of it.

"In this year also, in the state hall of Fathpur, the ten cubit square of the Ḥanafīs and the Qullatayn¹ of the Shāfiʻīs and Shiʻahs were compared. The fluid quantum of the Ḥanafī was greater than that of the others.

"His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnīs should stand separately from the Shiʻahs, when the Hindustānīs, without exception, went to the Sunnī side, and the Persians to the Shiʻah side."

[p. 336.]

"During this year [992], Mullah Hādhād of Amrohāh and Mullā Sherī attended at Court, in order to flatter the emperor; for they had been appointed to sadrships in the Duāb of the Panjāb. Mullā Sherī presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled Ḥazār Shuāfi� or ‘The Thousand Rays’, which contained 1,000 qīṭās 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

¹ Qullatayn, two large jars containing 1,200 rāfī-i ṣirāq (Sirāqī pounds) of water. According to the Shiʻahs and the Shāfiʻī sect, water does not become najis, or soiled, from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 rafī, or the cube of 3½ spans. Ḥanafīs fixed (10 ½), 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 Ḥanafī Sunnīs.

² Heads of sects give their pupils trees, not of genealogy, but of discipleship as, Ahmad, disciple of ʿAlī, disciple of Muʻāthic, disciple of Bayāxīd, etc., ending with their own name and the name of that disciple to whom the tree (ṣaḥāra) is given.
built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (vide Second book, Al in 15). Interest and shatal (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 Abū-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 bázars, which are held on New Year’s day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem people, marriage-contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.

"The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office;

\(^{1}\) Siddiqa is the title of Sāyisha, the daughter of Abū Bakr. ‘She was six years old, when she was engaged to Muḥammad, 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 (Thaʾlabi Ta’fsir 2, 180); and he told the faithful that she would be his wife in Paradise.” From Sprenger’s Life of Muḥammad, III, p. 62.

\(^{2}\) David counts as a prophet. The book revealed to him is the zabīr, or the Psalms.

\(^{3}\) Properly father of ignorance. Badā, on means Abū ‘l-Fażl, which name signifies father of wisdom. Besides, Abū ‘l-Fażl had the title (takhallus) C Allāmī, 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 Sulṭān 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 Yusuf-zâis. Badā,oni 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 Khān,1 and Khwāja ʿArab, paymaster (colonel) of Khān Jahān and Mullā Sherī, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify. The words az Khwāja ʿArab hayf express the Tārikh of the defeat, by one less. Hakīm Abū 'l-Faqr and Zayn Khān on the 5th Rabī'ul-awwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Āṭak. . . . 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,
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 ‘Allâh Akbar’, and the other should respond ‘Jâllî Jâllâlu-hû’. These formulas were to take the place of our salâm, and the answer to the salâm. The beginning of counting Hindu months should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramâjit. The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule. But the order was not obeyed, though farmâns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujrat and Bengal.

“Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people were generally the cause of much mischief. Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmins, and not by Musalmân Qâzîs. 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 Târiikh of this order is Fasâd-i fazîl (995) . . .

“On the 10th day of Muḥarram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khân Khânân, and Mân Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahâr, Ḥajîpur and Patna); and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Mân Singh. He said without reserve, ‘If Your Majesty mean by the

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1 The text has was not against the ideas of the Hindus (?).
2 The text of the whole passage is doubtful. The readings of the three MSS. which Mawlâwî Aghâ Ahmad Čâli had in editing Bâdâ,oni, 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, Mirzâ Fûlâd Beg Barlâs managed to get one night Mullâ Ahmâd 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 Târikh of this event is expressed by the words Zîhe khanjar-i Fûlâd, 'Hail, steel of Fûlâd,' or by Khûk-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 refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mirzâ Fûlâd tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lâhor; for when Hâkim Abû-Fath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mirzâ, whether he had stabbed 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 Hâkim 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 Mirzâ three or four days. The Shi'ahs, at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion, they put a long nail into the anus, and plunged him several times into the river. After his burial, Shaykh Fâyi and Shaykh Abû'l-Fâzî put guards over his grave; but notwithstanding all precaution, during the year His Majesty went to Kashmîr, the people of Lâhor 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 (maskâ) happens very often to Shi'ahs, because they revile the Sâlábah. Fâyi, according to Bada'uni, 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 maslah, is that no Shi'ah can ever become a hujja, i.e., no Shi'ah can commit the Qur'an to memory.

2 Either Akbar or Abû'l-Fâzî.

3 This was done to clean the intestines of faeces, which were thrown into the river from which the Sunnis got their water.
forbidden before the age of twelve, and was then to be left to the will of the boys. If any one was seen eating together with a butcher, he was to lose his hand, or if he belonged to the butcher's relations, the fingers which he used in eating.

"In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced."

"In 1002, special orders were given to the kotwals to carry out Akbar's commands. They will be found in the Third book of the A'in, A'in 5. The following are new:—

"If any of the darsaniyya 1 disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was. But this order is based upon a fundamental rule, which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.

"If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her, and if a young girl was found running about town, whether veiled or not, or if a woman was bad, or quarrelled with her husband, she should be sent to the quarter of the prostitutes, to do therewith 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 Aq'am Khan returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharifs, 2 and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the sjida 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 darsan, for which vide p. 165.
2 This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.
from the Reverend Master Abū 'l-Faḍl, and got Ghāzipūr and Ḥājīpūr as jāgīr.”

[p. 404.]

“During the Muḥarram of 1004, Ṣadr Jahān, muftī of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandery of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over-ambitious sons; and having taken the Shaṣṭ ¹ 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, Mullā Taqī of Shushtar ² joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Shāhnāma into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase jallā ẓazmatu-hū wā ẓazz shānu-hū,³ wherever the word Sun occurs. Among others that joined were Shaykhzāda Gosāla Khān of Banāras; Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād ⁴; and Śūfī Aḥmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muḥammad Ghawṣ. 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-tarāš-i chand, or ‘several shavers’, express the tārīkh of this event (1004). The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muḥammadan,⁵ or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations, who say to them ‘My dear little man, these rags will be old to-morrow, but the Islām will still remain on your neck’. This Aḥmad, ‘the little Śūfī’, is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaykh Aḥmad 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 Sulṭān of India, should he commit an error, and lead him away from everlasting damnation. But the opposite was the case.’

So far, Badā,oni. We have, therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith. With the exception of Bir Baṛ, they are all Muḥammadans; but to judge from Badā,oni’s remarks, the number of those that took the Shaṣṭ must have been much larger.

1. Abū 'l-Faḍl.
2. Fayżī, his brother, Akbar’s court-poet.

¹ Shaṣṭ, which has been explained on p. 174, also means a fish hook.
² Vide List of Grandees, Second Book, No. 382.
³ Because Muḥammadans use such phrases after the name of God.
⁴ Vide p. 112, note 3.
⁵ That is, over-zealous.
3. Shaykh Mubarak, of Nāgor, their father.
4. Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān, of Qazwin, a historian and poet.
5. Qāsim-i Kāhī, a poet.
6. ʿAbdu ʿṣ-Ṣamad, Akbar’s court-painter; also a poet.
7. Aʿẓam Khān Koka, after his return from Makkah.
8. Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābad, a historian.
10 to 12. Ṣadr Jahān, the crown-lawyer, and his two sons.
14. Sulṭān Khwāja, a ṣadr.
15. Mīrzā Jānī, chief of Thathah.
16. Taqī of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred.
17. Shaykhzāda Gosāla of Banāras.
18. Bir Baṛ.

Nos. 4 to 6 are taken from the Āʾin; the others are mentioned in the
above extracts from Badāoni. The literary element is well represented
in the list.

The above extracts from Badāoni possess a peculiar value, because
they show the rise and progress of Akbar’s views, from the first doubt
of the correctness of the Iṣlām to its total rejection, and the gradual
establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism
and the Fireworship of the Pārsīs. This value does not attach to the
scattered remarks in the Āʾin, nor to the longer article in the Dabistān.

As the author of the latter work has used Badāoni, 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]

"Khwāja Masʿūd, son of Khwāja Maḥmūd, son of Khwāja Murshidā
ʿl-Haqq, who was a gifted Sāhib-i ḥāl,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 Jalālā ʿd-Dīn Akbar, the august son of
Humāyūn Pādishāh 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 Vide also Shea and Troyer’s English translation of the Dabistān, 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 Shea's Translation. The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun-worship of the Tātārs. The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the Astarin.

p. 410. "His Majesty also sent money to Irān, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher." 2

p. 412. Abū 'l-Faẓl wrote, as a counterpart to his commentary on the Ayāt 'l-kurṣī (p. 177), a preface to the translation of the Mahābhārata (vide p. 111) of two juz.

p. 413. "When Sulṭān Khwāja, 3 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 Islām, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family; but so should also a Musalān woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism." 4

p. 414. "I heard from Mullā Tarson of Badakhshān, who was a Ḥanafī 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 Multān, I saw Shāh Salām ʾillah, 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 ʾd-Dīn Akbar, and had heard him frequently say, 'Had I

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 Islām 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 1868, 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 nāqiṣ 'l-ṣagl.
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 ʿAbdu l-Ḥasan called Lashkar Khān of Mashhad, had, report the same as having been said by Akbar.

"Salâm, ʿllâh 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, Tūrānīs, etc., because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbashes (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings. Hence Shâh ʿAbbâs, son of Sultan Khudâbanda-yi Šafawī, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjâs (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 Āṣâ’in which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following:—p. III; 11; 50; 51; 56; 59; 60; 61, ll. 20 to 24; Āṣâ’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 likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islâm as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law; Āṣâ’in 72, p. 162; 168; Āṣâ’in 77, p. 162; Āṣâ’in 81, p. 226. In the Second Book, Āṣâ’ins 18, 19, 22–5; in the Third Book, end of Āṣâ’in 1 (Târikh Ilâhî); Āṣâ’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 Āṣâ’in had been completed. Badâ,oni's history ends with A.H. 1004, or A.D. 1595; but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even 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 Musâlimân, and

1 Vide the notes of Āṣâ’in 30 of the Second Book.
“repented” on his death-bed, is most untrustworthy, as every other particular of that narrative.¹

With Akbar’s death,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 Sharīf of Āmul took again to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahāngīr.³ As Jahāngīr 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. 531. The Mullā whom Akbar, according to Price’s Memoirs, is said to have called is Ṣadr Jahān, who, as remarked above on p. 219 was a member of the Divine Faith. This in itself is improbable. Besides, the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr, as published by Sayyid Ahmad, says nothing about it. Nor does the Iqbalnāma, a poor production (though written in beautiful Irānī Persian), or Khāfi Khān, allude to the conversion which, if it had taken place, would certainly have been mentioned. Khāfi Khān especially would have mentioned it, because he says of Badāoni, that he said and wrote about the religious views of the Emperor things which he should not have related (vide Khāfi Khān, I, p. 196). The silence of the author of the Babistān is still more convincing, whilst the story of Mullā Tarson, 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 Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs, adopts a respectful phraseology when mentioning the sun, which he calls Ḥazrat Nāṣir-i Āl-Ḥaṣām; he also continued the ṣiḥda, though offensive to pious Muhammadians, 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 Rākhi (vide above p. 193), and passed an order not to force Hindus to join the Islām (Tuzuk, p. 100).

² Akbar died on the Shab-i Chahārshabh, 12th Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā 1014 A.H., 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 Pādīshāhnāma (vol. I, p. 66) says that Akbar died at the age of sixty-three (solar) years and one day, in the night of the Chahārshabh (the night between Tuesday and Wednesday) of the 12th Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā, corresponding to the 2nd Abān of Akbar’s Era. The Mīr-i Ṣāḥib and Khāfi Khān (I, p. 235) give the same; the latter adds that Akbar died at midnight.

Pādīshāhnāma (p. 69) and Khāfi Khān (p. 246) fix the jūlās or accession, of Jahāngīr for Thursday, the 20th Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā, or the 10th Abān, i.e. 8 days after Akbar’s death.

Muḥammad Ḥāfīz, in his preface to the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr, says that Akbar died on the Shab-i Chahārshabh, 13th Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā; and Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk refers the jūlās to Thursday, the eighth Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā; but the word مُلُك is often confounded in MSS, with ملک.

Again the Mīr-i Ṣāḥib, and Sharīf-i Irānī in his Iqbalnāma, mention the jūlās as having taken place on Thursday, the eleventh Jumāda ‘l-ukhrā. Lastly, the prefaces of the Farhang-i Jahāngīr refer the jūlās to the third Thursday [the twentieth day] of Jumāda ‘l-awal [a mistake for al-ukhrā], corresponding to the roz-i khur, or the eleventh of Abān.

³ Vide Tuzuk, p. 22.
Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistān collected his notes on Akbar’s religion.¹

\[\text{Ä}^*\text{im 78.}\]

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS.

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal. The Khāṣa 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 Bitikchī, 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 khāṣa; 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

¹ Only one of Akbar’s innovations, the Sijda was formally abolished by Shāhjahān. During the reigns of Ḥāṣb-Ḥāṣbānī [Akbar], and Jannat-makānī [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 Islām. ... When His Majesty [Shāhjahān] mounted the throne, he directed his imperial care to the reintroduction of the customs of the Islām, 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, Mahābat Khān, the Commander-in-Chief, objected at first, etc. His Majesty would not even allow the Zaminbās, or kissing the ground, and subsequently introduced a fourth Taṣlīm [Akbar had fixed three, vide p. 166, l. 5].” Pādeshāḥnāma, 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 *Tahwil* 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 *khāsa* 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 *khāsa* 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 Fawjdārs 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 Fawjdār is found correct, some more are put in his charge; for such officers are thought of first. Fawjdārs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred, in making up the complements, to such as bring less than their original number. Each Fawjdār 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.

*Aṭin 79.*

THE MUSTER OF HORSES.

They begin with the stables of forty; then come the stables of the princes; then the *khāsa* courier horses; then the country-bred, and all other stables. When the ten-muhir horses have been inspected, they bring the *Gūts*, *Qisrāqs*, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the *Bārgir* horses (*vide* p. 146, l. 25; p. 143, l. 10 from below, and *Aṭin* 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 bazar-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 Irāqī, Mujannas (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.

Aṣīn 80.

THE MUSTER OF CAMELS.

The beginning is made with country-bred camels, of which five qaṭārs are daily inspected. Those panṣadīs (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 Bugdhīs and Jammāzas. Then come the Bugdhīs, 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.

\[ \textit{A*in 81.} \]

**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{Diwâlī}—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.

\[ \textit{A*in 82.} \]

**THE MUSTER OF MULES.**

The muster of this beast of burden commence on Thursdays, when six \textit{qaṭārs} 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.

\[ \textit{A*in 83.} \]

**THE PÁ GosHT REGULATION.\textsuperscript{1}**

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical, and has made an excellent rule, which protects the animal, guards the stores,

\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{A*ins} 43, 51, 62, 67, 70), and the several Dāroghas (store-keepers) entered into their \textit{rozñâmchas}, or day-books, the quantum daily given to each animal. These day-books were produced at the musters, and special officers measured the fatness of each animal, and compared it with the food it had been receiving since the last muster, as shown in the day-book. Akbar determined a maximum fatness (A), which corresponded to a maximum quantity of daily food. (a) Similarly, he determined a fatness (B), resulting from a daily quantity of food (b), though Abū 'l-Fazl 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 Pâgosht 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 lean-ness. 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 Fawjdârs, 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 Fawjdâr works in concert with the Dârogha, and both sign the entries in the day-book, the Fawjdâr is responsible for one-fourth, and the Dârogha 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 Dârogha is fined the amount.

were then divided into several fractions or degrees, as \( \frac{8}{8^2} \), etc. Thus in the care of elephants the maximum fatness (A) was divided into 13 degrees.

Pâgosht means a quarter of flesh, and evidently expresses that the food a only produced \( \frac{1}{4} \), instead of \( \frac{1}{2} \). 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 fathom the dishonesty of his Dâroghas. Hence the carefulness which he showed in assessing fines (\( \text{A}^2 \text{ins. 46, 57} \)), in ordering frequent musters of animals and men, in reviving the regulations of branding animals as given by \( \text{CAla} \text{'d-Din Khilji} \) and Sher Shâh, 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.

Ārzīn 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

Deer²-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 khāṣa; 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 khāṣa. Betting on these fights is allowed; the stake does not exceed 5 dāms. Secondly, with those belonging to the princes. Five khāṣa pair fight with each other, and afterwards, two khāṣa pair from His Majesty's hunting-ground; then five other khāṣa pair. At the

¹ To join Akbar's Divine Faith.

² The text has ḏāu which is the Persian name of the chikārā (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 quchqār (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 Anīn. 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 Anīn. 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 Anīn; 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 Anīn; 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 Anīn;

1 Mal, according to 6 of the second book, is the name for a Gujrāt wrestler.
2 In text ṣāv, 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 (misf).
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 _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank on an _Atkal_ 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 _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank, 25 _R._ on an _Atkal_; 20 _R._ on an _Anīn_; on other animals as before. A commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 _M._ [36 _R._] on a _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 2½ _M._ on an _Atkal_, and 2 _M._ on an _Anīn_; on other animals, as the preceding. A commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 _R._ on a _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 21½ _R._ on an _Atkal_; 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 _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank, 18½ _R._ on an _Atkal_; 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 _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 15 _R._ on an _Atkal_, 12 _R._ on an _Anīn_, and on other animals as before. A commander of One Hundred may bet 2 _M._ on a _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 1½ _M._ on an _Atkal_; 1 _M._ on an _Anīn_; and on other animals as before. A commander of Eighty may bet 16 _R._ on a _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 10 _R._ on an _Atkal_; 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 _khāśa_ deer; with one of his own rank 7½ _R._ on an _Atkal_; 6 _R._ on an _Anīn_; on other animals as before. A commander of Twenty may bet 10 _R._ on a _khāśa_ deer; 6½ _R._ with one of his own rank on an _Atkal_; 5 _R._ on an _Anīn_; on other animals as before. A commander of Ten may bet 8 _R._ on a _khāśa_ deer, and 5 _R._ on an _Atkal_, with one of his own rank; 4 _R._ on an _Anīn_; on other animals as before. People who hold no _mansābs_, bet 4 _R._ on a _khāśa_ deer; with one of their own rank, 2½ _R._ on an _Atkal_; 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 Bitikchī of this department appoints half the number of deer as _Anīns_, and the other half as _Atkals_. He then writes the names of the _Atkals_ on paper slips,
folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one. The animal chosen has to fight with an Anîn. 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 khâsa deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the kotal deer; and the deficiency in the number of kotal is made up from half kotal. One pair of kotal also is brought to the fight, so that they may be tried. Hunters supply continually wild deer, and bring them to His Majesty, who fixes the price. A fat superior deer costs 2 M.; a thin superior one, 1 M. to 15 R.; a fat middling one, 12 R.; Do. lean, 8 R.; a third class fat one, 7 R.; Do. thin, 5 R.; a fourth class fat one, 4 R.; Do. lean, 2 to 2½ R.

Deer are kept and fed as follows; Khâsa deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 s. grain, ½ s. boiled flour, ½ s. butter, and 1 d. for grass. Such as are kept on His Majesty’s hunting-grounds, kotal, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1¾ s. of grain, and flour and butter as before. The grass is supplied by each amateur himself. All khâsa, 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 khâsa. Some deer are also sent to other towns; they get 1½ s. grain, and have each one keeper. If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get ½ s. of grain for a fortnight. They then get 1 s. and when one month is over, 1½ s.

In the deer park, Manṣabdârs, Aḥadîs, and other soldiers are on staff employ. The pay of foot-soldiers varies from 80 to 400 d.

His Majesty has 12,000 deer; they are divided into different classes, and proper regulations are made for each of them. There is also a stud for deer, in which new results are obtained. A large female gets 1½ s. grain, and ½ d. for grass. A new-born deer drinks the milk of the dam for two months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ½ s. of grain. Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter ser of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, ¼ d. is given from the seventh to the tenth month. Young males also get weaned after two months, when they get ¾ 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 ¼ 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.

Ātin 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,īs 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.

Ātin 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 Fathpur 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 Maini [the great painter of the Sassanides]. Pieces of red sandstone (sang-i gulula), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the phari, 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. 11¼ j. per man.

Bricks¹ 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. Sisa,² unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 Ilahi gaz long, and 8 Tassuj broad and high, costs 15 d. 6 j. But if the height be only 5 or 6 T., 11 d. 10¼ j. Other sizes according to the same proportion. 2. Nashu, called in Hindi Jylh.³ A beam, 10 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 13¼ j.; and a half size beam, from 7 to 9 T. broad and high, costs per gaz 5 d. 3½ j. 3. Dasung (?), called in Hindi Kari⁴; a beam 3 T. broad, and 4 gaz long, costs 5 d. 17½ j. 4. Ber,⁵ 1 T. broad and high, 4 gaz long, 5 d. 17½ j.; so also Tut, or Mulberry. 5. Mughilan (Babul), of the same cubic contents as No. 4, 5 d. 2 j. 6. Sirs, size as before, 10 d. 4 j. 7. Dayal, same size, first quality 8 d. 22¼ j.; second quality, 8 d. 6¼ j. 8. Bakayin, same size, 5 d. 2 j.

Gaj-i shirin, or sweet limestone. There is a quarry near Bahirah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 R. per three mans; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 d. Qoli-yi sangin, per man 5 d. 5 j. Sadaf, 5 d. Chuna, or quicklime, 2 d. per man; it is mostly boiled out of kangur, 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 Turan, tinned; large ones, 8 d. per pair; small ones, 4 d. Indian do., tinned, 5½ d.; plain ones, 4 d. 12 j.

Gul-mekh (large nails with broad heads), 12 d. per ser. Dinarin nails,

¹ Khisht in text. In modern Persian this word means a sun-dried brick as opposed to ajur, a kiln-burnt brick.—P.
² It in Platt’s seis.—P.
³ This word is spelt Chlidik in A in 90, No. 59.
⁴ Kari.—P.
⁵ "The Ber was in great request in Akbar’s time as a building timber, but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams, as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood." Balfour’s Timber Trees of India.
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.

Khaprel, 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.

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

Bās, 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 Ashrafīs [muhrs] per piece. They are used for making thrones. Bamboo, at a rupee per piece, is common. Patal, is made of the reed which is used for qalams (pens). It is used for covering ceilings. First quality, cleaned, 1½ d. per square gaz; second quality, 1 d. Sometimes they sell patal at 2 d. for pieces 2 gaz long, and 1½ g. broad. Sirkī is made of very fine qalam reeds, looks well, and is very smooth; it is sold at the rate of 1½ d. per pair, 1½ g. long, and 16 girihs broad. The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it.

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 chapper (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindi pudla, per ser from 100 to 10 d.

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

Kāh-i dabh, straw, etc., which is put on roofs, 4 d. for a load of 2 mans.

Mūnj, the bark of qalam reeds, used for making ropes to fasten the thatching, 20 d. per man.

San is a plant. Peasants mix it with quicklime. People also make ropes of it for well-buckets, etc., 3 d. per man.

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

Sirīsh-i kāhī, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 d. per ser.

Luk is the flower-bunch of the reed which is used for matting. People burn it and use it as a candle. It is also mixed with quicklime and qalī. Price, 1 R. per man.

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1 Or Hindi khas-khas. P.
2 For chhappar, H.—P.
3 Or Hindi chhappar. P.
4 San, H., hemp, flax. P.
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 Gwāli,ār.

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

Ārin 87.

ON THE WAGE OF LABOURERS.

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

Sang-tarāsh (stone-masons). The tracer gets 6 e. 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-sāz (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 jaʃfarī [or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical, the other horizontal], 16 d.; when šatranjī [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 d. for every square gaz.

Secondly, when the work is qhayr-waʃlū (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 sīsa wūd; if nāzhu wūd, 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 tassūj.

Chāh-kan, or well-diggers, first class workmen, 2 d. per gaz; second class do., 1½ d.; third class, 1½ d.

[1 Gerū, H. Armenian bole.—P.]
[2 Bel-dār a digger, a pioneer.—P.]
Ghoṭa-khur, or divers. They clean wells. In the cold season, 4 d. per diem; in the hot season, 3 d. By the job, 2 R. for cleaning a depth of 1 gaz.

Khishṭ-tarāsh, or tile makers, for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 d.
Surkhī-kob (pounders of old bricks), 1 ½ d. for a heap of 8 mans.
Glass-cutters, 100 d. per gaz.
Bamboo-cutters, 2 d. per diem.
Chappar-band, or thatchers, 3 d. per diem; if done by the job, 24 d. for 100 gaz.
Patal-band (vide p. 234), 1 d. for 4 gaz.
Lakhīra. They varnish reeds, etc., with lac. Wages, 2 d. per diem.
Abkash, or water-carriers. First class, 3 d. per diem; second class do., 2 d. Such water-carriers as are used for furnishing house-builders with water for mortar and quicklime, get 2 d. per diem.

Aṭīn 88.

ON ESTIMATES OF HOUSE BUILDING.

Stonebuildings. For 12 gaz, one pharī (vide above Aṭīn 86) is required; also 75 mans of chūna; but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 mans of chūna are required per gaz.

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

Claybuildings. 300 bricks are required for the same; each brick-mould contains 1 s. of earth and ¼ s. of water.

Astarkārī work. For every gaz, 1 man chūna, 10 s. qalṣī, 14 s. surkhī, and ¼ s. son (vide p. 234) are required.

Ṣandalakārī work. For every gaz, 7 s. of qalṣī, and 3 s. surkhī are required.

Safidkārī work. 10 s. of qalṣī are required per gaz.

Gajkārī work (white-washing). For walls and ceilings, 10 s. per gaz; for pantries, 6 s.; chimneys, 10 s.

Windows require 24 s. of lime, 2½ s. of glass, 4 s. of sirīsh-i kāhī (putty).
Plaster for walls, for 14 gaz 1 m. of straw, and 20 m. earth; for roofs and floors, do. for 10 gaz. For ceilings, and the inside of walls, do. for 15 gaz.

Lac (varnish work) used for chiqhs [sliced bamboo sticks, placed

[1] See note 1 to Aṭīn 86.—P.
[2] Chhappar-band.—P.
[3] Chiq T., f.—P.
horizontally, and joined by strings, with narrow interstices between the sticks. They are painted, and are used as screens]. If red, 4 s. of lac, and 1 s. of vermilion; if yellow, 4 s. of lac, 1 s. of zarnîk (auripigment). If green, \( \frac{1}{4} \) s. of indigo is mixed with the lac, and zarnîk is added; if black, 4 s. of lac and 8 s. of indigo.

\[ \text{Å*īn 89.} \]

**RULES FOR ESTIMATING THE LOSS IN WOOD CHIPS.**¹

One gaz = 24 ṭassūj

1 ṭassūj = 24 tiswānṣa

1 tiswānṣa = 24 khām

1 khām = 24 zarra.

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at one-eighth (?). In Sīsān wood, per ṭassūj, 26½ sers 15 tānks; Babīl wood, 23½ s. 5 d.; Sīrs wood, 21½ s. 15 tānks; Nāzhū wood, 20 s.; Ber wood, 18½ s.; Dayāl wood, 17 s. 20 tānks.

\[ \text{Å*īn 90.} \]

**THE WEIGHT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOOD.**

His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has for several reasons experimented on the weight of different kinds of wood, and has thus adorned the market place of the world. One cubic gaz of dry wood of every kind has been weighed, and their differences have thus been established. Khanjak wood has been found to be the heaviest, and Safīdār the lightest wood. I shall mention 72 kinds of wood.

The weight of one cubic gaz of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Menas</th>
<th>Sers</th>
<th>Tanks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khanjak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambli (Tammarindus indica)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zaytūn (Gyrocarpus asiaticus ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balūt (Oak)</td>
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<td>Kher (Acacia catechu)</td>
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<td>Khirni (Mimusops)</td>
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<td>Parsiddh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ābnūs (Ebony)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

¹ I am not sure whether this Å*īn has been correctly translated.
² So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his *Hortus Bengalensis*, says the wood of Zaytūn, or Gyrocarpus, is very light, and is used for boats. Abū 'l-Faḍl puts Zaytūn among the heaviest woods.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Local Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Mans.</th>
<th>Sers.</th>
<th>Tanks.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sain (Acacia suma)</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Baqam (Caesalpina sappan)</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Kharhar</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mahwā (Bassia latifolia)</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Phuláhi</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Red Sandal, in Hindi Rakt Chandan (Pterocarpus santalinus)</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Chamri</td>
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<td>Chamar Mamrī</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>ʿUnnāb (Zizyphus sativus)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Sisaū Patang (vide No. 40)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>1  3/4</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Shamshād (Buxus sempervirens)</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Dhau (Grislea tomentosa)</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Āmla, Hind Ānwlah, (Emblica officinalis)</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Karil (Sterculia fetida)</td>
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<td>Ṣandal</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sāl (Shorea robusta)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>4  3/4</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Banaus. His Majesty calls this tree Shāh Ālū; but in Kābul and Persian it is called Ālū Bālū ¹ (Cherry)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Kailās ² (Cherry-tree)</td>
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<td>Nīmb (Azadirakhta indica)</td>
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<td>Dārhard (Berberis aristata)</td>
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<td>Main</td>
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<td>Babūl (Acacia arabica)</td>
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<td>Bijaysār</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Pilū</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mulberry</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dhāman</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Bān Barās</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sirs (Acacia odoratissima)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sisaū (Dalbergia sissoo; vide No. 19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Alū-bālū is a sour dark cherry.—P.
² Gilās in Persia and Kasmīr is a sweet cherry.—P.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tree Name</th>
<th>Mans.</th>
<th>Sers.</th>
<th>Tanks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Chhaukar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Duddhī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Haldī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kaim (<em>Nauclea parviflora</em>)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17½</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Jāman (<em>Jambosa</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Farās</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Bar (<em>Ficus indica</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Khandū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Chanār¹</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Chārmaghz (Walnut-tree)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Champā (<em>Michelia champaca</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Ber (<em>Zizyphus jujuba</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Āmb (Mango, <em>Mangifera indica</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Pāparī (<em>Ulmus</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Diyar (<em>Cedrus deodar</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bed (Willow)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kunbhīr (<em>Gumkhīr (?) gmelina arborea</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Chīḍh (<em>Pinus longifolia</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Pipal. The Brahmans worship this tree (<em>Ficus religiosa</em>)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Kaṭhal (Jacktree, <em>Artocarpus integrifolia</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Gurdain</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ruherā (<em>Terminalia belerica</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Palas (<em>Butea frondosa</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Surkh Bed</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ák (<em>Calotropis gigantea</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Šeṇbāl (Cotton-tree)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Bakāvin (<em>Melea composita</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Lahsorā (<em>Cordia mixa</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Padmākh (<em>Cerasus caproniana</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[¹ Chanār, the Plane.—P.]

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

Āṭīn 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 Aḥādis, 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. Tūrānīs and Persians get 25 Rupees; and Hindūstānīs, 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 Dakhīlis.

In the contingent of a commander (mānsābdār) of Ten Thousand, other mānsābdārs as high as Hazārīs (commanders of One Thousand) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Eight Thousand, Mānsābdārs up to Ḥaṣhtṣadīs (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve; in the contingent of a commander of Seven Thousand, Mānsābdārs up to Ḥaftṣadīs (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve; in the contingent of
a commander of Five Thousand, other Manşabdârs as high as Panşadîs (commanders of Five Hundred) serve; and in the contingent of a Panşadî, Manşabdârs as high as Şadîs (commanders of One Hundred) serve. Manşabdârs of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Manşabdârs.

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

At the present time, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand. This class of soldiers is superior to others. His Majesty’s chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses (for the time of musters) or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses; for he knows that avarice makes men so short-sighted that they look upon a loss as a gain. In the beginning of the present reign, when His Majesty was still “behind the veil”, many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged, from want of honour, in the comforts of married life.¹ Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot-soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a tâtû² 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 تکرگه مبارز رسمی—P.
² For tâtû 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.

\[\text{\textbf{\textit{A\textsuperscript{2}in 2.}}}\]

ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY.

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [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 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, Yabús, Tāzīs, and Jangla horses.

The first class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess. They cost 720 dāms per mensem; and get daily 6 s. of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 d. per man), 2¼ d. of ghī, 2 d. for sugar, and 3 d. for grass. Also, for a jul, artak, yālpoš, girth \(^1\) (His Majesty does not call it tang, but a farākhi),\(^1\) gaddā nakhtband,\(^2\) qayza (which the vulgar pronounces qāyīza), magassan, curry-comb, hatthi (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, pāy-band, nails, etc. [vide p. 144], 70 d. per mensem, which outlay is called kharj-i yarāq-i asp (outlay for the harness of the horse). Besides, 60 d. for the saddle, and an apchi (?) every second month; 7 d. per mensem for shoes; and 63 d. for a groom, who gets double this allowance if he takes charge of two horses. Total, 479 d. But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and 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 dāms, 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

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\(^{1}\text{Tang is girth, but farākhi is a body-roller, not a girth.—P.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Nakht-band for nuktā-band headstall ?—P.}\)
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 Persian ² 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 Turki, 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 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 Turki horses with an inferior breed. Monthly allowance, 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 Ṭāzī; the middling, Janglas; the inferior ones, Ṭātū.⁴

Good mares are reckoned as Ṭāzīs; if not, they are counted as Janglas.

1. Ṭāzī. 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 Ǧirāq-i ǦĀjam.—P.] ² "Ǧirāqī horses."—P.] ³ *Idaš̄ does not mean gelding but "of mixed breed".—P.] ⁴ For ṭaṭṭū, H.—P.]
2. Jangla. Monthly cost, 240 d., of which 145½ d. are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ d. less than for Tāzīs. 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; 1 4½ d. less for the yarāq; 2 d. less for shoeing. First increase, 29½ d.; second, 25 d.; third, 40 d.

Formerly mules were reckoned as Tāzī horses; but nowadays, as Jangla.

For Tātūs⁷ the monthly expenditure is 160 d.; but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abū 'l-Faẓl’s items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badā,oni, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindūstān was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwāls responsible for it; vide Bad. II, p. 390, l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a Manṣabdar, brought horses with them, for which the Manṣabdar 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>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>72 d.</td>
<td>54 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghi</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>75 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>58 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 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>90 d.</td>
<td>90 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>12 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarāq.</td>
<td>70 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>40 d.</td>
<td>30 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle, &amp;c</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>50 d.</td>
<td>20 d.</td>
<td>16 d.</td>
<td>10 d.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>7 d.</td>
<td>6 d.</td>
<td>4 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>2 d.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>63 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>60 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
<td>45 d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original Allowance 479 d. 458 d. 358 d. 298 d. 239 d. 188 d. 145½ d.

| 1st Increase | 81 d. | 67 d. | 72 d. | 52 d. | 41 d. | 22 d. | 29½ d. |
| 2nd Ditto    | 80 d. | 75 d. | 30 d. | 50 d. | 40 d. | 30 d. | 25 d.  |
| 3rd Ditto    | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 80 d. | 40 d. | —      |

Total monthly cost in dāms 720 d. 680 d. 560 d. 480 d. 400 d. 320 d. 240 d. 160 d.

The allowance of sugar, or molasses, according to Abū 'l-Faẓl ceases 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 Qand-i siyāh is probably gur, H.—P.]
[² See footnote 4, p. 244.—P.]
3. Elephants. The branded elephants of the army are divided into seven classes: Mast, Shergir, Sada, Manjhora, Karha, Phandurkiya, and Mokal, 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 dãms [33 Rupees]. Daily allowance of grain, 2½ mãns. No elephant has more than three servants, a Mahawat, a Bho,û, 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 Mahawat and the Bho,û. His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 d.

Sada 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 Mahawat and the Bho,û. An increase of 50 d. was sanctioned.

Manjhola 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 Mahawat. No Bho,û 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.

Mokal elephants were formerly not counted. Now they are considered worthy of entering the classes. Monthly allowance, 280 d.

In all payments on account of elephants, dãms 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 dãms, 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 Manṣābdarṣ, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded.

Aṣīn 3.

THE MANṢĀBDĀRS. 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 Arabians say manṣib; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced manṣāb. It means a post, an office, hence manṣābdār, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

² "When the Collector of the Diwan asks them (the Hindus) to pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission. And if the Collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination (tagazzuz), so that the Collector may do so. In this state [with their mouths open] they should stand before the Collector. The object of such humiliations and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of infidel subjects under protection, and to promote the glory of Islam, the true religion, and to show contempt to false religions: God himself orders us to despise them; for He says (Sur. 9, 29), 'Out of hand, whilst they are reduced low.' To treat the Hindus contemptuously is a religious duty, because they are the greatest enemies of Mustafa (Muhammad), because Mustafa, regarding the killing and plundering of Hindus, and making slaves of them, has ordered, 'They must either accept the Islam, or be killed, or be made slaves, and their property must be plundered'; and with the exception of the Imam-i Aṣ̄am (Abū Hanifah), to whose sect we all belong, there is no other authority for taking the Jiya from Hindus; but all other lawyers say, 'Either death or the Islam.'" Tārikh-i Farrūz Shāhī, p. 290. Akbar often reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. This, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the sutee.
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 Manṣabdārs, from the Dahbāshī (Commander of Ten) to the Dah 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 Manṣabs 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 manṣab of a servant, but decreases his contingent. He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden. The monthly grants made to the Manṣabdārs vary according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent comes up to his manṣab, 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 Dākhīs 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 Du-bisīs, 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 Mujannas, rarely

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1 Jalālah. This curious word is, according to Bahār-i ʿAjām, an abbreviation of the phrase Jalāl Jalālū-hu, "May His glory shine forth." It is then used in the sense of God; thus the dual jalālatayn, saying Allāh! Allāh!; and khatm-i jalāla saying the word Allāh 125,000 times. Similarly here; the 66 manṣabs correspond to the value of the letters of Jalālah, i.e. 11 + 30 + 30 + 6 = 66. Abū ʿl-Fāzī makes much of the coincidence, for Akbar's name was Jalāh ʿd-Dīn, and Akbar was a divinity. Perhaps I should not say coincidence, because of the sixty-six manṣabs only one half existed.

2 Abū ʿl-Fāzī often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist. Badā, ʿumāl says Akbar learnt the art from the Jogās.
Yābūs; and Dahnāshīs are excused the Turkī horse, though their salaries remain as before.

**Note by the Translator on the Manṣabs.**

The sixty-six Manṣabs, detailed by Abū 'l-Faẓīl in the following table, appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Manṣabs 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-Faẓīl himself in the 30th Aṣīn 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 Manṣabdārs, 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 Aṣīn, though the List of Grandees of Shāh Jahān's time (Pādīshāhnāma, II, p. 717) mentions a command of 900. It does not specify a command of 300, because no Manṣabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

Abū 'l-Faẓīl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Manṣabdārs 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>150</th>
<th>120</th>
<th>100 (Yūzbāshīs)</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all, 1,388 commanders from 150 to 10. The number of the higher Manṣabdārs from 5,000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abū 'l-Faẓīl made his list.

As Abū 'l-Faẓīl's List (Aṣīn 30), according to the testimony of Nizām-i Harawī is a complete list, it is certain that of the 66 Manṣabs of the

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1 Nizām 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 tafsīl-i asāmi-yi har yak rā afdāzīdānā Shāykh Abū 'l-Faẓīl dar kitāb-i Akbārnāma māraqum-i qolām-i baddācīq raqām gardānīda.
following table, only 33 existed in reality. The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shāhjahān’s grandees in the Pādishāhnāma, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500.

The commands as detailed in the Pādishāhnāma 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 ’l-Faẓl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the Pādishāhnāma up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar’s time, Maṃṣabs under 200, and at Shāhjahān’s time, Maṃṣabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of Amīr. To judge from Niẓām’s Taḥqīq and the Maʿāṣir-i Raḥīmī, Maṃṣabsdārs from the Hazārī (Commander of 1,000) were, at Akbar’s time, styled umarā’-i kibār, or umarā’-i niẓām, great Amīrs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to Maṃṣabsdārs from the Hazārīs upwards. Niẓām does restrict his phrases ba-martaba-yi imārat rasūd, or dar jarga (or silk, or zumra)-yi umarā muntaṣīm gasht, to commanders from Hazārīs.

The title Amīr” ‘l-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. Niẓām gives his title to Adham Khān, Khizr Khwāja Kānh, Mīr Muḥammad Kān Atkāh, Muzaffar Kān, Qūṭḥu’-d-Dīn Muḥammad Kān, and to the three commanders-in-chief, Bayrām Kān, Mūsīm Kān, and Mīrzā ’Abdu’r-Raḥīm, the three latter being styled Khān Khānān, or Khān Khānān o Sipahsālār.

In the Pādishāhnāma, however, the title of Amīr” ‘l-Umarā is restricted to the first living grandee (ʿAli Mardān Kān).

It is noticeable that Niẓām only mentions commanders of 5,000, 4,000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000—for lower Maṃṣabs he does not specify names. Abū ’l-Faẓl gives three intermediate Maṃṣabs of 4,500, 3,500, and 1,250; but as he only gives five names for these three ranks we may conclude that these Maṃṣabs 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 Ā’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 Pādishāhnāma gives fourteen steps between the

1 For Khān-i Khānān, the Khān of the Khāns. In such titles the Persian ḫāfat 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,
ettitled Ghiyās’ī ’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 Panṣādī, or commander
of 500, is 20,000 Rs. per annum, the 12½th part of the former.

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Maṇṣābdārs, as given
by Abū ’l-Fażl in the following table, are somewhat higher than those
given in the Pādīshāhnāma and the Ghiyās, whatever may have been
the source of the latter.

The salaries appear to be unusually high; but they would be consider-
ably reduced, if each Maṇṣābdār had to keep up the establishment of
horses, elephants, camels, carts, etc., which Abū ’l-Fażl 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

5,000 (monthly salary 30,000 R.) to 10,637 R.
1,000 (" " 8,200 R.) to 3,015½ R.
100 (" " 700 R.) to 313 R.

The three classes which Abū ’l-Fażl mentions for each Maṇṣāb 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 Maṇṣābdār. Thus Nizām says of Todar Mall
and Quṭb’ī ’d-Dīn Muḥammad Khan, as if it was something worth
mentioning, that the former had 4,000 cavalry, and the latter 5,000
nawkars, or servants, i.e., soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander
of 4,000 (Nizām says 5,000), and Quṭb’ī ’d-Dīn a commander of 5,000.
Of *Abdul majid Aṣaf Khan, 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 ذات zāt after the titles of
Maṇṣābdārs; as panj hazār-yi zāt sīhazār 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 Shāyīsta Khān panj hazār, panj
hazār suvār-i duaspa sīhaspa, “Shāyīsta 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 *duashpa sihaspa* troopers was a distinction, as in the *Pādisīhānāma* only the senior Manṣābdārs of some ranks are so designated, viz., 8 (out of 20) Panjhazāris; 1 Chahārhazāri; 2 Sihhazāri; 2 Duhazāri; 2 Hazār o pansadī; 1 Hazāri; and 1 Haftṣadī.

The higher Manṣābdārs were mostly governors of Šūbas. The governors were at first called *sipahsālārs*; towards the end of Akbar’s reign we find them called *Hākims*, and afterwards *Sāhib Šūbah*, or *Šūha-dārs*, and still later merely *Šūbas*. The other Manṣābdārs held *Jāgīrs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Manṣābdārs are also called *tāsīnatiyān* (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called *tābināt* (followers); hence *tābinbāshī*, the Manṣābdār himself, or his *Bakhshi* (pay-master, colonel).

The contingents of the Manṣābdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general or the local treasuries; *vide* Ā*ins* 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 Shāh-bāz Khān (*vide* pp. 148, 197) was appointed *Mīr Bakhshi*. The following passage from Badā’onī (II, p. 190) is interesting:—

“The whole country, with the exception of the *Khāliṣa* lands (domains), was held by the Amīrs 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. Shāh-bāz Khān, the *Mīr Bakhshi*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dāgh o mahallī*, which had been the rule of *ṢAlān* ‘d-Dīn Khālījī, and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every Amīr should commence as a commander of twenty (*bīstī*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and . . . .”

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1 *Tāzīn*, pl. of *Tāzīni*, from *Tāsīn*, the Indian pronunciation of *tāzīn*, to appoint *tābīn*, *tābīni*, to follow; then as an adj. one who follows. This corrects the erroneous meanings of *tābīn* on p. 62 of the *Journal A. S. of Bengal* for 1868.

2 The passage in the printed edition is frightfully unintelligible. For *kih* read *Kanbā*; for *baa dahānīda*, we have perhaps to read *yīd dahānīda*, having brought to the memory of (Akbar); for *tābīn*, read *tābinān*; for *panāh Khudā*, read *panāh ba-Khudda*; for *ān ham*, read *ān hamah*.

3 The *Tārikh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* says but little regarding it. The words *dāgh o mahallī* occur very often together.

4 *Ojār o maljār* (?). 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 Šadż, or commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Maṇṣabs, 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 Hazārī, Duḥazārī, and even Panjḥazārī, which is the highest Maṇṣab; 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 Amīrs 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 jagārs, 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 Maṇṣabdār remained in statu quo, “dust fell into the platter of the helpless soldier,” so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers, and cotton-cleaners (naddāf), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Musalmān, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Maṇṣab, or were made Khorīs (vide p. 13, l. 7 from below), or Ahādīs, or Dākhīlis 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 Diwān-khāna-yi khāṣṣ, 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 Ahādīs into du-aspa, yakaspa (having one horse), and nimaspa (having half a share in a horse), in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees.  

Weigh well these facts, but put no question! 

These were things of daily occurrence . . .; but notwithstanding

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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 Amīrs 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 Ā*†in; and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (pp. 226–7, note). The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (kaṣrat), in order to understand the whole (waḥdat)—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 Pādīshāhīnāma 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 Fawjadi, Krosis, and tax-collectors, for the administration of the Parganas. These 200,000 cavalry are made up as follows:—

8,000 Manṣabdārs.
7,000 mounted Aḥadi and mounted Barqandāz.
185,000 cavalry, consisting of the contingents (tābīnān) of the princes, the chief grandees, and the other Manṣabdārs.

“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 30,000² 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 Manṣabdār holds a jāgir in the same sūba, in which he holds his manṣab, he has to muster one-third of the force indicated by his rank.³ Accordingly a Si Hazārī-yī zāt sīh-hazār suvār (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 suvār (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 Pādīshāhīnāma 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 Manşabdâr should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a Panjhzârî panj hazâr suwâr (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 (hâsil) of his jâgîr 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 jâgîr 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 jâgîr 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 manşab had all been fixed as si-aspa du-aspa [in other words, if the commander was not a Panj hazârî, panj hazâr suwâr, but a Panj hazârî panj hazâr suwâr-i du-aspa si-aspa] he musters, as his proportion of duaspa and sihaspa troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his manşab had been as in the preceding. Accordingly, a Panj hazârî panj hazâr tamâm 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 jâgîr 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 Manşabdâr, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shâhjahân. Thus if a commander of 1,000 troopers had the title of Hazârî hazâr suwâr, the strength of his contingent was \(\frac{1,000 \times 250}{4} = 250\) men with 650 horses, viz., 75 si-aspa, 150 du-aspa, and 25 yak-aspa; and if his title was Hazârî hazâr suwâr-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 jâgîr 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 manşabs as 300 : 600 : 100, or as 3 : 6 : 1.

As the author of the Pâdishâhnâma does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Manşabdârs 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 jagîrs.

From an incidental remark (Pâdishâh-nâma, I, p. 113), we see that the pay of a commander of sîhaspa 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 Awrangzib'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, Abû 'l-Faţl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the A* in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders</th>
<th>250 Commanders of 100 (Yûzbâshîs)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 Mîrzâ 'Abd-a'r-Rahîm Khân Khânân, 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, Abû 'l-Faţl states that there were 12,000 matchlock-bearers. The number of Aḥâdis, of which Shâhjâhân 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. Badâ, oni mentions an Aḥâdî of the name of Khwâja Ibrâhîm Husayn as one of his friends (II, p. 394). The number of Manşabdârs, which under Shâhjâhân amounted to 8,000, was also much less. Of the 415 Manşabdârs whose names are given in A* in 30, about 150 were dead when Abû 'l-Faţl wrote it,3 so that there would be about

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3 The list of grandees in A* in 30 is quoted in Nizâm's Ta'bahât which do not go beyond A.H. 1002, as the author died in October, 1594; but it may be still older, as Nizâm assigns to several Manşabdârs a higher rank than the one mentioned by Abû 'l-Faţl. In fact, the list refers to a time prior to the year 993, when the three princes (Bad. II, p. 342) were appointed Commanders of 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 respectively, whilst in Abû 'l-Faţl's List, Prince Salîm (Jahângîr) is still put down as a Commander of 10,000, Murâd as Commander of 8,000, and Dânyâl as of 7,000.
Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Manşabdârs.  

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<td>Classes.</td>
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<td>1st</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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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 Manṣabdārs, to which we have to add 1,388 lower Manṣabdārs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards; hence altogether about 1,600 Manṣabdārs.

But Akbar's Manṣabdārs, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Manṣabdārs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (zat) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Manṣabdārs had even to furnish men with four horses (chahār-aspa). A Dahbāshi, 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 Dahbāshi 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 6½ to 2½ R. As they were standing (household) troops, Abū l-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 Manṣabdārs.
Badā, in the above extract, p. 253, speaks of a libās-i sipāhī, or soldier’s uniform (armour?).

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Manṣabdārs consisted in certain flags (vide p. 52, l. 6, from below), and the gharyāl or gong (vide in the beginning of the fourth book, Ā’in-i Gharyāl).

Ā’in 4.

THE ṬHADĪS.

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Manṣab, 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 Dīwān 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 Aḥadīships. 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-dāšt, the Ta’sīqa, 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-khat [vide Ā’in 11] each receives a farmāncha (rank and pay certificate), on which year after year the treasurer makes payments.

Aḥadīs are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the Dīwān and the Bakhshi, which is called nowadays Tašīhā, the
clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be countersigned by the
principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps, and pays the claim. Before
the period (of four months) is over, he gets one month's salary in advance.
In the course of the year, he receives cash for ten months, after deducting
from it one-twentieth of the sum, the total stoppage being made on
account of his horses and other expenses. On joining the service, an
Aḥadī generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the
Government; and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called
Ṣaqatnāma, 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 Ṣaqatnāma 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 Aḥadī be in debt,
in eight instalments.

Āʿīn ５.

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS.

As I have said something about the Maṣṣābdārs and the Aḥadīs, 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 Bakhshīs. The description of the man is then taken down
in writing. If a trooper has more than one horse they add to his establish-
ment a camel or an ox, for which he gets half the allowance usually given
troopers of a superior class; or if this be not given he gets an addition
of two-fifths.

A Yak-aspa trooper is paid according to the following rates. If his
horse be an ʿIrāqī, he gets 30 R. per mensem; if mujannas, 25 R.; if
Turkī, 20 R.; if a Yābū, 18 R.; if a Tāzī, 15 R.; if a Jangla, 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.

¹ From saqaṭ, he fell.
² Or armās money. The word is a noun, or plural of rams, a grave. Badāoni evidently reads irmās, because in II, p. 202, he explains irmās by ʿawādī dušman the burying or destruction of the foes, which word the grandees used instead of ṭalabī ajnās, 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-bashi’s contingent consists of 3 si-aspa, 4 du-aspa, and 3 yak-aspa troopers [i.e., 10 troopers with 18 horses].

Ārin 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 Avāra-navis. 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 Banduq-chīs, or Matchlock-bearers.

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced Bitikchi, an honest treasurer, and an active Darogha. A few Banduq-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 Banduq-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 Mirdahās is five fold, 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. Panjāhis

1 The text has a word which does not suit.
to Bistis have 200 d. and a Dah-bash moves 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 Mawis. Their chief has received the title of Khidmat Rāji. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khidmatiyas.¹

The Mewras.²

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 Shamsheerbūz, 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 Lakrāit. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called yak-hāth. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts, and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call chirwa. Those who come from the southern districts make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call tilwa.

Another class goes by the name of Pharaits. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a gaz broad.

Some again are called Banāits. 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 Bankūlis are likewise famous. They use a peculiar sword which, though bent towards the point, is straight near the handle. But they do not make use of a shield. The skill which they exhibit passes all description. Others make various kinds of daggers and knives, and perform with them the most extraordinary feats. Each class of these men has a different name; they also

¹ They are called in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīri Piyādahā-yi Khidmatiyya. The name of their chief under Jahāngīr was Rai Mān. He once picked up the young Shāh Shuja who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. Tuzuk-i Jahāngīri, p. 303.
² "Among the innovations made by Akbar are the Dīk-Mewras, of whom some were stationed at every place." Khāfī Khān, I, p. 243. Hence the Mewras 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 Șadî (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ⱦhâdi, and even a higher one. Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 d.

The Pahlavâns, or Wrestlers.

There are many Persian and Tûrâni wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers, athletes of Hindûstân, clever Mals from Gujût, 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; Muhammad Quli of Tabrîz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of Sher-hamla, or Lion-attacker; Šâdiq of Bukhârâ; ʿAli of Tabrîz; Murâd of Turkistân; Muhammad ʿAlî of Tûrân; Fûlâd of Tabrîz; Qâsim of Tabrîz; Mirzâ Kuhna-suwar of Tabrîz; Shâh Quli of Kurdistân; Hilâl of Abyssinia; Sadhû Dayâl; ʿAlî; Srî Râm; Kanhyâ; Mangol; Ganesh; Ānbâ; Nînkâ; Balbhadr; Bajrnâth.

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.⁵ Thirdly, one’s

¹ Chela, H., disciple, etc.—P.]
² The word Chela is the same as the Arab. murûd, a disciple who places implicit belief in his murshid or pîr, the head of the sect. “And many of His Majesty’s special disciples, in 991, called themselves chelas in imitation of the use of this term among Jogis.”—Bâdd,ânî II, p. 325.
³ The author of the pretty Taqâkira, entitled Kalîmatâ, ’sh-Shuqara, which contains biographies of the poets of the eleventh century, was called Chela. His real name is Mirzâ Muhammad Afzâl; as a poet he is known as Sarkhush.
⁴ By joining the Divine Faith.
⁵ Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his pîr.
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, singhāsans, chaudols, and dūtis, 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.

Dākhili troops.

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Manṣabdārs; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as nīma suvārān, or half troopers.

The fourth part of Dākhili 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 Bütikčis 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 Taśīqa [vide Āin 10].

Dakhli troops are admitted on the signature of the Manşabdārs.

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 Āin 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 Wāqiša Nawīs (Āin 10), the Mir ʿArzu, 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 ʿin (i.e. like this, ا), 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 ا، 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 (vide next Ā* in), brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhshî 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 Bakhshîs, 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.

Ā* in 8.

ON THE REPETITION 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 jâgîr (aqtaš1) 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 Aḥâdis, the former custom was retained. Some Bitikchîs, and near servants of His Majesty, who have no leisure to look after jâgîrs, receive their monthly salaries in cash, and

1 Properly aqtâs, Inf. IV, of qaštâ; but in India the word is mostly pronounced as aqtaš. The king is therefore called muqāṣ, one who confers lands on the nobles; abstr. n. muqâṣ, the giving of lands to nobles, of which the Moghul historians accuse Sher Shâh. Vide end of Ā* in 10, third book, Muqâṣ, past part., one on whom lands have been conferred; so often in the Tarikh-i Firuz Shâhî. From the times of Akbar the words aqtâs, and jâgîr are used as synonyms; before his time we only find aqtâs used; but jâgîr occurs, or jâgjâr, in its etymological sense. In later Historians the word aqtâs is but rarely met with.
muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees whose jāgīrs 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 Manṣābdār has been promoted
to a higher Manṣāb, and three years have elapsed since he last presented
his horses at muster, he receives a personal (ذائتها) 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.

\[\text{Āśin 9.} \]

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 Manṣābdār. Another, fully acquainted with all
ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mīr ʿArz. All orders of His Majesty
are made known through these two officers (the Mīr ʿArz, 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.

 Archbishop 10.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WĀQIṢA-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; jāgīrs; İrmās money (vide above, p. 260, note 2); sayūrghāls (rent-free land); the increase or decrease of

¹ From wāqīṣa an event and nawīs a writer. Instead of wāqīṣa-nawīs we also find majlis-nawīs.

² There was a wāqīṣa-nawīs, or recorder, in each Şūba. From several places in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr, we see that the Bakhshis of the Şūbas often held the posts of Wāqīṣa-nawīs at the same time. Vide Tuzuk, 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. Vide above, p. 200, l. 9.

⁵ Especially fasts.
taxes; contracts; sales, money transfers; peshkash (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; chaugan games (vide A'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 Parwanchi, by the Mir 'Arz, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called yad-dasht, or memorandum.

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive yad-dasht when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgement of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the yad-dasht, when the abridgement is signed and sealed by the Wazia-nawis, and the Risala-dar, the Mir 'Arz, and the Durogha. The abridgement, thus completed, is called Tashiq, and the writer is called Tashiq-nawis.

The Tashiq 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.

A'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

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1 Taşin-i muddat, the fixing of periodical inspections; opp. be-taşin-i amadan to come at times not appointed beforehand, unexpectedly.

2 The text has risala, which stands for risala-dar, as, in later times, Šūba for Šūba-dar.

For Mir 'Arz we find in the early historians Ğarīz.
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 Abwāb ʾl-māl 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 Arbāb ʾl-tahāwīl.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 Towjīh.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 Farmān-i ʿabī.

Farmān-i ʿabīs are issued for three purposes:—

1. For appointments to a Manṣāb; to the Vakīlship; to the post of Sipāḥ-sālār (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 suits Eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books. The word daftar is the Greek ὀθηρα, a tanned hide, parchment, ʿabīb-i daftar, Minister of Finance, the same as Divān and Vazir. Daftarī means in India a man kept in every office for mending pens, ruling paper and forms, etc.

² The men who get transfer receipts on the Treasury. This part of the Daftar contained all Household accounts, as specified above. Though all MSS. read Arbāb, it is probable that abwāb is the more usual expression.

³ Or, the giving of ṭawjīh (pay) to the army; hence towjīh, military accounts. For towjīh, some MSS. read towjīhāh.
tutorship of the princes; to the rank of Amīr' ʿl-umrāḥ (vide p. 250); to a Nāḥiyatī, or districtship; to the post of Vazīr, or Finance Minister; to the Bakhshīship (Paymaster and Adjutant-General); to the post of a ʿsādīr, or a judge.

2. For appointments to jāgīrs, without military service; \(^1\) for taking charge of a newly conquered territory; sometimes \(\ldots\) \(^2\).

3. For conferring Sayūrghāls (vide A³ in 19); for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance; and for grants for beneficent purposes.

When the Taṣḥīqa 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 Bakhshīs for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—khāṣa, o mardum barāward numāyand; kārgarān-i in shuqāl chihra-nawāsī kunand (this is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls). When the horses are then branded at the time of the muster, the Bakhshī general takes the Taṣḥīqa, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the Bakhshī grants instead of the Taṣḥīqa, is called Sarkhāṭ.

The Sarkhāṭs are entered in the daftārs of all Sub-Bakhshīs, and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwān then keeps the Sarkhāṭ 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 Sarkhāṭ, the following words are entered on the top of the report: Taṣḥīqa-yī tan qalamī numāyand (they are to write out a Taṣḥīqa-yī tan (certificate of salary)). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwān, who verifies it by writing on it the words sabt numāyand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the daftar, and the seal of the Diwān, the Bakhshī, and the Accountant the Diwān, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is

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\(^1\) Jāgīrs, to which no military service attaches, appear to be called bedāgh o mahallī, i.e., the holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the Mānsābdārs drew the salaries of their contingents, nor with the collection of the taxes of the several Māhalls or Parganas. Thus Fatḥ ʿIllāh of Shīrāz (vide p. 200) received Basāwar as his jāgīr, bedāgh o mahallī. Bādā,oni, p. 315. Bādā,oni also had a jāgīr of 1,000 Bīghas at which he often grumbles, calling himself by way of joke Hasūrī, or Commander of One Thousand.

\(^2\) The text has jāa (sometimes ?) ba ʿunwīn-i mulk (milk ?) dādan—which I do not understand.
written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Dīwān.

The Šāhīb-i Tawjīh, or military accountant, keeps the former Taʿlīqa with himself, writes its details on the Farmān, and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the Mustaufī, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nāzīr and the Bakhshīs do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Dīwān, his accountant, and the Vakīl of the State.

If His Majesty’s order specifies a cash payment, the farmān is made out in the same manner, but is generally called barāt (cheque). A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it. After the Nāzīr, the Dīwān-i Buyūtāt signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs and the Dīwān, 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 Shahrivar, and the other from Mihr (September) to Isfandiyārmūz. 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 Dīwān-i Buyūtāt inspects them, passes the order for payment, inquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin az taheil-i falāni barāt nawīsand, ‘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 Dīwān-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 Dīwān-i Buyūtāt, the Dīwān-i Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Dīwān, and the Vakīl, who sign and seal it. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake. When it has been laid before His Majesty, the 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 (ashrafīs), one-half in silver (rupīs), and one part in copper (dāms), according to the fixed values of the coins.
The Farmāns in favour of Manṣabdārs are made out in the same manner; they are, however, never sent to the officers of the workshops and stables.

In case of Sayūrghāls (vide Ā* in 19), the farmāns, after having been signed by the Mustawfī, are entered in the daftars of the Divān-i Saṣādat (vide Ā* in 19); they are then signed and sealed by the Ṣadr, and the Divān-i Kul.

Farmāns are sometimes written in Ṭuḡṛā 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 Saṣādat (vide Ā* in 19); the salaries of the Aḥadīs, Chelas, and of some officers in the workshops; and for the allowances on account of the food of Bāṛgir horses (vide p. 147, Ā* in 54). The treasurer does not annually demand a new sanad, but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the ministers of the State. The Mushrif (accountant) writes out the receipt which is signed by the recipient, and is then sent to the Divān for orders. It is then signed by the Mushrif, the Mustawfī, the Nāẓir-i buytāt, the Divān-i kul, the Khān-Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Divān. In the Parwānchas given to Aḥadīs, the signature, seal, and orders of the Aḥadībāshī, or Commander of the Aḥadīs, are required after those of the Mustawfī, the Divān, and the Bakhshīs, 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 sarḵahats, sale and purchase receipts, price-lists, ārẓ-nāmchas (statements of sums forwarded to Court by the collectors of the Imperial domains), qarār-nūmas (which specify the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots), and the muqūsās (statements of account which Tahvīlīdārs take from the Mustawfī, showing that the sums which they had received as deposits, have been correctly expended).

Ā* 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 Ṣadr. But when Shaykh
'Abd 'n-Nabî and Sultan Khwâja were Sâdrs (vide note to Ā'in 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakîl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakîl, as Atka Khan did at the time of Munîm Khan, and Adham Khan. The Mir Mâl, the Khan Sâmân, 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 Diwân, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diwân-i juz, the Bakhshî-yi juz, and the Diwân-i buyûtât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustawfi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Şâhib-i Tawjih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Ẓụqrâ lines on the top of the Fârmân, where the princes also put their seals in Tâlîqas.

Ā'in 13.

THE FARMÂN-I BAYÂZÎ.

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 bayâzî. 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 Mansâbdârs, Aḥadîs, 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 bayâzî, 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 Lâk. The author probably means "sap." It is from the exudations from slits made overnight in the bark of the Bar and the Pipal tree that the best bird-lime 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 sanad without delay and without costs. All accounts of salaries are made out in āms; but at the time of making out the estimate he receives one half in rupees, reckoned at thirty-eight āms each. Half of the remainder is paid in muhurs at nine rupees each, and the last quarter is given in āms for stores. When the value of the rupee was raised to forty āms, the soldiers, through His Majesty’s kindness, received āms 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, Aḥadis 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 Aḥadis 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 Aḥadī loses fifteen days’ pay, and other soldiers one week’s.

The Commander of every contingent (Tābīnbāshī) is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses.

MUSĀṢADAT, 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 Mir Ārāz, 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.

\[\textbf{A\textsuperscript{c}in 16.}\]

\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.

\[\textbf{A\textsuperscript{c}in 17.}\]

\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.

There is a treasurer always waiting at Court; and every beggar whom His Majesty sees is sure to find relief.

\[\textbf{A\textsuperscript{c}in 18.}\]

\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.

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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.

\(^2\) Vide p. 210, l. 19.

\(^3\) Vide p. 15, l. 1.
On the first day of the month of Ābān [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, rūh-i tūtiyā, drugs, ḡhī, 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 Sālgirīh (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks.

The Imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of His Majesty are weighed once in every solar year. They are for the first time weighed when two years old, but only against one thing. Every year, however, a new additional thing is put on the scales. When grown up, they are generally weighed against seven or eight things, but not against more than twelve. Animals are set free as usual.

A separate treasurer and an accountant are appointed for this purpose, so that the expenditure may be made with every propriety.¹

¹ The lunar birthday of the emperor. As this was the Muḥammadan birthday, the articles were, of course, fewer and less valuable.

² According to the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr (p. 163) and Pādishāhnāma (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 wuzn-i shamsi, or solar weighing, and a wuzn-i qamarī, or lunar weighing. There was of course, a jashn, or feast, on such occasions, and courtiers on the same day were promoted to higher Manṣabs, or presented their jashn. The feast was of special importance for the Harem. It appears (vide Pādishāhnāma, p. 243) that the articles against which the royal person was weighed were sent from the Harem, or by the mother of the reigning emperor, Jahāngīr, according to several remarks in the Tuzuk (pp. 69, 70, 276, etc.), was even weighed in the palace of his august mother, to whom the Tuzuk gives the title of Maryam Zamānī, the Mary of the age, as Akbar’s mother had been styled Maryam Mākīnī (vide p. 49, note 7). The solar wuzn was even retained by Aurangzeb; vide Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 229.

The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as there the string was kept, which numbered as many knots as the emperor numbered years; hence also sālgirīh (or sālgirah, as the word is pronounced all over India) “the year’s knot”, or birthday.

Tying knots, or bits of string, or ribbon, to the tombs of saints considered by barren women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of Salīm-i Chishti in Fathpur Sīkri, in whose house Jahāngīr was born, is even nowadays visited by Hindu and Moslem women, who tie bits of strong to the marble trellis surrounding the tomb. Similar vows are even placed on Akbar’s tomb in Sikandra, near Āgra.

Akbar’s regulation, as given in the above A² in, appears to have been continued under Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān made some alterations, in as far as he was weighed on each feast first against gold and silver, and then against other articles. The articles themselves were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men and beggars, as a means of keeping the royal
ON SUYÜRGHALS.\textsuperscript{1}

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, \textit{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; \textit{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; \textit{thirdly}, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for inquiry; \textit{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 \textit{Wažifa}; lands conferred are called \textit{Milk}, or \textit{Madad-i maśāsh}. In this way kroors 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 \textit{ Şadr}. The \textit{Qāzi} and the \textit{Mīr ʿAdl} 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 \textit{Diwān-i Saʿādat}.

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 \textit{Tuzuk}, the money was distributed among the women of the Harem. On another occasion (\textit{Tuzuk}, p. 163), Jahāngir was found to weigh 6,314 \textit{tolas}. Taking the \textit{tola} as 186 grains (Prinsep's useful Tables, by E. Thomas, p. 111), Jahāngir at the age of forty-seven would have weighed 210\frac{1}{2} 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 Niẓāmābād, 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;” \textit{Badā,oni}, ii, p. 84.

Occasionally, courtiers were weighed for important personal services. Thus Jahāngir had once his Court doctor Rūḥu ʿlāh weighed in silver (\textit{Tuzuk}, p. 233), the sum being given him as a fee in addition to three villages, which were bestowed upon him as \textit{jāįr}.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Vide} the note at the end of this \textit{Āṣ}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 Šadrs had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices. He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaykh ʿAbdū ʿn-Nabī to this important office. The lands which were then held by Afghāns and Chaudris were taken away, and became domain lands (khalṣū),1 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 khāliṣa lands or near the jāgirs 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 Šadr ʿAbdū ʿn-Nabī 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 Qāžīs 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 Qāžīs], 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 Qāžīs, except those who had been appointed during the Šadrsīship of Sulṭān Khwāja. The Irānī and Tūrānī

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1 This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian khāliṣa.
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 'Aziz al-Dawla [Mir Fatlu 'llah of Shiraz] the following order was given:—If any one held a Suyurghal 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 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 Suyurghal-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 Sadr Jahân 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 Suyurghal 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 Afn—in—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chaghatai word suyurghal is translated by the Arabic madadn l-maṣāsh, in Persian madad-i maṣāsh, for which we often find in MSS. madad o maṣāsh. 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-Faḍl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for
this reason from jağîr or tuyûl lands, which were conferred for a specified
time on Manşabdârs in lieu of salaries.

This Â‘in proves that Akbar considerably interfered with suyûrghâl
lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the
domain, or khâliṣa,1 lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghan)
family. He also completely broke the power of the Şadr, whose dignity,
especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great. It was the
Şadr, or as he was generally styled, Şadr-i Jahân, whose edict legalized
the julûs, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also,
he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (vide end of Â‘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
'Abdu 'n-Nâbi, during his Şadrship, ordered two men to be killed for
heresy (vide p. 186, l. 7, from below).

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms idrârât, wazâif, milk,
inşân-i dehqân, inşân-i zamânâh, etc., occur for the word suyûrgâl (or
siyûrgâl, or sughurghâl, as some dictionaries spell it).

Among the former kings, 'Alâ'î 'd-Dîn-i Khîlîjî is notorious for the
disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers. He
resumed the greater part of the madad-i maşâsh tenures, and made them
domain lands. He also lowered the dignity of the Şadr by appointing
his keybearer to this high office (Tarîkh-i Firûşshâhi, p. 353). Quţîb
'îd-Dîn Mubârakshâh, however, during the four years and four months
of his reign, reinstated many whom 'Alâ'î 'd-Dîn had deprived (T. F.,
p. 382). Firûz Shâh is still more praised for his liberality in conferring
lands (T. F., p. 558).

That Sher Shâh 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 Shâh had a Şadr-i juz, or provincial Şadr, who was under the
orders of the Chief Şadr (Şadr-i Jahân, or Şadr-i kul, or Şadr-i Şudûr).

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on
in the offices of the Şadrs. The land specified in the firmân of a holder

1 Regarding the turning out of Atamghâh and Madad-i maşâsh holders, vide Elliot's
Glossary, under Atamghâh, 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 Qāzīs and provincial Sadr. 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 Bhukkar in Sind, or to Bengal, the climate of which in those days was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gombroon. After the fall of ʿAbduʾn-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 Sadr 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 Sadr:

1. Shaykh Gadāʾi, a Shiʿah, appointed at the recommendation of Bayrām Khān, till 968.
2. Khwāja Muḥammad Sāliḥ, till 971.
4. Sultān Khwāja, till his death in 993.
5. Amir Fathuʾllāh of Shirāz, till 997.
6. Sadr Jahān, whose name coincides with the title of his office.

Abū ʾl-Fazl also mentions a Sadr Mawlānā ʿAbduʾl-Bāqī; but I do not know when he held office.

I extract a few short passages from Badā,oni.

Page 29. Shaykh Gadāʾi cancelled the Madad-imaṣāsh lands, and took away the legacies of the Khānsūdas (Afghāns) and gave a Suyūrghāl 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 jariḥ of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaykh an Ālambakhsh (one who gives away a world).

Page 52. After Shaykh Gadāʾi, Khājāji Muḥammad Sāliḥ was, in 968, appointed Sadr; but he did not possess such extensive powers in conferring lands as madad-imaṣāsh, because he was dependent on the Diwāns.

Page 71. In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaykh ʿAbduʾn-Nabī was made Sadr. In giving away lands, he was to consult Muẓaffar Khān, at that time Vazir and Vakil. But soon after, the Shaykh acquired

1 Anwāf. The text of Badā,oni has wrongly awqāf. For ḫār 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 Hindūstān in one scale, and those of the Shaykhi 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 Ayimās of the whole empire should not be let off by the krorīs of each Pergana, unless they brought the farmāns 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 ʿAbduʾr-Rasūl, the Shaykh’s head man, or make presents to his farrāshes, darbāns (porters), syces (grooms), and mittars (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 Ayimās, 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 masnad (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,¹ and after much asking, begging, and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the Hidāyu (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 marks² 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 ʿAbduʾr-Nabī has been related above. Akbar gave him money for the poor of Makkah, and sent him on a pilgrimage. When he came back, he was called to account for the money, was put in prison, and murdered “by some scoundrel” in 992.

¹ Badā, one says that even in the State hall when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spit water on the grandees standing near him.
² For batafaẓzil in the text (p. 205) one MS. of Badāoni reads zamān-i ittibār-i ba-tafaẓzul az khud midād.
The next Sadr was Sultan Khwaja. Matters relating to suyarghals now took a very different course. Akbar had rejected the Islam, and the new Sadr, who had just returned from Makkah, became a member of the Divine Faith. The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty inquired personally into all grants (vide p. 199, second para.). The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Badā,oni, who had managed to get 1,000 bighas, at first to the great disgust of Abdulla 'n-Nabi, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined.

In 993, Fathu 'Ilah of Shirāz (vide p. 34) was appointed Sadr. As the Suyurghāl duties, and with them the dignity of the Sadr, had dwindled down to nothing, Fathu 'Ilah, though Sadr, could be spared for missions to the Dakhin, Bad., p. 343.

"His Shirāzī servant Kamāl officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Ayima-dārs, who had a few spots here and there; for the dignity of the Sadr had approached its kamāl (perfection). Fathu 'Ilah 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. Fathu 'Ilah [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 jāgir] and said "My collectors have this much collected from the Ayima-dārs as a kifāyat (i.e., because the collectors thought the Suyurghāl holders had more than sufficient to live upon)". But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself.

The next Sadr, Sadr Jahān, was a member of the Divine Faith. Though appointed Sadr immediately after the death of Fathu 'Ilah, Badā,oni continues calling him Mufti-yi mamālik-i mahrūsa, the Mufti of

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1 The same happened afterwards to Mirza Ğaiz Koka. In fact, several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned so disappointed and "fleeced" from Makkah as to assume a hostile position to the Islam. There is a proverb current in the East, Ash-shayyir fi l-haramayn, "The Devil dwells in Makkah and Madinah."

2 Muqtas 'l-arizi a pun reminding of muqtas (past part. IV), one on whom lands have been conferred, and muqtaṣ (part. act. IV), one who confers lands. Observe that Badā,oni uses the word ayima not only in the plural sense of ayima-dārs, but as an equivalent of those who hold a Suyurghāl.

Regarding the punishments which grasping Saders 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 Ṣadrship. Ṣadr Jahān continued to serve under Jahāngīr.

A great portion of the Suyūrgāl lands is specified by Abū 'l-Fażl in the geographical tables of the Third Book.

Ārin 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.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.

Ārin 21.

THE TEN SER TAX (DAHSERĪ).

His Majesty takes from each bigha 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 bāzārs. 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 Nizām’s Ṭabaqāt, an invention of Fathu ’llāh of Shīrāz (vide p. 38, note). Nizām says, “He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn. He also invented a looking-glass which, whether seen near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures. Also a wheel, which cleaned at once twelve barrels.” The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abū ’l-Fażl to Akbar; vide Book I, Ārin 38, p. 122.
2 Regarding English carriages (rath-i angrezī) brought to India under Jahāngīr, vide Tuzuk, 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 Dārogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges.

Ā*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 Jamsheds, 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 (Farwardīn). 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 Farwardīn, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the Sharaf. 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 Farwardīn; 3rd Urdubihīshī; 6th Khūrdād; 13th Tīr; 7th Amurdād; 4th Shahrīwar; 16th Mīhr; 10th Ābān; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, and 23rd Day; 2nd, Bahman; 5th Isfandārmuz. Feasts are actually and ideally held on each of these days. People in their happiness raise the strain of inward joy. In the beginning of each pahr the naqqāras (vide p. 51, l. 1) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in. On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights; on the second for one night, and the joy is general.

I have given a few particulars in the first book (Ā*in 18).

Ā*in 23.

THE KHUSHROZ OR DAY OF FANCY BĀZĀRS.

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 Badā, oni generally calls this day Naivrūz-i Jahan; vide p. 183, note 2.
2 Thus Ābān 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 Khushrūz, 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

-utils 24.

REGULATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGES.

Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world; it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign, watches over great and small, and imbues men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful; for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they dislike having connexion, and their home is desolate.

Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts.

¹ Regarding these fancy bāzārs, vide above Badā'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 brother¹ 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 Tūsī-beyī, 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. Manṣabdārs commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Muhrs; 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.² In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride.

ğını 25.

REGULATIONS REGARDING EDUCATION.

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may

¹ [W. N. - P.]
² "The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry, unless they came to the office of the kotwāl, and were stared at by the kotwāl's men, who had to take down their respective ages; and you may imagine what advantages and fine opportunities the officers thus had, especially the people of the kotwāl, and the khānū-yi kalāl (?), and their other low assistants outside." Bad. II, p. 391. Vide also Third Book, Ātin 5.

³ Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copyalis (qiṣfas).
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, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the ṭabīṣi, riyyāzī, and ālāhī, sciences,¹ and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayākaran, Niyaḥ, Bedanta, and Pātanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasas.

Āsin 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

¹ This is the three-fold division of sciences. Ṭabīṣi, or divine, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. Riyyāzī sciences treat of quantity, and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics. Ṭabīṣi sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences ṭabaṣi, instead of ṭabīṣi.
Majesty's empire ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and Thatah (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 Ilahâbâd and Lâhor, and are then sent to the coast. In Kashmir, a model of a ship was made which was much admired.

Secondly.—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the 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 Nâwkhudâ. He fixes the course of the ship. 2. The Mu'callim, 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 Tamdil, or chief of the khalâsis, or sailors. Sailors, in seamen’s language, are called khalâsis or khârwas. 4. The Nâkhudâ-khashab. He supplies the passengers with firewood and straw, and assists in shipping and unlading the cargo. 5. The Sarhang, or mate, superintends the docking and landing of the ship, and often acts for the Mu'callim. 6. The Bhanqârî has the charge of the stores. 7. The Karrâni is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers. 8. The Sukkângir, or helmsman. He steers the ship according to the orders of the Mu'callim. Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty. 9. The Panjarî looks out from

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1. Tamdil or Tamgel, H.—P.
2. This word is nowadays pronounced Kirâni, 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 sukkâni.—P.
the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land or a ship, or a coming storm, etc. 10. The Gūntī belongs to the class of khalāṣīs. He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship. 11. The Top-andāz, or gunner, is required in naval fights; the number depends on the size of the ship. 12. The Khārva 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 kūsh, as seamen call it. In the harbour of Sūlgāw (Hūglī) a Nākhudā gets 400 R.; besides he is allowed four maiḵh, 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 maiḵh. The Muṣallim gets 200 R. and two maiḵhs; the Tanḍil, 120 R.; the Karrānī, 50 R. and one maiḵh; the Nākhudā khashab, 30 R.; the Sarḥang, 25 R.; the Sukkāngīr, Panjarī, and Bhandārī, each 15 R.; each Khārva or common sailor, 40 R., and his daily food in addition; the Degandāz, or gunner, 12 R.

In Kambhāyat (Cambay), a Nākhudā gets 800 R., and the other men in the same proportion.

In Lāharī, a nākhudā gets 300 R., and the rest in proportion.

In Áchīn he gets half as much again as in southern harbours; in Portugal, two and a half as much again; and in Malacca,\textsuperscript{1} twice as much again. In Pegu, and Dahnāsāri, he gets half as much again as in Cambay. All these rates vary according to the place and the length of the voyage. But it would take me too long to give more details.

Boatmen on rivers have wages varying from 100 to 500 d. per mensem.

Thirdly, an experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers. He must be an imposing and fearless man, must have a loud voice, must be capable of bearing fatigue, active, zealous, kind, fond of travelling, a good swimmer. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are passed over gratis. He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night, unless in cases of necessity.

Fourthly, the remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the

\textsuperscript{1} Malāqha.—P.
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 mans, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 R. for every 2½ kos. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10 d. for crossing; a laden cart, 4 d.; do. empty, 2 d.; a laden camel, 1 d.; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, ½ d.; do. empty, ¼ d. Other beasts of burden pay 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.

\( \text{ON HUNTING.} \)

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 Sayfurghul lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. On account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shows himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.

When His Majesty starts on a hunting party, active Qarawals [men employed by the Mīr Shikūr,\(^1\) or Master of Hunting] surround the hunting

\(^1\) Mīr shikūr 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 Tizak stands ready for service, and about a kos and one-half behind them stand some of the Khidmatiyya (p. 252) and other servants of His Majesty. The Khidmatiyya 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. 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 Shilim, probably bird-lime made from the exudations from slits made in the bark of the bay (banyan) or the pipal 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 Bārī. 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. Shujā\(^2\)at Khān (qvdi Ā\(^3\)īn 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.\(^4\)

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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.

\(^3\) Ster, tiger.—P.

\(^4\) These two verses are taken from Fāyṣ’s Nal Daman; 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 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. Gōd. 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 gōd or gārī l., a pit?—P.]
admits of remarkable finesses. 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.¹

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 Hindī ākhar.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called odī. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet 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 gaz deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other—a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

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 [Jahāngīr], and on the neighbouring trees beams had been put, upon which the courtiers were to sit and enjoy the sight. About two hundred male elephants, with strong nooses, and many females were in readiness. Upon each elephant there sat two men of the Jhariyyah caste, who chiefly occupy themselves in this part of India [Gujrāt] 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." Iqbalnāma, p. 113.

² Yāz, the chīṭā 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, Simāwali, Alāpūr, Sunnām, Bhaṭīndā, Bhaṭnīr, Paṭan in the Panjāb, Fatbūr Jhinjhanū, Nāgor, Mirath, Jodhpūr, Jaisalmūr, Amrsarnēyin; but several other more remote spots have been selected as hunting grounds. His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers. He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little; but before he had done so, good news were brought from some 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 khāṣa leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

Āʾīn 28.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.

First class leopards get 5 s. of meat every day; second class, 4½ s.; third class, 4 s.; fourth class, 3½ s.; fifth class, 3½ s.; sixth class, 3½ s.;

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 sers of butter and one-tenth of a ser of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also were appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 R. to 5 R. per mensem; but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The seniors get 300 d., 260 d., 220 d., 200 d., and 180 d., which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 d., 140 d., 120 d., 110 d., and 100 d. For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths,\(^2\) chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and Gushkānī\(^3\) 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 Mīsl or Țaraf (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 (mihaffa) 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 catt[e]; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesty has goes by the name of Samand-mānīk; he is carried on a chau-dol, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants,

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\(^1\) 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. This should perhaps be گوشکانی or گوشکانی goškānī, Goshkān (in Arabic Joshqān), 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 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." [Iqbalnāma, p. 70.]
fully equipped, run at his side; the *naqqāra* (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.\(^1\) The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. *Uparšatī.* The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer\(^2\) was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws.

2. *Righī.* The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer\(^2\) 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.\(^2\)

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,\(^2\) 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\(^2\) 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,\(^2\) and commence the chase from this place as if it was a *qamarqha* hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer\(^2\) 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\(^2\) made friendship

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\(^1\) The translation of this passage is doubtful.—P.

\(^2\) *Āḥā,* 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 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 *Doriya* gets five rupees from his equals. The grandee in charge of the *khāsa* leopards, Sayyid Aḥmad of Bārha, 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 *Ashrafī* from each of his equals. So also do the *Taraftārs* and *Qarāvals* 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] *Āhū*, gazelle.—*F.*
[2] i.e. hooded.—*F.*
[3] The man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened.
[4] He was a *Dahādurā*: *vide* LN in 30, No. 91.
[6] In this year (981), His Majesty built several edifices and castles on the road from Agra to Ajmīr. The reason was this. He thought it incumbent upon him once a year to make a pilgrimage to the tomb (dargāh) of Muṣn-i Chishti at Ajmīr; he therefore had houses built at every stage on the road to that town. He also erected at every *kos* a tower (manāra), 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 *mīl-i shākh* contain the *Tūrīkh* (981). I wished His Majesty had made gardens and *sarāsh* for travellers instead.” *Badāʾon*, ii, p. 173. *Vide* also Elliot’s Index, p. 243, note.

*Taraftārs*, the men in charge of a *taraf*, which word Abūl-Faḍl above used in the same sense as *misl*, or set. *Taraftār* means also a Zamindār. A *Qarāwal* is a driver.

[7] It was at this time (1027 A.H. or A.D. 1618) that Shāhzāda Shujā, son of Shāhjāhān, fell ill, and as I am so much attached to him, and the doctors could not cure him of the insensibility in which he had lain for several days, I humbly prayed to God, and asked Him a 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 Kābul, especially from the Hazāra district [north of Rawūl Pindī]. 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. Khāṣa dogs get daily 2 s. of meat; others get 1½ s. There is one keeper for every two Tāšī (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 harm an animal with my own hand. Through God's mercy, the sufferings of the prince were entirely allayed. When I was in the womb of my mother, it happened one day that I did not quicken as usual. The servants of the Harem grew alarmed, and reported the fact to my august father (Akbar). In those days my father was continually hunting with leopards. That day happened to be Friday. My father then, with a view 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." Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 249.

Jahāngīr's self-denial was not great; for when the prince was sick, Jahāngīr was fifty years of age!

1 Or black ear, the Persian translation of the Turkish qara-qolaq, whence our Felis caracal.

2 Akhū-ya sīyīth, a wrong term.—P.

3 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 kullū, bakhū; or English names as fenī (Fanny), buldāg (bull dog), etc.

European bloodhounds were early imported by the Portuguese. Jahāngīr once said to Roe, "I only desire you to help me to a horse of the greatest size, and a male and female of mastiffes, and the tall Irish greyhounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your land." Regarding European dogs in India, vide also Tuzuk, p. 138, l. 3, from below.

4 Tāšī is the Arab greyhound.—P.

5 For a note on hunting Dogs and Cheetas vide Jl. and Pro. As. Soc. Beng., 1907.—P.

6 Akhū, gazelle.—P.

7 Dām, probably a noose of thick gut.—P.
passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net¹ should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net² on it, or sends out a fresh deer.

Sultān Firūz-i Khiljī 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 Ilāhābād, 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 caught 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 Gujrāt, as mentioned above (?).

Ghantāhera is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The

¹ Dām, probably a noose of thick gut.—P. ² Āḥū, gazelle.—P.
hunter takes a shield, or a basket, the concave\textsuperscript{1} 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.

Thāṅgī. 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.

Ḍadāwan. 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.

Thāṅgī. The hunter . . .\textsuperscript{2} 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.

\textsuperscript{1} Wāzhūn. The concave side towards him \textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{—P.}

\textsuperscript{2} The text has dar khāna-yī zīn, 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,\(^1\) shāhīn,\(^2\) shunqār,\(^2\) and burkat\(^4\) 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 mouling is over, they are again inspected. The commencement is made with the khūṣa falcons (bāz) which are inspected in the order in which they have been bought. The precedence of jurras\(^3\) is determined by the number of game killed by them. Then come the bāshas,\(^6\) the shāhīns,\(^2\) the khelas,\(^6\) the chappak\(^7\) bāshas, the bahrīs, the young bahṛīs,\(^8\) the shikaras,\(^7\)

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\(^1\) Bāz, the female goshawk, the jurras being the male.—P.

\(^2\) Shāhīn, fem., the male being the shāhīncha, 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 Shunqār was aJer 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.

\(^4\) Burkat, bargul, etc., was the Golden Eagle.—P.

\(^5\) Bāsha is the female of the Common English Sparrow-hawk, the male being called bāshīn.—P.

\(^6\) Khela, 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 Akhtar being a falconer knew better.—P.

\(^8\) Bahri is the female peregrine, and bahri bahcha the tiercel or male, which is a third smaller; bahcha does not mean ‘young’.—P.
the chappak shikaras, the turmati, the rekis, the besras, the dhofis, the charghis, the charghela, the lagars, and the jhogars, (which His Majesty calls the chappak kind of the lager). The Molchins also are inspected—the molchin is an animal resembling the sparrow, of yellowish plumage, like the shāhīn; it will kill a kulang crane. People say that, whilst flying, it will break the wing of the kulang, and others maintain that it pierces its eyes; but this cannot be proved. Odhpapars also are brought from Kashmir. This bird has a bluish (sabz) 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 Manṣandārs, Abadis, 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, 5½ R.; second, 5 R.; third, 4¼ R. First class of the latter (Hindūstānī), first grade, 5 R.; second, 4½ R.; third, 4¼ R. Second class, first grade, 4½ R.; second, 4 R.; third, 3½ R. Third class, first grade, 3½ R.; second, 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. Turmati or vulg. turumti, is the Red-headed Merlin.—P.
2. Reki, the common English Merlin.—P.
3. The Besra Sparrow-hawk male and female, sexes transposed in the dictionaries.—P.
4. Charghi or chargha is the female, and charghela the male of F. Sakar of Jerdon.—P.
5. Lāgar is the female, and jhogar the male of F. Jugger.—P.
7. Molchins, obviously the Falconet. Apparently it was occasionally trained to alight on a crane’s head, the startled quarry being then gathered by hand.—P.
8. Kulang, the common Crane (in the Panjab kūnj), the coelan of Anglo-Indian sportsmen.—P.
9. Kulang rā az pā andāzad, “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 Iqbalnama, p. 159.
12. Bodna for būdana, the common Quail, which is used for fighting.—P.
13. Sārū, the common Maina.—P.
14. Qūsh-bhāna, mews for hawks.—P.
gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 dāms; the Jurra, 6 d.; the Bahrī, lāchīn, and khela, 5 d.; the Bāsha, 3 d.; the Chappak Bāsha, shikara, chappak shikara, besra, dhoti, etc., 2 d. Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the bāz, Jurra, and Bahrī, get each seven; the lāchīn, five; the Bāsha, three; others, two. Charghs and lagars get at the same time meat. Shungārs, shāhbāzes, burkats, get one ser. On the hunting grounds they feed them on the game they take.

Prices of Falcons.

From eagerness to purchase, and from inexperience, people pay high sums for falcons. His Majesty allows dealers every reasonable profit; but from motives of equity, he has limited the prices. The dealers are to get their gain, but buyers ought not to be cheated. In purchasing falcons people should see to which of the following three classes birds belong. First, khāna-kurīz birds; they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers. Second, chūz birds; they have not yet moulted. Third, Tarināk 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.

Jurra. First class, 8, 5, 2, 1 M. Second class, 6, 4, 1½, 1 M., 5 R. Bāsha. First class, 3, 2, 1 M., 4 R. Second class, 2, 1 M., 5 R. Shāhīns of both kinds, 3, 2, 1 M. Bahri, 2, 1½, 1 M. Young Bahri a little less. Khelas, 1½, 1, ½ M. Chargh, 2½ R., 2, 1½ R. Chappak Bāsha, 1 R.; ½, ½ R. Shikaras, 1½ R., 1, ½ R. Besras, 2 R., 1½, 1 R. Chappak Shikaras, lagars, jhagars, turmaṇīs, rekis, 1 R., ½, ½ R. Their prices are not classified.

His Majesty rewards the Mīr Shikār (superintendents of the chase) according to their ranks, with suitable presents. There are also fixed donations for each game brought in, varying from 1 M. to 1 d. If the falcons bring 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

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[1] Lāchīn is the Turki-name of the Shāhin.—P.
[2] Bahri bachcha, peregrine tiercel.—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\(^1\) as peshkash (tribute), the Qushbegi (Superintendent of the Aviary)\(^1\) gets for every baz 1½ R., and the accountant ½ R. For jurras, the Qushbegi gets 1 R.; the accountant, ¼ R.; for bāshas, the former receives ¼ R.; the latter, ⅜ R.; for every lāchīn, chargh, charghela, khela, bahṛi-bachcha, the former gets ½ R., the latter ⅛ R.; for every chhappak, bāsha, dhoṭī, etc., the former receives ⅕, the other ⅛ R. (sūkī).

The minimum number of baz and shāhīn falcons, kept at Court, is forty; of jurras, thirty; of bāshas, one hundred; of bahṛis, charghs, twenty; of lagars, and shikaras, 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 baz 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.

**Durrāj**\(^2\) 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\(^3\) round about it. At the signal of the fowler, the bird commences to sing,\(^4\) when wiki ones come near it either from friendship or a desire to fight, and get entangled in the snares.

**Bodnas.**\(^5\) 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 bodnas, frightened by the noise, come together. Another man then lights a bundle of straw, and spins 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 charghs; in body they are as large jurras. They hang nets\(^6\) (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.

_Ghaughā,_ i. They fasten together on a cross-stick an owl and a _ghaughā_, i, 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 _ghaughā_ is 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.

_Āṭīn_ 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.

[1 _Dām_, a noose. The nooses are attached to the claws. A hawk so prepared is called in the Panjab, a _bārak_ (wānā). For plate and description, vide _Journ. As. Soc. Beng._, vol. iii, 1907.—P.]
[2 _Ghaughā_, i is probably the Large Grey Babbler or _sāt bhā_, i, 436 of Jerdon.—P.]
[3 _Ba-shikār-i ẓankahāt dil nihad_ means “catch their prey”.—P.]
[4 The Historian may thank Abū ʿl-Faṣl for having preserved this little trait of Akbar’s character. In several places of the _Āṭīn_, Abū ʿl-Faṣl 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, Abū ʿl-Faṣl 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 ḡhari (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 ḡāl.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 ² 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

¹ There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game. Bābar says it is played all over Thibet. In the East of India the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey players. Vide Vigni’s Travels in Cashmir, ii, p. 289.
² Sayyid ẒAbdul ʿIlāh Khān, son of Mir Khwanda, was Akbar’s chaugānbegi, or Superintendant of the game of chaugān; vide Bad. II, p. 368. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, after 970, Gahriwall, which lies a farsang from Agra, was the favourite spot for chaugān playing. Bad. II, p. 70. [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 ḥāl, they beat the naqqāra, so that all that are far and near may hear it. In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed. The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the ḥāl wins most. If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (mīl), the game is looked upon as burd (drawn). At such times the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill.

His Majesty also plays at 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 Ishqāzī (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 Iran 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 Jaunpur) to Agra, and passed his time in amusements. He went to Nagarchin, a new town which he had built near Agra, and enjoyed the 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 Nagarchin was subsequently deserted.
Aṣ zam Kokaltāsh ('Azīz, 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 Mohana. From it descended several excellent pigeons as Ashkī (the weeper), Parizād (the fairy), Almās (the diamond), and Shāh ʿūdī (Aloe Royal). Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of Umār Shaykh Mirzā (father of Bābar), Sultan Ḥusayn Mirzā (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 Turān, 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 Mīhrmāh (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 havās (air), i.e., forty flights. At this period the trainers pay no regard to what is called charkh and bāzi (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 (khwābānīdan). After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong. They are then again let off. This is the best time
for showing their skill. As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the bāzī and the charkh, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill. Charkh is a lusty movement ending with the pigeon throwing itself over in a full circle. If this circular turn be not completely carried out, the movement is called kūf (shoulder), and is held in no esteem. Bāzī is the same as muṣallaq zadan (lying on the back with the feet upwards, and quickly turning round, in Hind. kalā). Some thought that the two wings (kūf) meet, which appears to the observer as if it were a muṣallaq; but His Majesty had one wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion became evident. Some pigeons get confused during the bāzī and charkh, and come stupefied to the ground. This is called gulūla, 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 khāṣa pigeon cots will perform fifteen charkhās and seventy bāzīs, a feat which will certainly astonish the spectators. In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time; but 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 khāṣa. 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,¹ 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;² 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 Buṭīšan-i pā. Can this mean the angle made by the feet?—P.
² Du ḥashm bālā u pāṣīn.—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, ¾ R.; eighth class, ¼ R.; ninth and tenth classes. ½ R.

When inspections are held, the stock of Mohana first pass in review; then the young ones of Ashkī. Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted. Then come the four ziriḥī pigeons; they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hāji ʿAlī, of Samarqand, which coupled with an ʿUdī hen, of which I do not know the owner; their stock has become famous. The precedence of all other pigeons is determined by their age or the time they were bought.

The Colours of Khāṣa Pigeons.

Maṣā ṭ (flea-bitten); ziriḥī (steel-blue); amīrī (?) ; zamīrī (a colour between ziriḥī and amīrī; His Majesty invented this name); cīnī (porcelain blue); nofī (grey like naphtha); shafaqī (violet); ʿūdī (aloewood coloured); surmāī (dark grey, like powder of antimony); kishmishī¹ (dark brown, like currants¹); ḥalwāqī (light-brown, like ḥalwā sweetmeat); sandālī (light-brown, like sandalwood); jīgarī (brown); nabāṭī (greyish white); dūghī (bluish-white, like sour milk); wushkhī (of the same colour as the gum called wushkh); jīlānī (chīlānī ?); kūrātī (brown, like a new earthen pot ?); nīlūfarī (bluish-white); ʿazraq (a colour between yellow and brown; His Majesty applies this name in this sense); ʿāṭashi (black brown); shaftālū (peach coloured); gul-i gaz coloured (?) ; yellow; kūḡaẓī (yellowish, like native paper); zāgh (grey like a crow); agrī (a colour between white and brown); muḥarraqī (a dirty black); khīzrī (a colour between greenish and ʿūdī); ābī (water coloured);² surmāg (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between surmā, and maṣā).

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as gulsar (whose head resembles a flower); dumghāṣa (stumptail); yakrang (of one colour); ḥalqm-safīd (white throat); parsafīd (white wing); kalā (big head); ghazghazh (wild chick); māgh ³ (name of an aquatic bird); bābarī (?) ; ālpar (red wing ?); kalta par (short wing); māḥdum ⁴ (moontail);

¹ Kishmish, Sultana raisina,—P.
² Māgh, a cormorant ?—P.
³ Abi, blue.—P.
⁴ Māḥdum, with white on the tail.—P.
tawqdâr (ring-bearer); marwârîd-sar (pearl head); mashâl-a-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 bughur (?), qarapîl (with black eyelids); abyârî; palangnîgârî; rekhta pilk.

There are also many pigeons which do not perform charkhs and bâzîs, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks. Thus the Kokah pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer. 2. The Bagha, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning to wake up people. 3. The Luqanî, which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail. 4. The Ločan. 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 Khernî. 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 Rath pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances. 7. The Nishâwarî pigeon will fly up, and follow its cage to whatever place it be taken. It will fly out of sight, and stay away for a day or two, when it comes down and remains in its cage. 8. The parpa (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (?) and act as if it sighed.

Some pigeons are merely kept for the beauty of their plumage, the colours of which receive peculiar names. Thus some are called shîrûzî, shûsîrî, kâshânî, jogiya, reza-dahan, magasî, and qumrî. 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.

[1] Can this be for koka, a species of green pigeon which has a call like the human voice, vide Jerdon No. 778.—P.]
[2] Loqâ, loqa, etc., the fantail pigeon.—P.]  
[3] Lojan, the ground-tumbler.—P.]  
[4] Qumrî, 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, *dāl*¹-,*i nukhūd* (gram), *mūng dāl*¹ (millet), *karar*, *lahdara*, *juvār* (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 *Qul̄ Ali* of Buhkārā, *Mastī* of Samarqand, Mullāzāda, Pūr-i Mullā Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khān Chela, Khwāja Śandal Chela, Mūmin of Harāt, ʿAbduʾl-Latīf of Buhkārā, Ḥāji Qāsim of Balkh, Ḥabib of Shahrsabz, Sikandar Chela, Māltū, 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 *mensen*.

*The game of Chaupar.*

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 *mūng*.—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 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 *khām* (raw); and in this case, two pieces, provided they are together on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields. If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields. A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones. There are many other rules for particular cases. If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too. Formerly the custom was that when a piece had come to the last row, and . . . 1 His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field. If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as *qāyim*, 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.

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1 The MSS. have *khânayi haqktum pâyân shavad, haqqtum-i khân shudan amād.*

··· 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 threw 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 *pukhita*, 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, *Ashwapati*, 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 *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 (*sandal*), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten. 4th, *Gadhpati*. The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort; the vazir sits on a *sandal* 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 jayba (breast armour); the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour. 7th, Navapati, 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 (deota) also called Indar, on a throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten. 10th, Aaspati, the lord of genii (deo). The card represents Sulayman, son of Daud, on the throne. The vazir sits on a sandali, and the other ten cards have genii. 11th, Banpati, the king of wild beasts. The card represents a tiger (sher) with some other animals. The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (palang) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten. 12th, Ahipati, 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 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 melter, the piece-cutter (mutallas-saz), the weighman, the coiner, the muhr counter, the butikhi (writer) of dhan pieces (vide p. 31, No. 17), the butikhi of man pieces (vide p. 31, No. 20), the dealer, the quryszgar (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 (muasuwir), the naqqash (who ornaments the pages), the jadual-kash (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the farman
writer, the *mujallid* (bookbinder), the *rangrez* (who stains the paper with different colours). The *Pādīshāh-i qimāsh* also, or king of manufacturers, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetal 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 *Pādīshāh-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 *Pādīshāh-i zar-i safīd*, 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 *Pādīshāh-i Shamshēr*, 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 *Pādīshāh-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 *Pādīshāh-i Ghulāmān*, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazir on a cart. The other cards are representations of servants, some 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.

A* in 30.

THE GRANDEES 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

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¹ This is the Hindustaní corruption of the Persian rang-rāz. [Rang-rīz is the common word in modern Persian.—P.]
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 diadem does not express the meaning of tāj either. [It apparently is also used of a crown as well as the cap worn by dervishes.—P.]
³ From the fact that Abū l-Faḍl mentions in his list of Grandees Prince Khusraw, (vide No. 4) who was born in 995, but not Prince Parviz, who was born in 997, we might conclude that the table was compiled prior to 997. But from my note to p. 256, it would appear that the beginning of the list refers to a time prior to 993. And Abū l-Faḍl may have afterward added Khusraw’s name, though it is difficult to say why he did not add the names of Parviz and Shāhjahān, both of whom were born before the A* in was completed.

Again, Mirzā Shāhrūkh (No. 7) and Mirzā Muqaffar 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 merly record,
in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred
upon them.

I. Commanders of Ten Thousand.

1. Shāhzāda Sultān Salīm, eldest son of His Majesty.

II. Commanders of Eight Thousand.

2. Shāhzāda Sultān Murād, second son of His Majesty.

III. Commanders of Seven Thousand.

3. Shāhzāda Sultān Dānyāl, third son of His Majesty.

Akbar had five sons:

1. Ḥasan \{twins, born 3rd Rabi’ I, 972. They only lived one month.\}
2. Ḥusayn
3. Sultān Salīm [Jāhangir].
4. Sultān Murād.
5. Sultān Dānyāl.

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(a) Shāhzāda Khānum, born
three months after Salīm, in 977. (b) Shukra’s Nisā Begum, who in 1001
was married to Mirzā Shāhrukh (No. 7, below, p. 326); and (c) Ārām
Bānū Begum; both born after Sultān Dānyāl. Regarding the death of
the last Begum, vide Tuzuk, p. 386.

Of Akbar’s wives the following are mentioned 1:

1. Sultān Ruqayyah Begum (a daughter of Mirzā Hindāl), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumādā I,
1035 (Tuzuk, p. 401). She was Akbar’s first wife (zan-i kalān), but had
no child by him. She tended Shāhjāhān. Nūr Jāhān (Jahāngir’s wife),
also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkan. 2. Sultān Salīma
Begum. She was a daughter of Gulrukh (?) Begum 2 (a daughter of Bābar)

Commanders of Five Thousand, though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively,
iece, a short time before the Aśina 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 Muṣāniṣ-e ʿUmara (No. 77 of the MSS.
of the As. Soc. Bengal), the Tuzuk-i Jahāngir, the Tabqāt-i Akbari, Badā,oni, and the
Akbnāma. For the convenience of the student of Indian History, I have added a
genealogical table of the House of Timūr, and would refer the reader to a more detailed
article on the Chronology of Timūr 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 Mîrzâ Nur ʿd-Dîn Muḥammad. Humâyûn had destined her for Bayrâm Khân, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign. After the death of Bayrâm, Akbar, in 968, married her. She died 10th Zi Qaʿda, 1021. As a poetess, she is known under the name Makhfî (concealed), and must not be confounded with Zebuʿn-Nisâ' (a daughter of Awrangzeb's) who has the same poetical name. 3. The daughter of Râja Bihârī Mal and sister of Râja Bhagawân Dâs. Akbar married her in 968, at Sâbhar.

4. The beautiful wife of Abdû l-Wâsi, married in 970 (vide Bad.-II, 61).
5. Bibi Dawlat Shâd, mother of (b) and (c); vide Tuzuk, p. 16.
6. A daughter of ʿAbduʿllah Khân Mughul (964).

Sultân Salîm. Title as Emperor, Jahângîr. Title after death, Jan-natmakânî. Born at Fatâhpûr Sikri, on Wednesday, 17th Rabi‘ I, 997, or 18th Shahrîwar of the 14th year of Akbar's Era. He was called Salîm because he was born in the house of Shâykh Salîm-i Chishti. Akbar used to call him Shaykhul Bâbû (vide Tuzuk, p. 1). For his wives and children, vide below, No. 4. Jahângîr died on the 28th Safar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Râjor on the Kashmir frontier. Vide my article on Jahângîr in the Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Sultân Murâd, Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muḥarram, 978, and died of delirium tremens in 1006, at Jâlnâpûr in Barâr (Tuzuk, p. 15; Akbarnâma II, p. 443; Khâtî Khân, p. 212). He was nicknamed Pahârî (Bad. II, 378). He was sabzrang (of a livid complexion), thin, and tall (Tuzuk). A daughter of his was married to Prince Parwiz, Jahângîr's son (Tuzuk, p. 38).

Sultân Dânyâl was born at Ajmîr, on the 10th Jumâda I, 979, and died of delirium tremens, A.H. 1013. Khâtî Khân, I, p. 232, says the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014. He was called Dânyâl in remembrance of Shâykh Dânyâl, a follower of Muṣîn-i Chishti, to whose tomb at Ajmîr Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages. Dânyâl married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Quliq Khân (No. 42), and towards the end of 1006, Jânân Begum, a daughter of Mîrzâ ʿAbduʿr-Râhîm Khân Khânân (Khâtî Khân, p. 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibrâhîm Šâh of Bijlpûr; but he died before the marriage was consummated. He had three sons:—1. Tâhmûras, who was married to Sultân Bahâr Begum, a daughter of Jahângîr. 2. Bâyasanghar (Bâysanghar). 3. Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand

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1 Her charming Dwân was lithographed at Lucknow, A.H. 1284. She was the eldest daughter of Awrangzeb, and was born in A.H. 1048.

2 Sallow?—P.
Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusraw. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned. One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mirzā Wāli (Tuz., p. 272). Ṭahmūras and Hoshang were killed by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Janāngīr (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, for August, 1869). Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bāyasanghar. Vide Calcutta Review for October, 1869.

Dānyāl is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindūstānī poems.

IV. Commanders of Five Thousand.

4. Sultan Khusraw, eldest son of Prince Salim [Jahāngīr].

Jahāngīr's wives (Tuzuk, p. 84, and Preface, p. 6). A daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sultānu 'n-Niṣā Begum [Khāfi Khān, Sultān Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusraw. She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusraw and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfi 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 Jahāngīr's wives. 3. A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Mālde, married in 994. The Tuzuk (p. 5) calls her Jagat Gosāyini. She is the mother of Shāhjahān, and died in 1028 (Tuzuk, p. 268). 4. A daughter of Khvāja Ḥasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka. She is the mother of Prince Parwiz. She died 15th Tir, 1007. 5. A daughter of Rāja Keshū Dās Rāthor. She is the mother of Bahār Bānū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīvar 998). 6 and 7. The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār.

8. A daughter of ʿAlī 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. Mihru ʿn-Niṣā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afsān. On her marriage with Jahāngīr she received the title of Nūr Māhall, and was later called Nūr Jahan (Tuz., p. 156). Jahāngīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahan.

Jahāngīr's children. 1. Sultan Khusraw. 2. Sultan Parwiz. 3. Sultan Khurram (Shāhjahān). 4. Sultan Jahāndār. 5. Sultan Shahryār. Two daughters are mentioned:—(a) Sultānu ʿn-Niṣa Begum; (b) Sultan Bahār Bānū Begum. There were “several children” after Parwiz; but the Tuzuk (p. 8) does not give their names. They appear to have died soon after their birth.

Sultān Khusraw was born on the 24th Amurdād 995 (Tuzuk, Preface); but Khāfi Khān says 997. He was married to a daughter of Azām Khān
Koka. His sons—1. Baland Akhtar, who died when young, *Tuzuk*, p. 73. 2. Dāwar Bakhsh (also called *Bulāqī*),¹ whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang, son of Dānyāl. 3. Garshasp.

Khusraw died on the 18th Isfandiyārīmuz, 1031. He lies buried in the Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad. Dāwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr; but at an order of Shāhjahān, he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Āṣaf Khān.

Sultān Parwīz, born 19th Ābān, 997. He was married to a daughter of Mirzā Rustam-i Šafawi (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 Khurram (Shāhjahān) 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 Mihrān-Nisā, the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (*Tuzuk*, p. 370). The *Iqābī-nāma* (p. 306) calls her بی geom. ٍ. 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 Nūr Jahān, proclaimed himself Emperor of Lāhor a few days after the death of Jahāngīr. He was killed either at the order of Dāwar Bakhsh or of Āṣaf 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 *Waṭi-yi Badakhshān*. As grandson of Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, he is the sixth descendant from Tīmūr. 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, Āli Mirzā,² Khān Mirzā. When Maḥmūd died, Amir Khusraw

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¹ The MSS. spell this name ٤, ٤, and ٤.
² The *Maṭārī* ‘l-Umar calls the second son, Mirzā Masʿūd.
Khan, one of his nobles, blinded Bayasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Babar in 910. When Babar took Qandahar, in 912, from Shah Beg Arghun, he sent Khan Mirza as governor to Badakhshan. Mirza Sulayman is the son of this Khan Mirza.\(^1\)

After the death of Khan Mirza, Badakhshan was governed for Babar by Prince Humayun, Sultan Uways (Mirza Sulayman’s father-in-law), Prince Hindal, and lastly, by Mirza Sulayman, who held Badakhshan till 17 Jumada II, 948, when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mirza Ibrahim, to Prince Kamran. They were released by Humayun in 952, and took again possession of Badakhshan. When Humayun had taken Kabul, he made war upon and defeated Mirza Sulayman who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit; but when the return of Kamran from Sind obliged Humayun to go to Kabul, he reinstated the Mirza, who held Badakhshan till 983. Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh, but had to return. His son, Mirza Ibrahim, was killed in battle.\(^2\)

In the eighth year when Mirza Muhammad Hakim’s (Akbar’s brother) mother had been killed by Shah Abu ‘l-Ma‘ani Mirza S. went to Kabul, and had Abu ‘l-Ma‘ali hanged; he then married his own daughter to M. M. Hakim, and appointed Umed ‘Ali, a Badakhshan noble, M. M. Hakim’s Vakil (970). But M. M. Hakim did not go on well with Mirza Sulayman, who returned next year to Kabul with hostile intentions; but M. M. Hakim fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirza S., though he had taken Jalalabad, had to return to Badakhshan. He returned to Kabul in 973, when Akbar’s troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute.

Mirza Sulayman’s wife was Khurram Begum, of the Qibchak tribe. She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice. Her enemy was Muhtaram Khunum, the widow of Prince Kamran. M. Sulayman wanted to marry her; but Khurram Begum got her married, against her will, to Mirza Ibrahim, by whom she had a son, Mirza Shahrukh (No. 7). When Mirza Ibrahim fell in the war with Balkh, Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khunum to her father, Shah Muhammad of Kishghar; but she refused to go. As soon as Shahrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshi nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M. Sulayman. This he did,

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1 The Ma‘asir says Khan Mirza died in 917; but this is impossible, as Mirza Sulayman was born in 920, the Tarih of his birth being the word مصلي.
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. Shâhrûkh took away those parts of Badakhshan which his father had held, and found so many adherents, that M. Sulaymân, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshan for Kâbul, and crossing the Nilâb went to India (983). Kâin Jahân, governor of the Panjâb, received orders to invade Badakhshan, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Munقîm Kâin 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 Mużaffar Husayn Mirzâ (No. 8) at Qandahâr, and then to M. M. Ḥakîm at Kâbul. Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kâbul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshan, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between Tâqân and the Hindû Kush. Soon after Muḥtâram Khânum died. Being again pressed by Shâhrûkh, M. Sulaymân applied for help to 'Abd’u Ḥllah Khân Uzbak, king of Tûrân, who had long wished to annex Badakhshan. He invaded and took the country in 992; Shâhrûkh fled to Hundûstân, and M. Sulaymân to Kâbul. As he could not recover Badakhshan, and being rendered destitute by the death of M. M. Ḥakîm, 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 Shâhrûkh, son of Mirzâ Ibrâhîm.

Vide Nos. 5 and 6. Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukru n’-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 Mansâb by Jâhângîr.

He died at Ujain in 1016. His wife, Kâbuli Begum, was a daughter of Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkîm. She wanted to take his body to Madînah, but was robbed by the Badawîs; and after handing over the body to some “scoundrels” she went to Baṣra, and then to Shîrāz. In 1022, Shâh ʿAbbâs married her to Mirzâ Šulṭân ʿAlî, his uncle, whom he had blinded; but the Begum did not like her new husband.

Shâhrûkh’s Children.—1. Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, twins. Ḥasan fled with Khusraw and was imprisoned by Jâhângîr. 2. Badi’u ’z-Zamân (or Mirzâ Faithpûrî), “a bundle of wicked bones,” murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrât). 3. Mirzâ Shujâ‘ rose to honors under Shâhjahân, who called him Najâbat Khân. 4. Mirzâ Muḥammad Zamân. He held
a town in Badakhshan, and fell against the Uzbeks. 5. Mirza Sulthan, 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 Tuzuk (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."


In 965, Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahār, which was given, together with Dāwar and Garmsir as far as the river Hirmand, to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā,1 his nephew. Sulṭān Ḥusayn M. died in 984, when Shāh Ismai'īl II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, Muqaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, Rustam Mirzā, Abū Sa'īd Mirzā, and Sanjar Mirzā. The first was killed by Shāh Ismai'īl Irbān. The other four in Qandahār had also been doomed; but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shāh saved their lives. The new Shāh Khudabanda, gave Qandahār to Muqaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, and Dāwar as far as the Hirmand to Rustam Mirzā, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their vakil being Hamza Beg ʿAbduʾllah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father. The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakil caused Muqaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace-making, Muqaffar had the Vakil murdered. This led to fights between Muqaffar and Mirzā Rustam who, however, returned to Dāwar.

Not long after the invasion of Khurasan by the Uzbeks under Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān and Bāqī Sulṭān (a sister's son of ʿAbduʾllah Khān of Tūrān) took place, and the Qandahār territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled. Most of the Qizilbash grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shāh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none; Mirzā Rustam who had gone to Hindūstān, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lāhor, and kept Qandahār in anxiety; and Muqaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahār to Akbar, though ʿAbduʾllah Khān of Tūrān advised him not to join the Chaghatay kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qarā Beg (an old servant of Muqaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed Farrāshbegī

1 Son of Bahrām Mirzā vide 95.—P.]
by Akbar) returned to Qandahār, and prevailed upon Mużaffar’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, Mużaffar 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 Sambhal as Jāgīr, “which is worth more than all Qandahār.”

But the ryots of his jāgīr preferred complaints against his grasping collectors, and Mużaffar, annoyed at this, applied to go to Makkah. No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Mużaffar repented. He was reinstated, but as new complaints were preferred, Akbar took away the jāgīr, and paid him a salary in cash (1005). Mużaffar 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.

Mużaffar 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, Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaydar Mīrzā (who rose to dignity under Shāhjahān, and died in 1041), and Ismā‘īl Mīrzā. The Māzhīr mentions two other sons, Alqās Mīrzā and ʿAḥmās Mīrzā.

Mużaffar’s younger brothers, Mīrzā Abū Sa‘īd, and Mīrzā Sanjar, died in 1005. They held commands of Three hundred and fifty. (Vide 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 Sistān. Mużaffar 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 Uzbaks into Khurāsān, he conquered the town of Farāh, and bravely held his own. Some time after, he again attacked Malik Mahmūd. The latter wished to settle matters amicably. During an interview, Rustam seized him and killed him, when Jalālū ‘d-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 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 Mirzā, and his four sons Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan, and Ibrāhīm, he went in 1001 to India. Akbar made him a Panjhażārī, 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 Sarhind, gave him Pathān as tuyūl, 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 Rāysin as jāgīr. He then served under Prince Dānyāl in the Dakhin. In 1021, Jahāṅgīr appointed him Governor of That'hah, but recalled him as he ill-treated the Arghūns. After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwīz, Jahāṅgīr made him Shashhażārī, and appointed him Governor of Allāhābād. He held the fort against ʿAbdu ʿIlah Khān, whom Shāhjahān, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihār, had sent against Allāhābād, and forced ʿAbdu ʿIlah to retire to Jhosi. In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjahān 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 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 Jahāṅgīr the title of Ilīfāt Khān. He was married to a daughter of ʿAbdu r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. Murād's son, Mīrzā Mukarram Khān, also distinguished himself; he died in 1080.

His third son Mīrzā Hasan-i Ṣafavū, a Hazār o pānsādī under Jahāṅgīr, was Governor of Kūch; died 1059. Ḥasan's son, Mīrzā Ṣafshikan, was Fawjdār of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073. Ṣafshikan's son, Sayf ʿd-Dīn-i Ṣafavū, accepted the title of Khān under Awrangzeb.

10. Bahārlū Khān, the fifth in descent from Mir ʿAlī Shukr Beg Bahārlū.

Bahārlū is the name of a principal clan of the Qaraqūlūlū Turks. 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 Kurdistān, "which tracts are still called
the territory of Ḥāli Shukr.” His son Pīr Ḥāli Beg stayed some time with Sūltān Māhmūd Mīrzā, and attacked afterwards the Governor of Shirāz, but was defeated. He was killed by some of the Amirs of Sūltān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Pīr Ḥāli Beg’s son, in the reign of Shāh Ismā’īl-i Ṣafawī, left ʿIrāq, settled in Bādakhshān, and entered the service of Amīr Ḵhusrāw Shāh (vide p. 324, last line) at Qunduz. He then joined, with his son Sayf Ḥāli Beg, Bābār’s army, as Amīr Ḵhusrāw had been deposed. Sayf Ḥāli Beg is Bāyām’s father.

Bāyām Kḥān was born at Bādakhshān. After the death of his father he went to Bālḵ to study. When sixteen years old, he entered Humāyūn’s army, fought in the battle of Qanawj (10th Muḥarram, 947), and fled to the Rāja of Lakhnor (Sambhal). Shēr Shāh met Bāyām in Mālwa, and tried to win him over. But Bāyām fled from Bāhrāmpūr with Abū ʿl-Qāsim, governor of Gwāliyār, to Gujṛāt. They were surprised, on the road, by an ambassador of Shēr Shāh who had just returned from Gujṛāt. Abū ʿl-Qāsim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bāyām, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice, “I am Bāyām.” “No,” said Abū ʿl-Qāsim, “he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me. So let him off.” Abū ʿl-Qāsim was then killed, and Bāyām escaped to Sūltān Māhmūd of Gujṛāt. Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bāyām embarked at Sūrat for Sindh. He joined Humāyūn on the 7th Muḥarram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Rāja Māldeo, was pressed by the Arghūns at Jon. On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant. The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Kḥān. On Humāyūn’s return, Bāyām was sent on a mission to Prince Kāmrān. When Humāyūn marched to Kābul, he took Qandahār by force and treachery from the Qizilbashes, and making Bāyām governor of the district, he informed the Shāh that he had done so as Bāyām was “a faithful servant of both”. Subsequently rumours regarding Bāyām’s duplicity reached Humāyūn; but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahār, the rumours turned out false.

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bāyām. He gained the battle of Māchhiwāra, and received Sambhal as āgīr. In 963, he was appointed atāliq (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjāb against Sikandar Kḥān. On Akbar’s accession (2nd Rabīʿ II, 963) at Kalānūr, he was appointed Waktī and Kḥān Kḥānīn, and received the title of Kḥān Bābā. On the second of Shawwāl, 964, shortly after the surrender of Māṅkoṭ, when Akbar returned to Lāhor, an imperial elephant ran against Bāyām’s tent, and Bāyām blamed Atgah Kḥān
(No. 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident. The Atgah, after arrival at Lāhor, went with his whole family to Bayrām, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qurān. In 965, Bayrām married Salīma Sulṭān Begum (p. 321, note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him. Bādāoni (II, p. 36) attributes the fall of Bayrām to the ill-treatment of Pīr Muḥammad (No. 20) and the influence of Adham Khān and his mother Māhum Anagah (Akbar’s nurse), Shiddīq Muḥammad Khān, Shāhāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, etc., who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jāgīrs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bayrām Khān’s friends lived in affluence. The Ṭabaqāt-ī Akbarī says that no less than twenty-five of Bayrām’s friends reached the dignity of Panjḥāzāris—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 Saʿīd-ī Mughul adopted towards his minister Amir Chaubān.” (Bad.)

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 Jhujhar; for Akbar was on his way to the Panjāb, which Bayrām, as it was said, wished to invade. The insignia were conferred on Pīr 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 Gujrāt occupied by Rāja Māldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bikānīr to his friend Kalyān Mal

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So Bad. II, 19. The story in Elphinstone (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-Faḍl, moreover, refers it to a later period than 964. The author of the Sawānīkh-ī Akbarī has a fine critical note on Abū ‘l-Faḍl’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 Sawānīkh-ī Akbarī the basis of their labours. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Ḥaydar of Belgrām from the Akbarnāma, the Ṭabaqāt, Bādāoni, Fīrishtā, the Akbarnāma by Shaykh Tāḥādād of Shakhī, (poetically called Fağl ‘es Jurnal As. Soc. Bengal for 1868, p. 10) and Abū ‘l-Faḍl’s letters, of which the compiler had four books. The sources in italics have never been used by preceding historians. This work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details.

Belgrām was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the times of Akbar to the present century. For the literati of the town see the Tagkīra by Ghulām ʿAlī Aʿṣād, entitled Sarse-ī Aʿṣād.

The author of the Sawānīkh-ī Akbarī states that Abū ‘l-Faḍl does not show much friendliness to Bayrām, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone, p. 495, note) represents Abū ‘l-Faḍl as “Bayrām’s warm panegyrist.”
(No. 93). But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his
property, his family, and his young son ʕAbdu ʕ-r-Raḥīm (No. 29) to Sher
Muḥammad Diwāna, 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 Diwāna had squandered the property left in his charge,
had insulted his family, and had sent Muḥaffar ʕAlī (whom Bayrām had
dispatched to Diwāna 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 1 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, Sultān Ḥusayn Jalāir was killed; and when his head
was brought to Bayrām, 2 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 (chandogh).
Hājī Muḥammad of Sīstān (No. 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nāgor
to Patan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrāt, where he was hospitably received by Mūsā
Khān Fūlādī, the governor. On Friday, 14th Jumāda 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 Mubārak, whose father
had been killed in the battle of Māchhīwara. “With an Allāh Akbar
on his lips, he died.” The motive of Mubārak Khān is said to have merely
been revenge. Another reason is mentioned. The Kaschmīrī 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 Ḥusām 3 d-Din.
Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mash, had.

Akbar took charge of ʕAbdu ʕ-r-Raḥīm, Bayrām’s son (vide No. 29),
and married soon after Salīma Sultān Begum, Bayrām’s widow.

For Bayrām, we often find the spelling بیرام Bayram. Firishta
generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkmān. Bayrām was a Shīʿah,
and a poet of no mean pretensions (vide Badāʿonī III, p. 190).

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1 Near گلگت (Gulgit) in the Parganah [Bad. : دکتر ; Maqāṣir ; دکتر Saunānī] near Jālindhar. For گلگت, Bad. (II. 40) has گلگت. Firishta says (Lucknow edit.,
p. 249) the fight took place outside of Māchhīwara.
2 The Maqāṣir mentions this fact without giving the source.
11. Munṣim Khān, son of Bayrām ¹ 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 Fażīl Beg. When Humāyūn, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Thathah, one grandee after another went quietly away. M. and Fażīl 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 atālīq 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 Zi Ḥijja, 967, at Lūdhiyāna, 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 Qanawj) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān of Bārha (No. 75). Akbar restored M. to his former honours.

Munṣim Khān’s son, Ghanī 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 Fażīl Beg and his son ʿAbdu ʿl-Fatḥ, who hated Ghanī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghanī Khān was once temporarily absent at Falīz. Ghanī Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India. Māh Jūjak Begum then appointed Fażīl Beg as Vakīl and ʿAbdu ʿl-Fatḥ 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, Akbār, 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 Vakīl) 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 Mīram; but Bayrām is the preferable reading.
In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khan Zamân (No. 13), M. was appointed to his jägârs in Jaunpur (Bad. II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymân Kararâni 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 Ágra to Bihâr, and took Hâjîpûr and Paţna 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 Muhammad Quli Khan Barlâs (No. 31). But as the latter soon after died, M., at the advice of Tojtar Mal, left Tânda, and followed up Dâsûd, who after his defeat at submitted at Katak. In Szafar 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 Jaunpur was built by Munisim Khan in 981. Its târikh is . M.'s son Ghani Khan went to Adilshâh of Bijâpur, where he died.

12. Tardi Beg Khan, of Turkistân.

A noble of Humâyûn's Court. After the conquest of Gujrat, he was made Governor of Chapmânir (Pawangarh). On Mirza Askari's defeat by Sultân Bahâdur, Tardi Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humâyûn. During the emperor's flight from India, Tardi Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless companions. When passing through the territory of Râja Mâldeo, he even refused Humâyûn a horse, and at Amarkot, 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 Qandahar, Tardi Beg left the emperor and joined Mirza Askari. But Mirza Askari put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tardi Beg to give him a large sum as ransom.

On Humâyûn's return from Irâq, Tardi 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 Sultân, to Dâwar. During the conquest of India, T. distinguished himself and received Mewât as

1 Elphinston, p. 452, note, says Tardi Beg was one of the most faithful followers of Humâyûn, a statement which is contradicted by all native historians.
jāgīr. In 963, when Hurmūyūn died (7th Rabi’ I), T. read the ḵuṭba in Akbar’s name, and sent the crown-insignia with M. Abū ʿl-Qāsim, son of Prince Kāmrān, to Akbar in the Panjab. Akbar made T. a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dihlī. T. drove away Ḥājī Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, from Narnaul. On Hemū’s approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T. too rashly evacuated Dihlī, 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. Bayrām’s hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghata’i nobles looked upon him. Tardi Beg was a Sunnī.


His father Ḥaydār Sultān Uzbek-i Shaybānī had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāshes. When Hurmūyūn returned from Persia, Ḥaydār joined him, together with his two sons ʿAlī 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 Hurmūyūn’s camp, during which Ḥaydār Sultān died.

ʿAlī Quli Khān distinguished himself in Kābul and in the conquest of Hindūstān, was made Amīr and sent to the Duʿāb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns. At the time of Akbar’s accession, ʿAlī Quli Khān fought with Shādī Khān, an Afghān noble; but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dihlī, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before ʿAlī Quli arrived at Dihlī, Tardi Beg (No. 12) had been defeated, and A. returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind. ʿAlī 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. ʿAlī 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 Qāʾim maqām for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Māṅkēt. In the third year of Akbar’s reign, Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāhām Beg, a page of Hurmūyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zamān’s tuyūl’s, which led him to rebel. Bayrām from generosity did not interfere; but when Pīr Muḥammad, Khān Zamān’s enemy, had been appointed Vākīl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his
maḥalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afgāns who threatened the Jaunpūr District. Pir Muḥammad had also Burj ʿAli thrown from the walls of Firūzābād, whom Ḵān Zamān had sent to him to settle matters. Ḵān Zamān now thought it was high time to send away Shāhām Beg, went to Jaunpūr, and drove away the Afgāns. Upon the fall of Bayrām, they appeared again under Sher Shāh, son of ʿAdlī, with a large army and 500 elephants. Ḵān Zamān, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpūr, and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants, which he retained for himself.

In Ẓī Qaṣda of the 6th year, Akbar moved personally against him; but at Karah (on the Ganges) Ḵān Zamān and his brother Bahādūr submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants. They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpūr. Soon after, he defeated the Afgāns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son.

In the 10th year, Ḵān Zamān rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyūḥdārs of the province. As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghāzīpur, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpūr sent Munṣīm Khān against him. Being a friend of Ḵān Zamān, he induced him to submit, which he did. But a body of imperial troops under Muṣīzū l-Mulk and Rāja Ẓodār Mal, having been defeated by Bahādūr 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, Ḵān Zamān was left in possession of his jagirs, and Akbar returned to Āgra. But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumāda I, 974, marched against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Ḵān Zamān rebelled again, read the Khutba at Jaunpūr in M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's name, and marched against Shergarh (Qanawj). Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon; he left the Panjāb, 12th Ramaḍān 974, and Āgra on the 26th Shawwāl. At Sakīf, east of Āgra, Akbar heard that Ḵān Zamān had fled from Shergarh to Mānikpūr where Bahādūr was, and from there marching along the Ganges, had bridged the river near the frontier of Singror (Nawābganj, between Mānikpūr and Allāhābād). Akbar sent a detachment of 6,000 troopers under Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās and Ẓodār Mal to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khān Uzbek, and marched over Rāy Bareli to Mānikpūr, crossed the Ganges with about 100 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance from Ḵān Zamān's camp, who must have gone from Nawābganj back again on the right side of the river to Karah. Next morning, 1st Ẓī

[1 Muḥāriz Khān ʿAdlī.—B.]
Ḩijja, 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 Somnât, 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 'arâ'-yi Sokrâval (in Badâ,oni, Mungarwâl), "which place has since been called Faṭhpûr." The Trig. S. maps show a small village Faṭhpûr about 10 or 12 miles south-east of Karâh, not far from the river.

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Allâhâbâd.

Khan Zamân as a poet styled himself Sultân (vide Proceedings Asiatic Society, September, 1868). Zamânîyah (now a station on the E. I. Railway) was founded by him. Though an Uzbak, Khan Zamân, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shi'a. Khan Zamân must not be confounded with No. 124.

14. ʿAbdû 'llah Khan Uzbak.

A noble of Humâyûn's Court. After the defeat of Hemû, he received the title of Shujâʿat Khan, got Kûlî as tuyûl, and served under Adham Khan (No. 19) in Gujrât. When Bâz Bahâdur, after the death of Pir Muhammad, had taken possession of Mâlwa, ʿAbdû 'llah was made a Panjzârî, 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. ʿAbdû 'llah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujrât, pursued by Qâsim Khan of Nîshâpûr (No. 40). Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khan, an officer of Sultân Mahmûd of Gujrât. Ḥâkîm ʿAynû 'L-Mulk was dispatched to Changiz with the request to deliver up ʿAbdû 'llah, or to dismiss him. Changiz Khan did the latter. ʿAbdû 'llah again appeared in Mâlwa, and was hotly pursued by Shahâbû 'd-Dûn Aḥmad 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. Shamsû ʿd-Dûn Muhammad Atga Khan.

Son of Mir Yâr Muhammad of Ghaznî, a simple farmer. Shamsû ʿd-Dûn, 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. Shamsû ʿd-Dûn entered
Prince Kāmrān’s service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanawj (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 ’t-dīn. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (angā) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anaga. Shamsu ’t-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 Hiṣār, 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 Bayram Khān, p. 331. He held Khushāb in the Panjāb as jāgīr, and received, after Bayram’s fall, the insignia of that chief. He was also appointed Governor of the Panjāb. He defeated Bayram Khān near Jālindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of Aṣ‘am Khān. In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as Vakil either in supersession of Mun’im Khān or by “usurpation”, at which Akbar connived. Mun’im Khān and Shahāb Khān (No. 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (vide No. 19) to kill Atga Khān, 1 12th Ramażān, 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 Khāyūl 2 “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 Atgas (Atga Khayl) had jāgīrs, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sulṭān Ādam, and in keeping down Kamāl Khān. In the ninth year he assisted Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm against Mīrzā 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 Uzbak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. Bada,oni (p. 53) and Elphinstone (p. 502, l. 1) say that Adhān himself killed Atga.

2 Khayl, troop, tribe, etc.—P.}
his brother Qutbuddin (No. 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter Atyat of the Prince. But Khân-i Kalân did not get on well with M. M. Hakim, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhru 'n-Nisâ Begum (a daughter of Humâyûn by Jûjak Begum, and widow of Mîr Shâh 'Abdu 'l-Ma'âlî) to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi in marriage. To avoid quarrels, Khân-i Kalân left Kâbul one night and returned to Lâhor.

In the 13th year (976) the Atiq Khayl was removed from the Panjâb, and ordered to repair to Agra. Khân-i Kalân received Sambhal as jagir, whilst Husayn Quli Khân (No. 24) was appointed to the Panjâb. In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat (Bur. II, 165). On the march, near Sarohi (Ajmir), he was wounded by a Râjpût, apparently without cause; but he recovered. After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwala). He died at Patan in 983.

He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of "Ghaznawi", in allusion to his birthplace. Badâoni (III, 287) praises him for his learning.

His eldest son, Fazil Khân (No. 156), was a Hazari, and was killed when Mirza Aziz Koka (No. 21) was shut up in Ahmadnagar. His second son, Farrukh Khân (No. 232) was a Panjâdî. Nothing else is known of him.

17. Mirza Sharafa 'd-Din Husayn, son of Khwaja Muzîn.

He was a man of noble descent. His father, Khâwja Muzîn, was the son of Khâwand Maâmûd, second son of Khwaja Kalân (known as Khwajagân Khwaja), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwaja Nâsir 'd-Din ʿUbaydu 'llah Ahrar. Hence Mirza Sharafa 'd-Din Husayn is generally called Ahrarî.

His grandfather, Khâwand Maâmûd, went to India, was honorably received by Humâyûn, and died at Kâbul.

His father, Khwaja Muzîn, was a rich, but avaricious man; he held the tract of land called "Rûdkhâna-yi Nasheb", and served under ʿAbdu 'llah Khân, ruler of Kâshghar. He was married to Kijjak Begum, daughter of Mîr ʿAlâṣ 'l-Mulk of Tirmiz, who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahân Begum, daughter of Sultan Abû Sa'id Mirza. "Hence the blood of Timur also flowed in the veins of Mirza Sharafa 'd-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), Mirza Sharaf was appointed Panjhaazarî. In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshi Banû Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmir and Nagor. In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmir, Mirza Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege
of Mairtha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devidás, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort.

In 970, Mirzā Sharaf's father came to Agra, and was received with great honours by Akbar. In the same year, Mirzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Agra over the frontier, pursued by Husayn Quli 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 Gujrat noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mirzās. When Gujrat was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamīndār of the place, who after the conquest of Surat 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 jāgīr, 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 Qāqshāl, 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 Siefūdeen in Stewart's History of Bengal (p. 108).

18. Yusuf Muḥammad Khān, eldest son of Atga Khān (No. 15).

He was Akbar's foster brother (koka or kūkaltāsh): 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,1 son of Māhūm Anga.

The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard.

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1 Generally called in European histories Ādam Khān; but his name is Ādam, not Ādam.
His mother Māhum was one of Akbar’s nurses (angā),¹ 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 Munṣim Khān (No. 11), who after Bayrām’s fall had been appointed Vakīl, was subject to her counsel. She also played a considerable part in bringing about Bayrām’s fall; *Pad.* II, p. 36.

Adham Khān was a Panjhasārī, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mānkot.² Bayrām Khān, in the third year, gave him Hatkānṭh,³ South-East of Āgra, as jagīr, 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 jagīrs 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 Pīr Muḥammad Khān to Mālwha, 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 Anga 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 Pīr Muḥammad governor of Mālwha.

At Court, Adham met again Atga Khān, whom both he and Munṣim Khān envied and hated. On the 12th Ramaẓān 969, when Munṣim Khān, Atga Khān, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khān with some followers, suddenly

¹ This is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghatai Dictionary. Misled by the printed editions of Bādā,oni, Firista, Khāfi Khān, etc., I put on p. 223 of my text edition of the Āgin, Māhum Atgha, as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* Khāfi Khān I, p. 132, 1. 6 from below.
² The Maḥāsir gives a short history of this fort, partly taken from the Akbarnāma.
³ Hatkānṭh was held by Rājpūts of the Bhadauriya clan. *Vide* Beames’s edition of Elliot’s Glossary, II, p. 86, and I, 27, where the word  is doubtful, though it is certainly not Lahore; for the old spelling “Luhāwar” for “Lāhor” had ceased when the author of the Miskhān-i Afghānī wrote. Besides, a place in Gwāliār is meant, not far from the Sindh river. For  the two editions of Bādā,oni have  : Dorn has  ; Behair; Briggs has Yehar; the Lucknow edition of Firista has  . There is a town and Pargana of the name of  in Sirkār Rantabāsir.

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 Āthgah, near Sakīt, in the Sirkār of Qanawij.
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 (*ayvān*) near the harem. "Why have you killed my foster father, you son of a bitch?" (*bachcha-yi lāda*), 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 Khān; "bind this man." This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham Khān was twice thrown down from the dais (*suffa*) of the *Ayvān* to the ground, with his head foremost. The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihli.

Māhum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired, though sick, from Dihli to Āgra. On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Māhum, 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, *vide* No. 60.

20. **Pīr Muḥammad Khān** of Shīrwān.1

Nothing is known of his father. Pīr Muḥammad was a Mullā, and attached himself to Bayrām in Qandahār. Through Bayrām'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 Nāṣīr al-Ḥālam. His pride offended the Chaghātā'ī nobles, and, at last, Bayrām himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick.

Bayrām subsequently ordered him to retire, sent him, at the instigation of Shaykh Gadā'ī (*vide* p. 282) to the Fort of Biyāna, and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage. Whilst on his way to Gujurāt, Pīr Muḥammad received letters from Adham Khān (No. 19) asking him to delay. He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhūr; but being pursued by Bayrām's men, he continued his journey to Gujurāt. This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bayrām's fall. Whilst in Gujurāt, P. M. heard of

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1 In my text edition, p. 223, No. 20, *dele.* Shīrwān is also the birth-place of Khāqānī. The spelling *Sharwān* given in the Muṣjam does not appear to be usual.
Bayrām’s disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar who made him a Khān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mālwah, of which he was made sole governor after Adham’s recall. In 969, he defeated Bāz Bahādūr who had invaded the country, drove him away, and took Bijāgarh from K’timād Khān, Bāz Bahādūr’s general. He then made a raid into Khandes, which was governed by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, sacked the capital Būrhanpūr, slaughtered most unmercifully the inhabitants, and carried off immense booty, when he was attacked by Bāz Bahādūr 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 Jī Jī 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 ʿAzīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.”

On the removal of the Atga Khīyl (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 Farid-i Shakkarganj at Ajhodhan (Pāk Patan, or Patan-i Panjāb).

In the 17th year, after the conquest of Aḥmadābād, Mīrzā ʿAzīz was appointed governor of Gujrat as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Sūrat. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, joined by Sheh Khān Fūlādī, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mīrzā ʿAzīz and Qulbū ʿd-Dīn. ʿAzīz then returned to Aḥmadābād. When Akbar, on the 2nd Šafar 981, returned to Fatḥpūr Sikrī, Iḥtiyārū l-Mulk, a Gujratī noble, occupied Īdar, and then moved against ʿAzīz in Aḥmadābād. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā also came from the Dakhin, and after attacking Kambhāyit (Cambay), they besieged Aḥmadābād. ʿAzīz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels 1 near Patan. During the fight Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Iḥtiyārū l-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 Ikhriyārū l-Mulk.

In the 20th year Akbar introduced the Dāgh (Ā’in 7), which proved a source of great dissatisfaction among the Amīrs. Mīrzā ʿAzīz especially

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1 Akbar left Āgra on the 4th Rabi‘ I, and attacked the Mīrzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distance between Āgra and Patan being 400 kos, Akbar’s forced march has often been admired. Briggs, II, p. 241. [This differs from the Akbar-nāma.—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 (vīde Muazzaffar Khān, No. 37). ʿAzīz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aʿzam 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 Fatḥpūr Sikrī. During ʿAzīz's absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Ḥājīpūr, opposite Patna; and ʿAzīz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihār, with orders to move into Bengal. After collecting the Tuyūldārs of Ilāhābād, Audh, and Bihār, he occupied Garhī, the "key" of Bengal. After several minor fights with the rebels under Maṣṣūm-i Kābulī, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, ʿAzīz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maṣṣūm to withdraw. The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qutlū, a Lohānī Afghān, who during these disturbances had occupied Orīṣā and a portion of Bengal. ʿAzīz, however, took this ill, and handing over the command to Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū, returned to his lands in Bihār. Soon after, he joined Akbar at Ilāhābād, and was transferred to Gaṛha and Rāisin. (993).

In the 31st year (994), M. ʿAzīz was appointed to the Dakhin; but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shahābuʾ d-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) and other grandees, ʿAzīz withdrew, plundered Ilichpūr in Barār, and then retreated to Gujrāt, where the Khān Khānān was (Briggs, II, 257).

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 Muẓaffar, and defeated him in the following year. He then reduced Jām and other zamindārs of Kachh to obedience, and conquered Somnāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year). Jūnāgarh also, the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (5th Zi Ṭaʿda 999), and Miyān Khān and Tāj Khān, sons of Dawlat Khān ibn-i Amin Khān-i Ghori, joined the Mughuls. ʿAzīz gave both of them jagirs. He had now leisure to hunt down Sultān Muẓaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamindār of Dwārkā. In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muẓaffar fled to Kachh, followed by ʿAzīz. There also the Zamindārs submitted, and soon after delivered Sultān Muẓaffar into his hands. No sooner had he been brought
to the Mirzâ 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. ʿAzîz, as he had not been at Court for several years; but the Mirzâ 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 Hijâz at Balâwal, a harbour town near Somnât, accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, ʿAbdullâh, ʿAbdu ʾl-Lâṭif, Murtâzâ, ʿAbdullâh ʾl-Ghâfûr), 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 Mirzâ (M. Shamsî and M. Shâdmân).

M. ʿAzîz spent a great deal of money in Makkah; in fact he was so "fleeced"," that his attachment to Islâm was much cooled down; and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balâwal, 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 Bihâr, was made Vâkîl in 1004, and received Multân az Jâgîr.

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Àsîr. His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzâ, Bahâdur Khan, ruler of Khandes, ceded Àsîr to Akbar towards the end of the same year. Soon after, Prince Khusraw married one of ʿAzîz's daughters.

At Akbar's death, Mân Singh and M. ʿAzîz were anxious to proclaim Khusraw successor; but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farîd-i Bukhârî and others had proclaimed Jahângîr before Akbar had closed his eyes. Mân Singh left the Fort of Ágra with Khusraw, in order to go to Bengal. ʿAzîz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Râja, 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 Salima Sultan Begum and other princesses of Akbar's harem. Not long after, Khwâja Abû ʾl-Ḥasan laid before Jahângîr a letter written some years ago by ʿAzîz to Râja ʿAlî Khan of Khandes, in which ʿAzîz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language. Jahângîr gave ʿAzîz the letter and asked him to read it before

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1 M. ʿAzîz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the "Divine Faith". He used to call Fayûzî and Abû ʾl-Fazîl, Usânî and ʿAlî. His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahângîr, 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. ʿAzīz was restored to his rank, and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrāt, his eldest son, Jahāngīr Quli Khān, being his naqīb. 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 Ajmīr, and appointed, at the request of ʿAzīz, Shāhjahān to the command of the Dakhin forces, whilst he was to remain as adviser. But Shāhjahān did not like M. ʿAzīz on account of his partiality for Khusraw, and Mahābat Khān was dispatched from Court to accompany ʿAzīz from Udaipur to Āgra. In the 9th year, ʿAzīz was again imprisoned, and put under the charge of Āṣaf 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 Atālīq to Prince Dāwar Bakhsh, who had been made Governor of Gujrāt. M. ʿAzīz died in the 19th year (1033) at Aḥmadābād.

ʿAzīz 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 Māwarānahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three.” Vide Ibhānīnāma, p. 230.

Koka means “foster brother”, and is the same as the Turkish Kūkaldāsh or Kūkaltāsh.

Mīrzā ʿAzīz’s sons. 1. Mīrzā Shamsī (No. 163). He has been mentioned above. During the reign of Jahāngīr he rose to importance, and received the title of Jahāngīr Quli Khān.


3. Mīrzā Khurrum (No. 177). He was made by Akbar governor of Jūnāgarh in Gujrāt, received the title of Kāmil Khān under Jahāngīr, and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) to the Dakhin.

4. Mīrzā ʿAbdullāh (No. 257) received under Jahāngīr the title of Sārdār Khān. He accompanied his father to Fort Gwāliyār.

5. Mīrzā Aṃcar (No. 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).

All of them were promoted to commandships of Five and Two Thousands. ʿAzīz’s other sons have been mentioned above.
A sister of M. Ṣāzīz, Māh Bānū, was married to ʿAbduʿ r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān. (No. 29).


His real name is Muḥammad Saʿid. Humāyūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar. Hē then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahār, which was commanded by Shāh Muḥammad 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 Qizilbash houses attacked Bahādur, who escaped.

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mānkoṭ, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khān, was pardoned, and received Multān as jāgīr. 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 Vakīl, 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. 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).

23. Rāja Bihārī Mal, son of Prithirāj Kachhwāha.

In some historical MSS. he is called Bihārī Mal. There were two kinds of Kachhwāha, Rājāwat and Shaykhāwat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged. Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Śūba of Ajmīr. Though not so extensive as Maṭwār, the revenues of Amber were larger.

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājpūt that joined Akbar’s Court. The flight 1 of Humāyūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances. Ḥājī Khān, a servant of Sher Khān, had attacked Nārmaul, the jāgīr 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)2 elephant,

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1 The “flight” of Humāyūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughal historians. Abū ʿl-Fazl generally uses euphemisms, as dān uṣūli-yi nāgzūr, “that unavoidable event,” or riḥlāt (departure); or ōmadān-i 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 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 Muṣīn-i Chishti at Ajmīr, and at Kalālī, Chaghtā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharafu 'd-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. Sharafu 'd-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 Rūpsī (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 Rūpsī. 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 Ajmīr, 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 Āgra, where Bihārī Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand. Soon after Bihārī Mal returned to Amber. He died at Āgra (Ṭabaqāt).

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. Rūpsī (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. Salhādi (No. 267).

24. Khān Jahān Husayn Quli Khān, 2 son of Wali Beg Zū 'l-Qadr.

He is the son of Bayrām Khān's sister. His father Wali Beg Zū 'l-Qadr was much attached to Bayrām, and was captured in the fight in the Pargana of Jālindhar (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

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1 The present Mahārāja of Jaipur is the 34th descendant; vide Selections Government of India, No. LXV, 1868. Amber was deserted in 1728, when Jai Singh II founded the modern Jaipur.
2 Ḥusayn Quli Beg. Maśāṣir.
be cut off, which was sent all over Hindūstān. When it was brought to Itāwa, Bahādur Khān (No. 22) killed the foot soldiers (tawāchāis) 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 ʿAbdul ʿl-Majīd, Commander of Dihlī. 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 Sharafudd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17). Ajmīr and Nāgor were given him as tujīl. 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 Chitor.

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjāb, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantanbhūr.

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkot, which had belonged to Rāja Jai Chand. Badā,oni says (II, p. 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Bār with a jagīr. 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 Bhawani temple outside of the Fort. The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Masʿūd Mīrzā had invaded the Panjāb. Khān Jahān therefore accepted a payment of five mans of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a Masjīd in front of Jai Chand’s palace in the Fort, and to have read the Kuftba in Akbar’s name (Friday, middle of Shawwal 980).

Accompanied by Ismāʿīl Quli Khān and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān-i Rizawi (No. 35), Khān Jahān marched against the Mīrzās, surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 kos from Multān, and defeated them. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā escaped to Multān, but Masʿūd Ḥusayn and several other Mīrzās of note were taken prisoners.

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Agra after the conquest of Gujrāt, he invited his Amīrs 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. Vṛiddhi), not Budi, 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 Badakhshān (p. 326) had come to India, driven away by his grandson Shāhrūkh (No.7), and Khan Jahān was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Munṣīm Khan Khānān died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khan Jahān was recalled from the Panjāb, before he had moved into Badakhshān, and was appointed to Bengal, Rāja Tōḍār Mal being second in command. At Bhāgalpūr, Khan Jahān was met by the Amīrs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghta’ī 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 Aq Maḥal, where Dā’ud Khan had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghāns. Khan Jahān complained of the wilful neglect of his Amīrs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwaja ‘Abdu’llah Naqshbandī, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muẓaffar Khan, Governor of Bihār (No. 37) to collect his Jāgīrdārs and join Khan Jahān (984). The fights near Aq Maḥal were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd-i Kararānī, Dā’ud’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’ud was defeated by Khan Jahān. Dā’ud himself was captured and brought to Khan Jahān, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory, Khan Jahān dispatched Tōḍār Mal to Court, and moved to Sātgāw (Hūghī) where Dā’ud’s family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Dā’ud’s adherents under Jamshed and Mitti, and reannexed Sātgāw, which since the days of old had been called Bulghākhāna, to the Mughul empire. Dā’ud’s mother came to Khan Jahān as a suppliant.

Soon after Malkū Sā,ī, Rāja of Kūch Bihār sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khan Jahān dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Dā’ud, Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhāṭī, where the Afghāns had

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1 The Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badā,oni (II, 238) has by mistake ‘uncle’. Badā,oni says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalgāw).

2 This nickname of Sātgāw is evidently old. Even the word bulghāk (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the Tārikh-i Firuz Shāhī, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 10th century. It is now quite obsolete.

3 Bāl Gosā.—B.]

4 For Bhāṭī, vide below under No. 32.
collected under Karīm Dād, Ibrāhīm, and the rich Zamīndār ṢĪsā (عسبی). With great difficulties Khān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghans who had joined him together with Dā'ūd’s mother at Go,ās; and returned to Śīhhatpūr, 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, 986).

Abū ’l-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 Jāhān’s son, Riżā Quli (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, Ṭahim Quli, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No. 333). For Khān Jahān’s brother, vide No. 46.

25. Saсид Khan, son of Yaşqūb Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Ḣabīq.

He is also called Saсид Khān-i Chaghtāʾī. 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, Yusuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān (i.e., Salīm Shāh), and killed. His other son also, Yaşqūb, Saсид’s father, distinguished himself under Humāyūn. According to the Tabaqāt, he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Quli Beg, governor of Bengal under Humāyūn.

Saсид rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was for some time Governor of Mūltān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, atāţq of Prince Dānyāl. Some time after, he was made Śībahdār of the Panjāb, in supercession to Shāh Quli Muḥrim (No. 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained. Saсид again was succeeded in the governorship by Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 27), and received Sambhal as tuyūl. In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Ḥājīpūr (Patna) as successor to Mīrzā Azīz Koka (No. 21). In the 32nd year, when Vazīr Khān (No. 41) had died in Bengal, Saсид was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year. He was also promoted to the rank of Panjḥazārī. 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), Saсид was appointed to Mūltān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel.

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of
the Panjab 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 Hindu of the name of Chetr Bhoj. Sa'id had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200. One of these Khwajasaras, Hilal, joined afterwards Jahangir's service; he built Hilalabad, six kos N.W. from Agra, near Rankațta, regarding which the Ma'asir tells an amusing incident. Another eunuch, Ikhtiyar Khan, was his Vakil, and another, Istibar Khan, the Pawjdar of his jagir. For Sa'id's brother, vide No. 70.

26. Shihab Khan, a Sayyid of Nishapur.

His full name is Shihab ud-Din Ahmad Khan. He was a relation and friend of Muhum Anga (p. 341), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayram's fall. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dihli. When Akbar, at the request of Muhum, turned from Sikan-darabad to Dihli to see his sick mother, Shihab Khan told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayram Khan, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bayram's friends; and the Chaghtayi nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayram's disgrace.

As remarked on p. 337, Shihab served in Malwah against Abdulllah-Khan.

In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Malwah, and was ordered to drive the Mirzas from that province. In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muzaflar Khan (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 Malwah; but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrat, as Vazir Khan (No. 41) had given no satisfaction. He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Istimad Khan (No. 119), and intended to go to Court; but no sooner had he left Ahmadabad than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sultan Muzaflar. The events of the Gujrat rebellion are known from the histories. When Mirza Khan Khanan (No. 29) arrived, Shihab was attached to Qulij.

1 If not acquired in Bengal, this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere. The eunuchs of Bengal and Silhat were renowned; for interesting passages vide below, Third Book, Suba of Bengal, and Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, pp. 72, 328.

2 Sikandra (or Bhishtabad), where Akbar's tomb is, lies halfway between Agra and Rankațta.
Khān (Mālwah Corps). He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as tuyūl. In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwah, in succession to M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

Shihāb died in Mālwah (Ujain, ʿTabaqāt) in 999. His wife, Bābā ʿAghā, was related to Akbar’s mother; she died in 1005.

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dīhli, he repaired the canal which Fīrūz Shāh had cut from the Parganah of Khizrābād to Sahidān; and called it Nahr-i Shihāb. This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shāhjahān, by the renowned Makramat Khān, and called خیس نهر, Fayż Nahr, (20th year of Shāhjāhān). During the reign of Awrangzēb it was again obstructed, but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English. (ʿAsārʾ ʿṣ-ṣanāḍīd.)

27. Rāja Bhagwān Dās, son of Rāja Bihārī 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 Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā near Sarnāl (Briggs, Sartāl), he saved Akbar’s life. He also distinguished himself against the Rānā of Ídar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court. When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwāhas had their tuyūls 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 Khusrāw 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 Yūsufzā, is. But Akbar, for some reason, detained him. In Khayrābād, 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 jāgīrs 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 Lāhor, a short time after Rāja Ṭoḍar Mal (No. 39). People say that on returning from Ṭoḍar Mal’s funeral, he had an attack of strangury, of which he died. He had the title of Amīrʾ ʿl-ʿUmarāʾ.

The Jāmiʿ Masjid of Lāhor was built by him. Regarding his sons, vide Nos. 30, 104, 336.

28. Qṭb ʿd-Dīn Khān, youngest brother of Atga Khān (15). As he belonged to the Atga Khayl (vide p. 338), his tuyūl 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 Ghaznīn, 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 jāgīr the Sūrkār of Bahrōch (Broach), “which lies south of Aḥmadābād, 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 atāliq to Prince Salim, received a dāghū,¹ and the title of Beglar Begī. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salim on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahrōch “as far as Nazrbār”. In the 28th year (991), Muẓaffar 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 Muẓaffar near Baroda. Q.’s servants even joined Muẓaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muẓaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamīndār, Muẓaffar went to Bahrōch, occupied the fort in which Q.’s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 ēkōrs of rupees), as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muẓaffar had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khān, served under Mīrzā Khān Khānan (No. 29) in Gujrat (992), received a jāgīr in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrat. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the Tabaqāt, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jūnāgarh.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a Haftṣadī (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. Aṣam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a tujūl in Gujrat.

29. Khān Khānan Mīrzā ʿAbdūr-Raḥīm, son of Bayrām Khān.

His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.² In 961, when Humayūn 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-Raḥīm was born at Lāhor, 14th Šafar 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 Hasan Khān of Mewāt (Bid. I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the Aṣīn, ʿAbdūl-Faqīl says that the Khānzwās of Mewāt were chiefly converted Janāha Rājpūts.
by some Afgáns; but Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna and Bābā Zambūr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder and bring them to Aḥmadābād, fighting on the road with the Afgán robbers. From Ahmadābād, M. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm 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. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21).

In 981, M. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p. 313). In 984 M. ʿA. was appointed to Gujrāt, Vazīr Khān having the management of the province. In the 25th year, he was made Mīr ʿArż, and three years later, atālīiq to Prince Salīm. Soon after, he was sent against Sultān Muẓaffar of Gujrāt. Muẓaffar, during the first Gujrāt war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar’s officers. He was committed to the charge of Munṣīm Khān (No. 11), and after his death, to the care of Shāh Manṣūr the Diwān (No. 122). But Muẓaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kāthīs of Jūnāgarh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar’s officers. But when Iṣṭimād Khān was sent to Gujrāt to relieve Shīhābʾu’d-Dīn (No. 26), the servants of the latter joined Muẓaffar, and the Gujrāt rebellion commenced. Muẓaffar took Aḥmadābād, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (vide Quṭbʾu’d-Dīn, No. 28), an army of 40,000 troopers. Mīrzā ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm 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, Dauālat Khān Lodī (No. 309), M. ʿA.’s Mīr Shamsheer, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khān Khānānīsh, M. ʿA. then attacked Muẓaffar, and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkich, three kos from Ahmadābād. On the arrival of the Mālwa contingent, M. ʿA. defeated Muẓaffar a second time near Nādot. Muẓaffar concealed himself in Rajpīpla.

For these two victories Akbar made M. ʿA. a Commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khān Khānānī. For this reason historians generally call him Mīrzā Khān Khānān.

When Gujrāt was finally conquered, M. Khān Khānān gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inking, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything. The internal affairs of Gujrāt 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 Chaqhtāʾī Memoirs (Wāqīqāt-i Bābārī).1

1 Vide p. 105, last line.
Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed Vakil and received Jaunpur as tuyul; but in 999 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 Lakhī, “which was considered the key of the country, just as Gaḍhi is in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmir.” After a great deal of fighting Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M. A., being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted. Sahwan was to be handed over to Akbar, M. Jānī Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mīrzā Êrich, M. 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. A. moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M. Jānī Beg submitted and accompanied M. A. to Court. Thus Sindh was annexed.

When Sultan Murad assembled at Bahroch (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakhin, Akbar dispatched M. A. to his assistance, giving him Bhilsa as jagir. After delaying there for some time, M. A. went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M. A. wrote him that Rāja Ali Khān, of Khāndes was on the point of joining the Imperialists, and that he would come with him. When M. 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. Shāhrukh (No. 7). Only on one occasion after Murad’s departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war. Mustamid ‘d-Dawla Suhayl Khān (Briggs II, 274; III, 308) threatened Prince Murad, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him. M. A., Rāja Ali Khān, and M. Shāhrukh, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy. Moving in Jumāda II, 1005, from Shāhpūr, M. A. met Suhayl near the town of Ashtī, 12 kos from Pathri. The fight was unusually severe. Rāja Ali 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. A.’s troopers went to the river [near Sūpā, Firishta] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy’s horse. Dawlat Khān, who commanded

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1 Also called Siwastān, on the right bank of the Indus. Lakhī (Lukke) lies a little south of Sahwan.
2 The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Munawâr by Mullâ Shikebî, whom Abû’l-Fazâl mentions below among the poets of Akbar’s age.
3 Khâfî Khān calls him Râjî Ali Khān.
M. 5A.‘s avantgarde, 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 Dihlis; and if we die, matters rest with God.” Qasim of Barha 1 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 Bana, 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. 2 M. 5A. then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahadur ibn-Ibrahim, who had been set up as Nizam Shah. Danyal was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dandes, 3 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 Shah Ali, uncle of Murtagh, 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 Parviz, under the Atul-ship of Aasif Khan, Man Singh, Khan Jahan Lodi, and others, were appointed to assist M. 5A. He took the Prince in the rains from Burhanpur to Balaghat; but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amirs, 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 Harawal or van. Vide No. 75.
2 Abul-Fazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishta call the eunuch who murdered Chund Bibi قند بیبی or قدیبی. Briggs has Hamil Khan. For Nihang Khan, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnama and the Ma’asir have Abbang Khan. The Lucknow Ed. of Firishta has Abang Khan. The differences, moreover, between Abul-Fazl and Firishta in details are very remarkable.
3 A combination of the words Danyal and Khandes.
Khān Jahān Lodī as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M. ʿA.'s enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court.

In the 5th year, M. ʿA. received Kālpī and Qanawj as tuyūl, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (vide p. 341, note). Some time afterwards, M. ʿA. 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.¹ 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. ʿA.'s son. ʿĀdil Shāh and Qūṭb ʿl-Mulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngīr bestowed upon ʿĀdil Shāh the title of Farsan (son); and ʿAmbar Malik handed over the keys of Aḥmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghat, which he had conquered. Shāh Khurram then appointed M. ʿA. Şūbahdār of Khāndes, Barār, and Aḥmadnagar, whilst Shāhnawāz Khān was appointed to Bālāghat. 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 ʿAmbar "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānadārs of the Mughuls. Dārāb Khān, M. ʿA.'s second son, retreated from Bālāghat to Bālāpur; 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 ʿAbbās of Persia attacked Qandahār, and Shāhjahān and ʿAbdu ʿr-Rahīm were called to Court to take command against the Persians; but before they joined, Prince Parwiz, 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. ʿA. to Māndū, and then moved to Burhānpūr. On the march thither, Shāhjahān intercepted a letter which M. ʿA. had secretly

¹ "Since the time of Timūr no Prince had received this title." Maḥāsir. Shāh Khurram received subsequently the title of Shāhjahān, which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of Shāhīb Qirān-i Ṣānī and Aṣla Ḥasrat (اشعلا حصری). The last title had also been used by Sulaymān-i Kararānī, King of Bengal. Awrangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of Aṣla Khāṣqān.

² He received the title of Shāhjahān and was made a Sīhāzārī, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20,000 (az aṣl wa izāfa, i.e., his former contingent plus an increase in troops). He was also allowed a Sandāl (vide p. 318), likewise a custom that had not been observed since the age of Timūr. Jahāngīr even came down from the Jharoka (the window in the State hall, familiar to all that have seen the halls of the palaces of Agra and Fathpūr Sikrī), and placed a dish full of jewels and gold on Shāhjahān's head, distributing the whole (as nisīr) among the Amirās.
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 imperial’s from crossing. At M. 7. A.’s advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice. He made M. 7. A. 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. 7. A., 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. 7. A. followed him up a short distance beyond the Taptī. M. 7. A. wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Dawlatshāhī party, to tell Shāhjahān, that he (M. 7. A.) 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. 7. A.’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 Ilahābād to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M. 7. A., who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance.

In the 21st year, Jahāngīr ordered Mahābat Khān to send M. 7. A. 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. 7. A. to follow up Mahābat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition. But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M. 7. A. 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 Sipāhsālār kū (where is the Khān Commander?) are the tārikh of his death.

M. 7. A.’s great deeds are the conquests of Gujrat and Sind and the defeat of Suhayl Khān of Bijāpūr. 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 ṣʿAbdʾl-Fażl, on one occasion, gave his fatwa that M. ṣʿA. was a rebel. Under Jahāṅgīr, he was the open friend of Malik ṣʿAmbar; and Muḥammad Maṣṣūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik ṣʿAmbar’s correspondence in the possession of ṣʿAbduʾr-Rahīm of Lakhnau (No. 197), who was much attached to M. ṣʿA. Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this; but ṣʿAbduʾr-Rahīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend. People said, M. ṣʿA.’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 Maṣʾāṣir-i Raḥīmī is a splendid testimony of his generosity; it shows that he was the Mæcenas of Akbar’s age. People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir ṣʿAli Sher (vide p. 107, note 6). M. ṣʿA. wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency. As poet he wrote under the name of Raḥīm.

Though his father had been a Shiʿah, M. ṣʿA. was a Sunnī; but people said he was a Shiʿah, but practised taqiyyya.2

M. ṣʿA.’s most faithful servant was Miyan Fāhim. People said, he was the son of a slave girl; but he appears to have been a Rājpūt. He grew up with M. ṣʿA.’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. ṣʿA. built him a tomb in Dīhlī, which is now called Nīla Burj, near Humāyūn’s tomb. (Asār ʾṣ-Ṣanāʾīd.)

M. ṣʿA. outlived his four sons.

1. Mīrzā Êrich (or Êrij), 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 ṣʿAmbar who got wounded, he received the title of Bahādur. During the reign of Jahāṅgīr 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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2 Wherever Shiʿahs are in the minority, they practise, if necessary, taqiyyya (šaw, fear, caution), i.e., they do as if they were Sunnis. A Shiʿah may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it.

[3 Near Nander.—B.]
Two of his sons are mentioned in the Pādishāhnāma. 1. Mīrzā Khān. He was Fawjdār of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabī' II, 1046. But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (Pādishāhnāma II, pp. 483, 723). 2. Lashkar-shīkan 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 Safawī, a grandee of Shāhjahān.

2. Mīrzā 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 (yarghamāl). When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dakhin, he wrote to Dārāb Khān to move to Gaḍhī (N.W. entrance of Bengal) and join him. Dārāb wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamindārs of the place. He fell at last into the hands of Parwīz 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. 'A. as a present of a "melon". A short time before 'Abdul 'llah Khān had killed Dārāb's son and a son of Shahnawāz Khān.

3. Mīrzā Rahmān Dād. His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkoṭ. Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father. He died, at Bāłāpūr, 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 Ḥazrat 'Īṣā of Sindh to M. 'A. on a visit of condolence.

4. Mīrzā Amru 'llah. 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 Hindūs make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son. He is also known under the title of Mīrzā Rāja, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Farzand (son).

He joined Akbar with Bihārī Mal (p. 329). In 984 he was appointed against Rānā Kīkā, and gained, in 985, the great battle near Goganda.\[1\]

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\[1\] Corrected in No. 109.—B.

\[2\] The best account of this battle is to be found in Badā,oni, who was an eye-witness. 

*Bad. II, 230 to 237.* The whole is left out in Briggs.
Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwalīyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the melée 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 M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm died, and M. S. was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order. He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm’s sons (M. Afrāsīyāb and M. Kayqubād); but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Raushānīs who, like other Afghān tribes, were given to predatory incursions. After the death of Rāja Bīr Bar, in the war with the Yūsufzā’īs, M. S. was appointed to the command of the army in Kābul, in supercession of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34) and Ḥakīm Abū ‘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 tuyūls of the Kachhwāhās had been transferred.

After the death of Bhagwān Dās in 998, M. S., who hitherto had the title of Kūwart, 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 Oṛisa by way of Jhārkand (Chuttīā Nāgpūr). The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūrī. In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja Usmān attacked Pūrī, M. S. again invaded Oṛisa, and re-annexed, in 1000, that province to the Diḥli 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 Rājmaḥall, at a place which Sher Shāh, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salīmnagar, the Fort of Sherpūr Murcha (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 Lāchmī Narāṣin, Rāja of Kūch Bihār, who had

1 The name of Sāyīd Khān (سید عائشہ) which occurs several times in Stewart, i.e., should be corrected to Saʿīd Khān (سید عائشہ), the same grandee whose biography was given above (p. 351). Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Oṛisa should make use of the Akbarnāmā, 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 Ḥījāz Khān into Kūch Bihār for the protection of Lachmī Narā’in. In the 44th year M. S., at Akbar’s request, joined the Dakhin war. Thinking that the Afghāns, in consequence of the death of their leader, the rich ʿĪṣa of Ghorāghāt, would remain quiet, M. S. appointed his son Jagat Singh (No. 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salīm at Ajmīr. Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Mahā Singh, a grandson of M. S. The Afghāns under ʿUṣman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperials near Bhadrak in Oṛisa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal. M. S. then hastened back over Raḥtās, and defeated the Afghāns near Sherpūr ʿAtāī, a town of the Sirkār of Sharīfābād, which extended from Bardwān to Fath Singh, S. of Murshībābād. After this victory, which obliged ʿUṣmān to retreat to Oṛisa, 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 Hindū above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shāhrukh (vide p. 326) and M. ʿAzīz 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. Jahāngīr 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 Jahāngīr’s reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M. ṬAbdul-Raḥīm (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 Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, p. 130.

The ground on which the Tāj at Āgra stands, belonged to Mān Singh.

1 He died in 1005.
31. Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, a descendant of the Barmaqs (?)\(^1\). He served under Humayun, and held Multan as jāgīr. In the beginning of Akbar’s reign, he conveyed, together with Shamsu’d-Din Atga (No. 15) the princesses from Kabul to India. His tuyül was subsequently transferred to Nagor. For a short time he was also Governor of Mālwā. In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khan Uzbak (vide No. 48) in Audh. After the death of Khan Zāban, Iskandar fled to Bengal, and Audh was given to Muhammad Quli Khan as jāgīr.

He subsequently served under Munsim Khan in Bihār and Bengal. In the 19th year when Dā’ud had withdrawn to Sātgāw (Hūgli) Munsim Khan dispatched M. Q. Khān to follow up the Afghāns, whilst he remained with Rāja Ṭoḍar Mal in Tānda to settle financial matters. When M. Q. Khan arrived at Sātgāw Dā’ud withdrew to Orissa, to which country neither M. Q. Khān nor his officers had much inclination to go. From Sātgāw M. Q. Khān invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), where Sarmadi, a friend of Dā’ud’s, had rebelled; but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Sātgāw. Munsim Khān at last ordered Ṭoḍar Mal to join M. G. Khān, and subsequently both moved into Orissa. Soon after passing the frontier M. Q. Khān died at Mednipūr (Midnapore), Ramāzan, 982. He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play.

His son, Mirzā Faridūn Barlas (No. 227). He served under M. Ābdul-raḥim (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 Āli Barlas was made by Jahāngīr a Commander of One Thousand.

32. Tarson Khan, sister’s son of Shāh Muhammad Sayfu ‘l-Mulk.

In Histories he is called Tarson Muhammad Khān. Sayfu ‘l-Mulk had been an independent ruler in Gharjistān (a part of Khurāsān); but he had to submit to Tahmasp (a.h. 940).

\(^1\) So in the MSS.; but the name Barmaq is very doubtful. Being a “Barlas”, he belonged to that Chaghtāi tribe which traced its descent to Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir—a—the MSS. have various forms for this name—who is the 8th ancestor of Timūr. If so be the correct form, the substitution of Barmaq, a renowned name in Muhammadan history, would not appear altogether impossible. The MSS. of the Mas‘ūdī have Barastaq. In the beginning of the Akbarnāma, Abū ‘l-Fazl says that this 8th ancestor of Timūr was the first that held the title of barlas, which means the same as shuja‘ī, brave. Another Barlas had been mentioned above on p. 216. An Amir Chākū Barlas served with distinction under Timūr.
Taron 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 Sistâni (No. 55), to see Bayrâm on his way to Makkah, as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the empire. T. Kh. was subsequently promoted to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar (vide No. 107), and then of Patan in Gujrat. In the 21st year he served in Râjpûtanâ, 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 Qâziyyu 'l-Quzat and Şadr of the Sirkâr. 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 Maṣṣûm Khân Farânkhûdî (No. 157). In the 27th year he served under M. 'Azîz Koka in Bihâr. When the Qâqshâls (No. 50) left Maṣṣûm Khân and joined the Imperialists, M. 'Azîz sent T. Kh. to Ghorâghât, where most of the Qâqshâls had jâgûrs. T. Kh. stayed at Tâjpur (Dinagepore), settling matters, when Maṣṣûm Khân came with a large army from Bhâtî (רים), and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tânda; 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 Shâhbâz Khân-i Kambû (No. 80) from Patna, and T. Kh. was thus enabled to join Shâhbâz and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal. Maṣṣûm fled again to Bhâtî, and Shâhbâz and T. Kh. planned an expedition against Ḥîsâ, who had afforded Maṣṣûm shelter. They crossed the Ganges at Khizrpûr, which stands on the frontier of Bhâtî, took Sunnârgâw, plundered Baktarâpur (?), where Ḥîsâ used to live, and nearly caught Maṣṣûm. At this juncture, Ḥîsâ returned from an expedition to Kûch Bihâr, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowâl (N. of Dacca). The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

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1 Abû 'l-Faţl gives this spelling in the Akbarnâma, and says it means lowland (from the Hindûstânî _observer down the river_), and extends nearly 400 kos from east to west, and 300 kos from N. to S., from Thibet to the ocean. It would thus include the Sunderban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant, in the Vth Report, p. 260, note, defines Bhâtî as comprising the Sunderban and all the neighbouring low lands, even Hîjli, overflowed by the tide.

Ḥîsâ's father, according to Abû 'l-Faţl, was a Râjpût of the Bais 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, Ḥîsâ and Ismâsil, were sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced by Qutb 'd-Din Khân, Ḥîsâ's uncle, to Tûrân, and brought back. Ḥîsâ soon became the chief of Bhâtî, and had twelve great zamindârs dependent on him. Hence he is generally called by Abû 'l-Faţl Marzbân-i Bhâtî, ruler of Bhâtî. He gave the Imperialists no end of trouble. He must not be confounded with Ḥîsâ, the Vâkil of Qutlû Khân of Orîsâ, who ceded Pûrî to Mân 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 Maṣṣūm Khān and wounded. Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Maṣṣūm (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 Dihlí, and retreated with him. After Hemū's defeat, Qiyā was sent to Āgra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand. Several parganas in Gwāliār having been given to him as tuyūl, Qiyā Khān, in the 2nd year of Akbar's reign, besieged Gwāliār, which was held by Bhil Khān, a general of Salim Shāh, during whose reign Gwāliār had been the capital of the empire. Bhil 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 Bhil Khān. When Akbar, in 966, came to Āgra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiyā, and Bhil 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 Munṣim 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, Qutlū Khān seized upon Orīsa, and besieged Qiyā Khān in some fort. Deserted by his soldiers, Q. Kh. was killed (989). 2

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1 So the Maṣāfir. The Sawāniḥ says that Rāja Rāmsāh with a large force of Rājpūts, had come to besiege Gwāliār. Firishta instead of Bhil Khān (Akbarnāma, Sawāniḥ, Badā, on) has Suhayl Khān (?) and Iqbal Khān (?) for Qiyā Khān, vide Briggs, II, p. 194. The change from to سيل is not remarkable; but the alteration of جی to جی is more violent, as we have an additional alif and lām.

The untrustworthy our printed editions are may be seen from Khāfir 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 Amūn Khān Kokā, read Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34).
P. 238, l. 1, for Shujā' Khān, read Shujā'at Khān (No. 14).
P. 238, l. 2, for Rasūl Khān, read Tarson Khān (No. 32).

Moreover Khāfir Khān's list is most incomplete, and does not coincide, although he says so, with the number of Panj hazāris given in the Tabaqāt.

2 Several copies of the Tabaqāt which I have consulted, say that Qiyā Khān died in 984 (77).
Tardi Khan (No. 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. He accompanied Prince Danyal to the Dakhin, but fell later in disgrace. In the 49th year he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of 5 lacs of Rupees.

V. Commanders of Four Thousand Five Hundred.

34. Zayn Khan,1 son of Khwaja Maqsud of Harat.

His father, Khwaja Maqsud ʿAli, was a servant of Akbar's mother. The name of his mother was Picha Jān Anaga; she was one of Akbar's nurses. On Humayūn's flight to Persia, Maqsud was always near the howdah of Akbar's mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes. His brother was Khwaja Hasan (Zayn Khan's uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salim. She is the mother of Prince Parviz.

In 993, Mīrzā Muḥammad 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 Yūsufzā'is. This tribe, says ʿAbu ʿl-Faẓl, had formerly been in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kābul, where a great number of them were killed by M. Ulugh Bag. The remainder settled at Lamghānāt, and subsequently at Ishtagar. 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 Yūsufzā'is deprived them treacherously of their district; a few of the Sultānīdes, however, remained in Bājor from attachment to their old country.

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the chiefs of the Yūsufzā'is submitted, and one of them, Kālū, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated. He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsa ʿd-Din Khāfī (No. 159) near Aṭak, 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 Bajor2 (north of Pashāwar), and punished the Yūsufzā'is. 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 Khan Koka.
2 Or Bījūr (?).—P.
for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bir Bār 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 Bār and Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath, who were no friends of Zayn Khān, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzā'is 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 كراک). 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 1 Balandri (گریویدی بندلری), Z. Kh. who commanded the rear (chandāveal), 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 Jānish 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 Bār with 500 officers fell (vide p. 214).

In the 31st year (994), Z. Kh. operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghoris near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalālu 'd-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 Yūsufzā'is. 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 Pajkora 2 نجکور (بچکیور), where their district commences. During the festival of the 'Īd-i Qurbānī (Baqr 'Īd, in Zi Hijjah), he surprised the Afghāns and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

1 Girewa means a hill.
2 Or Panjkora.
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 zamindārs
in the Himālayas. Most of them, as Rāja Budi (Badhī) Chand of Nagarkot
(vide p. 349), Rāy Pertāb of Mānkoṭ, Rāja Parisrām of Mount Jamū,
Rāja Bāsū of Mau, Rāy Baldhadr of Lakhinpūr, 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 ʿalam and a naqqāra (vide p. 52), and
was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond
the Indus up to the Hindūkush, when new opportunities offered for
punishing the mountaineers.

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and
governor of Kābul, vice Qulij Khān. In the same year, Prince Salīm
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
Jalāl Khān Rawshānī the disturbances in Zābulistān came to an
end, and Z. Kh. was ordered to Lāhor, from where Akbar, on his return
from Burhānpūr, called him to Āgra.

Z. Kh. died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking. He played on
several instruments, and composed poems. As Saʿīd Khān (No. 25) for
his eunuchs, and Qulij Khān (No. 42) for his horses, so was Z. Kh. famous
for his elephants.

A son of his, Shukrullu ʿUllah (No. 373), vide below, was a Commander of
Two Hundred. The Maṣṣirī mentions another son, Mughul Khān, who
served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahan (vide Pādishāhī. II, p. 641) and
died 19th Ramaḍān, 1067. He commanded for some time Fort Odgīr
in the Dakhin, where the author of the Maṣṣirī later found an inscription
referring to his appointment. For a second daughter, vide p. 346.

For Zayn Khān’s brother, vide No. 38.

35. Mīrza Yūsuf Khān, son of Mīr Aḥmad-i Razawi.

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar.
In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

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1 Such forts were called Thānas, now the common word for a police station.

"Thāna 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 Thāna,
and to dispatch provisions (rasad) to the next Thāna." Pādishāhī. I, p. 167.

How old the use of the word Thāna is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs
frequently on Tribeni and Sātgaw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the
Hijrah.
When Shāhbaż 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 Mararāj and Kamrāj, 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 (Ilāhī) of Akbar. Two and a half pattas and a little more are equal to 1 Kashmīrī Bigha. Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some khawwārs of shālī. A khawwār 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 Rabī‘ crop, they take 2 tarks from each patta of wheat and vetches (māsh). The country having been recently annexed, was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs khawwārs, which was 2 lacs more than before, the khawwār 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 Mutasaddis (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 per cent (dah-pānzdah) higher, and the khawwār 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 ʿAlī to Kashmir to report on the revenue. As M. Y. Khán's people assumed a threatening attitude, Nūr’ullah returned, and Akbar sent ʿHasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmāri (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 ʿAlī and ʿHasan Beg returned to Hindūstān; but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qāzi ʿAlī. ʿHasan 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 ʾl-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 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 Yādgār 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 khāliṣa, and Shamsu 'd-Dīn
Khāfī (No. 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops. Some time
after, at Prince Salim's request, M. Y. Kh. was re-instated.

In the 38th year, M. Y. Kh. was appointed Dārogha of the Topkhāna,
and received Jaunpūr as tuyūl, vice Qulī Khān (1002); but in the 41st
year his jāgar was transferred to Gujrāt, to enable him to serve in the
Dakhin. In the following year, when Šādiq of Harāt (No. 43) died,
M. Y. Kh. was appointed atāliq to Prince Murād, whom he joined in
Bālapūr (Bārār). After the death of Prince Murād (p. 322), M. Y. Kh.
distinguished himself, together with Abū 'l-Faḍl, in the Dakhin wars,
and later, under Prince Dānyāl, in the conquest of Aḥmadābād, on which
occasion M. Y. Kh. is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhānpūr, in the 46th year, M. Y. Kh.
got again to Prince Dānyāl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abū 'l-Faḍl
and the Khān-Khānān at Bālāghāt. But soon after, he died of an abscess
at Jaldāpūr,¹ in Jumāda II, of the same year. His body was taken to
Mashhad.

M. Y. Kh. generally stayed at Sūltānpūr, which he looked upon as his
Indian home. His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohilas, whose
wages he paid monthly.

His sons. 1. Mirzā Lashkarī Ṣafshikan Khān (No. 375). He was
under Akbar Thānadār of Bir (East of Aḥmadnagar), and got from
Jahāngīr the title of Ṣafdar Khān, and a tuyūl in Bihār. In the 5th year
(of Jahāngīr), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500,
with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Ṣūbadār of Kashmir.
In the 8th year, he was removed from his office. In the 21st year, when
Mahābat Khān had fled, he was sent towards Dihlī to intercept Mahābat's
treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal. This he did.
In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was made a Commander of
2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Ṣafshikan Khān, and was

¹ My copy of the Tabaqāt, as also another MS. which I have seen, contains the
following entry—"At the time he was appointed to operate against Bājū, he died at Jannat-
bad in the Dakhin, which is generally called Jaldāpūr." It is difficult to say how these
words have found their way into some MS. of the Tabaqāt, which was finished in a.H.1001,
or nine years before M. Y. Khān's death.
again sent to Bir, 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 Manşabdârs of Kâbul, and feasted them on pork; and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahângîr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law. For this answer he fell into disgrace.

2. Miťaş Ivaż (عويس). He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled Chaman.

3. Miťaş Aflâţûn. “He lived with his brother.” He was subsequently made Mutawalli of Sikandra (Akbar’s tomb), where he died.

A relation of M. Y. Kh., Miř Ābdû ʿllah, was under Shâhjahân a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse. He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharûr, E. of Bir, mentioned above. He died in the 8th year of Shâhjahân.

VI. Commanders of Four Thousand.

36. Mahdî Qâsim Khân.

The Taḥāqât mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand. He served under M. ʿAskari, Bâbar’s third son, whose foster brother he was. His brother was Ghâzanfar Koka (غصانفر). Humâyûn, after the conquest of Gujût, had appointed ʿAskari to Aḩmadâbâd. One night, when half drunk, M. ʿAskari said, “I am king and the shadow of God”; when Ghâzanfar gently replied, “Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses,” at which all who were present laughed. ʿAskari got enraged, and imprisoned Ghâzanfar; but he escaped, went to Sultân Bahâdur, king of Gujût, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of ʿAskari. Bahâdur thereupon collected an army, marched to Aḩmadâbâd and drove the Prince away (vide No. 12).

Mahdî Qâsim Khân joined Humâyûn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar’s reign, a Commander of Four Thousand. In the 10th year, Ābdû ḵ-Majid Āşaf Khân (No. 49) had been ordered to pursue Khân Zamân (No. 13); but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jabalpûr). M. Q. Kh. was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpûr to Ágra, and was ordered to capture Ābdû ḵ-Majid. When M. Q. Kh. arrived

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at Garha, ‘Abdu ‘l-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 Rantanbūr (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 *tuyūl*.

“Nothing else is known of him” (*Mašāsir*). He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the *Tabaqat* was completed. Husayn Khan Tukriya (No. 53) was the son of his sister and his son-in-law.

He had a villa at Lâhor, which was called Bâgh-i Mahdi Qâsim Khân, vide Badâoni II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahângir’s Death).

37. Muṣaffar Khân-i Turbatî.

_Turbat_ is the name of a tribe (*ulûs*) in Khurâsân. His full name is Khwâja Muṣaffar ʿAlî Khân-i Turbatî. He was Bayrâm’s Dîwân. Bayrâm delegated him from Dipâlpûr to Sher Muḥammad Dîwâna (p. 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar. Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muṣaffar, he pardoned him, and made him ʿĀmil (Collector) of the Pargana of Parsaror. Subsequently Akbar made him Divân-i Buyûtât (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc.), and at last Dîvân of the Empire, with the title of Muṣaffar Khân (971). Râja Toḍar Mal was then under him. According to Badâoni, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Râja was a better financier than Muṣaffar, whose accession to office was honoured by the short ʿârâkh, zâlim (=971), or “Tyrant”.

In the 11th year he abolished the Jamâ-i Raqmî. This is the name of the assessment of the Dihlí empire, which had existed since the time of Bayrâm; but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things; “for, on account of the number of men (*kaṣrat-i mardum*, i.e. Jâgîr-holders) and the unsettled state (*qalb-i wilâyat*) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (*ba-nâm afzûda*) for the sake of mere show (*barā-yi mazîd-i istibâr*).” This Jamâ-i Raqmî was now abolished (vide Third Book, A*în-i Dahsâla*), and Muṣaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of Qânûngos. The new rent roll was called Jamâ-i ʿHâsil-i Hâl, or the roll of the present actual income (vide p. 352). As the *Dâgh* law (pp. 265, 266, and p. 252) did not then exist, Muṣaffar Khân fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the Amîrs and the Mulâzims (friends
of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes. ¹

In the 12th year it was reported that Muẓaffar loved a boy of the name of Qūṭb. Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muẓaffar 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. Muẓaffar lost not only his gold muhurs, 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 Vakīl of the Empire, with the title of ḽumlatu 'l-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 Raḥtās in South Bihār, he ordered Muẓaffar to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects (vide Briggs II, 249). Like his companion, Khwāja Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khāfī (No. 159), M. distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Ḥājipūr, of which the Afghāns had again taken possession. For these services, M. was appointed, in the 20th year, Governor of Bihār, from Chausā to Garhū. Soon after the taking of Ḥājipūr, 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 Manṣūr (No. 122) and Rāja Toḍār 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 Manṣūr subjected the Amīrs 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 Maṣūṣir 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mughul, Afghān, or Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sīh-aspas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du-aspas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāk-aspas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Class Rājpūts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ditto ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Akbarnāma). But at that time 40 dāms were equal to 1 Akbarshāhi Rupee, which differed very little from our rupee.
demands, Maṣūm-i Kābulī and several other grandees that held jāgīrs in Bihār, rebelled. Muẓaffar imitated Shāh Manṣūr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and other Jāgīrdārs 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 Tānda, which, according to Bādā, onī, 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, Sharafu '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 Tānda, took it, captured M., and killed him (Rabiʿī I, 988).1

The Jāmiʿ 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 ki Masjid or Kāli Masjid. The Maṣūrī writes it stood in the Katra Miyān Raqīq, but this name does not appear to be now-a-days in use. The Masjid now called the Jāmiʿ Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1058, by Jahān Ārā Bēgum, Shāhjahān's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees.

According to the Mīr-ʿatīzul ʿĀlam, his youngest daughter was married to Shāh Fathu ʿllah 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 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

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1 According to Bādā, onī (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 Afkan (355), and Amānū' llah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.

39. Rāja Tōdar Mal, a Khatri.

He was born at Lāhor. The Ma'āsiru 'l-Umarā 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 Muẓaffar (Bad. II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zāmān (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 ʿalam and a naqqāra (Ā’in 19), and was ordered to accompany Munṣim 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 Munṣim 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 Tōdar 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 Orīsā, Tōdar Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters. When Khān Jahān (No. 24) went to Bengal, Tōdar 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, vice Vazīr Khān (No. 41), who had given no satisfaction. Whilst arranging at Aḥmadābād matters with Vazīr Khān, Muẓaffar Husayn, at the instigation of Mihr ʿAlī Kolābī, rebelled. Vazīr Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Tōdar Mal was ready to fight, and defeated Muẓaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah, which lies 12 kos from Aḥmadābād. Vazīr Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Tōdar Mal had not come to his assistance. Muẓaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jūnāgarh.

In the same year Tōdar Mal was appointed Vazīr. 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 Muẓaffar’s death (No. 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihār by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Tōdar Mal, ʿṢādiq Khān, Tarson Khān, etc., from Faṭhpūr Sikrī to Bihār. Muḥīb “ʿAlī (No. 107), Governor of Rahtās and Muḥammad Maṣṣūm
Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) were appointed kumakīs, or auxiliaries. The latter joined the Rāja with 3,000 well-equipped horse, evidently bent on rebellion. Toḍar Mal managed to keep him quiet; but he reported the matter to Court. The Bengal rebels, under Maṣūm-i Kābuli, the Qāqshālī, and Mirzā Sharafū 'd-Din Hūsayn, with 30,000 horse, 500 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungīr, and Toḍar 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 Farmili and Tārkhān Dīwān, joined the rebels. Though suffering from want of provisions, Toḍar Mal held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances from Court. After the siege had lasted for some time, Bābā Khān Qāqshālī died, and Jābārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshālī desired to leave. The rebel army dispersed; Maṣūm-i Kābuli went to South Bihār, and ʿArab 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 Maṣūm-i Farankhūdī to Patna, to assist Pahār Khān, Toḍar Mal, and Šādīq Khān followed Maṣūm-i Kābuli to Bihār. Maṣūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Šādīq Khān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with ʿĪsā Khān, Zamīndār of Oṭīsā. Toḍar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Gaṛhī, was re-annexed to the Dīhlī empire.

In the 27th year (990) Toḍar 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 Aṣrīn contains his new rent-roll, or Aṣl-i Jamīnī Tūmār, which superseded Muẓaffar’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 Toḍar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts. Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindū Muharrirs. Toḍar 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.

Toḍar Mal’s order, and Akbar’s generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p. 363 that Mān Singh¹ was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, first, that before

¹ Or Maha 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 Urdu, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Ṭoḍar 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 Khatri, from private hatred, wounded Ṭ. 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 Yusufzaiis, Ṭ. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in-chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmir, Ṭ. 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. Ṭ. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (vide No. 27, p. 353).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Ṭoḍar Mal’s fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar’s grandees; together with Abū ’l-Fażl 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 Ṭoḍar Mal is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi ṭ, ḍ, and r, which explains the spelling “Torel Mall”, which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjahān also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name “Ṭoḍar Mal”.

The Tafrih ‘l-Insārat1 says Ṭoḍar Mal’s father died when Ṭ. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. Ṭ. 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 Sīl Chand, of the Government College of Agra, and treats of the antiquities of that town. The book gives many valuable and interesting particulars. In the preface an English gentleman is praised, whose Christian names are James Stephen, but the surname is not legible. The name clearly ends in ston, and may be Babington or some other similar name. The style is bombastic, and there is no proper arrangement.
age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honours.

40. Muḥammed Qāsim Khān, of Nīshāpūr.

The Maʿāṣir calls him Qāsim Muḥammad Khān, and has put his name under the letter Q; but Abū l-Faḍl, Badāʿ,oni, and the Ṭabaqāt give his name in the above order.

He was a rich landowner of Nīshāpūr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbeks to India, where he served under Bayrām Khān. He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as Harāwāl, or leader of the van, under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the battle with Ḥemū. Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar’s reign, he was sent against Ḥāji Khān, who had defeated Rānā Udai Sing of Māwār, and taken possession of Nāgor and Ajmir. Ḥāji Khān was an old servant of Sher Khān, and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery. On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Ḥāji Khān’s army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrat. M. Q. Kh. thus took possession of Nāgor and Ajmir, 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 Chaghtāʾi nobles. He commanded the left wing of Shamsu ʿd-Dīn Atga’s corps in the fight in which Bayrām was defeated (p. 332). After the victory, he received Multān as jāgū.

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 ʿl-Ḥalā Khān Uzbak (No. 14). M. Q. Kh. assisted in the pursuit.

According to the Ṭabaqāt, M. Q. Kh. died soon after at Sārangpūr.

41. Vazīr Khān, brother of ʿAbdu ʿl-Majīd-i Āṣaf Khān (I), of Harāt (No. 49).

When Vazīr Khān escaped with his brother (vide below, No. 49) from Bahādūr Khān (No. 21), he fled to Kašā, and obtained subsequently, through the mediation of Muṣaffar 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 Gujrat to govern in ʿAzīz’s name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (sīpāhsalār) of the province. But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Ṭoḍār Mal (No. 39) to Gujrat, to take the administration out of V. Kh.’s hands. It happened that about the
same time, Mihr ʿAlī Gulābī, a friend of M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muzaffar Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm's young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhin. As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Țoḍar Mal's bravery. When the Rāja left, Mihr ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī was killed by a bullet, and Muzaffar 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 Manṣūr of Shīrāz (No. 122), and soon after governor of Audh.

In the 27th year, when M. ʿAzīz (No. 21) had been sent to Bihār, V. Kh. was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Maʿṣūm Khān sickness obliged ʿAzīz to return to Bihār, he left V. Kh. in charge of the province, till a new Şūbadār should be appointed. V. Kh. made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlū Khān, ruler of Orīsā, whom he defeated (vide p. 356). Qutlū, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orīsā. V. Kh. returned to Tānda, and applied himself, with the assistance of Şādiq Khān (No. 43) and Shāḥbāz Khān-i Kambū (No. 80) to financial matters.

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each şūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amīrs, and Vazīr Khān was appointed Şūbadār of Bengal, with Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān (No. 107) as assistant. In the following year, 995, V. Kh. died.

Shāḥbāz Khān, who was Bakhshī of Bengal, allowed Mīrzā Muḥammad Şāliḥ, V. Kh.'s son, to take command of his father's contingent. But M. M. Şāliḥ 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 Fathpur 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. Qulī Khān.

He is called Andajānī, from Andajān, a province of Farqḥānā, south of the Sayhūn. His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Timūrids. His grandfather was a noble at Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqrā's court.

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p. 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sūrat, the "iron fort", which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abū Ḫaṣāl
says that the Fort had been built in 947 (A.D. 1540–41), by Şafar Āghā, alias Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sultan Maḥmūd of Gujrat. The *tarīkh* of its construction is characteristic (metre long Ramal).

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firing." ¹

Qulīj Khān died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramażān 1022 (end of A.D. 1613), ² at Peshāvar. He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse.

The *Māsūr* and Badānī (III, p. 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of *Jānī Qurbānī* (?); but for the latter word the MSS. have different readings, as *Qurbānī Farbānī, Faryānī*, etc.

The *Māsūr* copies from the *Zakhīrat* *khawānīn* the following story which is said to have taken place in a.h. 1000, when Jaunpur was Q.’s jāgīr. "Q. was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike-structure. Q. and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out. It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one man. When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Rām Chandr’s *avatār* (incarnation) had taken place; whether he had got back his Sitā; whether Krishnā’s *avatār* had taken place at Mathurā; and, lastly, whether Muḥammad 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 Muḥammadans. In sleep and

¹ The numbers added give 947. The last *yā*, though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out.

² So according to the *Tuzuk-i Jahāṅgīr* (ed. Sayvid Ahmad, p. 123, l. 1).

Misled by bad MSS., I mentioned on p. 35, note, the year 1035 as the year of his death. The *Mūsādī* *l-Ḥālam* and the *Māsūr* give as *tārīkh* of his death the Arabic words, *Almawtu jāsr wynī al-ḥabība līq yl-ḥabībī*; "Death is the bridge which joins the beloved to the Beloved;" but the letters added give 1023, not 1022, as in the *Tuzuk*.

For *Husayn* in the last line of the note on p. 35, which is given in inferior MSS., better copies have *Chīn Qulīj*, which is to be substituted for it.

His *takhallūs* *Ulfati* has been mentioned above. The *Tabaqūt* says that another poet of the same *takhallūs* was in the service of Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), and Badānī (III, 188, 189) mentions two other poets of the same *takhallūs*.

*Qulīj*, properly *qūlīj*, means in Turkish *a sword*, and "*Qulīj Khān*" is the same as *Shamsīr Khān*. The word is variously spelled in MSS., sometimes with long vowels and a final *h*. 
eating he differed from other men; he spoke to no one, and died after six months."


43. Sadiq Khan, son of Baisir of Harat.

Other historians call him Sadiq Muhammad Khan.¹ His father, Muhammad Baisir, had been vazir to Qara Khan Turkman, ruler of Khurasan. Qara had rebelled against Shah Tahmasp, and fled to India. Sadiq entered Bayram’s service as Rikabdar (spur-holder),² and got soon after a mansab, and was made, after Bayram’s death, an amir. Badam, (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humayun in Qandahar, and the Tabaqat 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 Chausa, a valuable elephant perished through S.’s carelessness. Akbar confiscated his jagir, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Gora, or Bande-Rewa), to get another elephant. After passing over “the heights and the low places” of fortune, Sadiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 100 elephants, and was restored to favour. He was made governor of Garha, vice Rai Sarjan (No. 96). In the 22nd year (985), S., with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Raja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully. Passing the confines of Narwar, S. saw that kindness would not do; he therefore took the fort of Karhar (کرحر), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dasthara, close to which Undchha lay, Madhukar’s residence. A fight ensued. Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Ram Suh. Another son of his, Horal Deo (Maasir, Horal Rao), and about 200 Rajputs were killed. S. remained encamped in the Raja’s territory. Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Ram Chand (No. 248), a relation of his, to Akbar at Bahira, and asked and obtained pardon. On the 3rd Ramazan, 986, Sadiq with the penitent Raja arrived at Court.

Soon after S.’s agtā⁵ were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal. In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of Aziz Koka

¹ Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abu’l-Faraj leaves them out in this list. Similar omissions occurred above, as Munizim Khan (No. 11), Mirza Aziz (No. 21), for Muhammad Munizim and M. Muhammad Aziz; or, Shihab Khan (No. 26), for Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan. More examples will be found below.

² Rikabdar “’spurr-holder, one that runs 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), Šādiq and Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān (No. 107), defeated Khabīta,\textsuperscript{1} one of Maṣūm’s officers, on the Ghandak near Ḥājīpūr, and sent his head to Akbar. In the beginning of the 28th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mīrzā 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 Bardwān was treating with Qutlū.\textsuperscript{2} Through Ṣ.’s skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlū in the possession of Orīsā. Ṣ. then returned to his tuyūl at Patna.

When Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) returned from his expedition to Bhāti, the tuyūldārs of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him. Ṣ., however, was no friend of Shāhbāz. The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ṣ.’s elephant ran against Shāhbāz, 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 Ṣ., in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted. But when Shāhbāz went from Bihār to Bengal, Ṣ. went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān.

When the Rawshānīs in the District of Mount Terāh (تیرہ), “which lies west of Pashāwar, and is 32 kos long, and 12 kos broad,” commenced disturbances, Ṣ., 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 Bijor, Ṣ. was sent there, to subjugate the Yūsaftājīs.

In the 36th year, Prince Mūrad was sent from Mālwa to Gūjrāt, and as Ismāʿīl Quli Khān (No. 46) had not given satisfaction as Vakil, Ṣ. was appointed atāliq to the Prince,\textsuperscript{3} whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakhin. Shāhbāz Khān, being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again. After the siege of Aḥmadnagar had been raised, Ṣ. distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barār.

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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\textsuperscript{1} Khabīta (خضر) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Maṣūm-i Kābūli from a humble position to the post of a Commander. In Badā,onī (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 310), he is called Khabīsa Bahādur (خضر) and Khaṣṭa (حضر) in my MS. of the Ṭabaqāt, where, moreover, the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year.

\textsuperscript{2} The spelling Qullū is perhaps preferable to Qullū if this name is a shortened form of Qutlūg.

\textsuperscript{3} From several passages in the Akbarnāma it is clear that atāliq (pr. a tutor) means the same as Vakil or Vazir. The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own, and appointed their Vāzīrs, their Divāns, Bahadūrīs, etc. The appointment of the Vakil, 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 Bālāpūr.

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," Ṣ. 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. Zāhid 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 Shāhjahān." Maqāṣid.

44. Rāy Rāysingh, son of Rāy Kalyān Mal (No. 93).

Rāy Singh belonged to the Rāṭhors of Bīkānīr, and is the fourth descendant from Rāy Māldeo. His father, Kalyān Mal, was a friend of Bayrām (p. 316), and paid, in the 15th year, his respects to Akbar at Ajmūr, 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 Gujrāt, occupied Jodhpūr, the old seat of Māl Deo, in order to prevent the rebels from invading the Dīhlī territory; but Ibrāhīm, after his defeat at Sarnāl, invaded Akbar's territory, and besieged Nāgor, which at that time was the tuyūl 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 Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 343).

In the 19th year, R. and Shāh Quli Māḥram (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 Shāhbāz 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 Jālōr and Sarohī; but as they applied to Akbar for pardon, R. and Sayyid Hāshim of Bārha (No. 143) garrisoned Nādot to watch the Rānā of Udaipūr, and bring the rebels of those districts to obedience. As at this time Saltān Deoda, the zamīndār of Sarohī, from distrust again assumed a hostile attitude, R. marched against Sarohī and besieged it. During the siege,
R. called his family to his camp; but Saltân Deoda fell upon the caravan, killed several relations of R., and then withdrew to Abûgarh. R. in the meantime took Sarohî, and hastened to Abûgarh, which Saltân surrendered. R. left a garrison there, and took Saltân to Court.

In the 26th year, when Mirzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkim, Akbar’s brother, threatened to invade the Panjâb, R. together with several other grandees was sent in advance. They were soon followed by Prince Murâd. When the imperial army, in the end of the same year, returned to Āgra, R. and several others were sent as tûyûlûrûs to the Panjâb. In the 28th year he served in Bengal.

In the 30th year R. and Ismâ'îl Quli Khân (vide No. 46) led successfully an expedition against the Balûchis. In the following year (19th Rajab, 994), R.’s daughter was married to Prince Salîm. In the 35th year he went for some time to Bikânîr, and served, in the end of the 36th year, in Sîndh under M. ʿAbdû ʿr-Râḥîm (No. 29).

In the 38th year Akbar paid R. a visit of condolence. The son of Râja Râmchand Baghela of Bândhû died suddenly on his way to Bândhû, to which he had only lately, after the death of his father, been appointed. The young Râja 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 darbârs; but after some time he restored him and sent him as governor to Sûrât, with the order to assist in the Dakhin wars. R., however, delayed in Bikânîr, and when he had at last left, delayed on the road to Sûrât. Akbar advised him to be obedient; but seeing that he would not go, called him to Court, but without allowing him to attend the darbârs. After some time he was pardoned.

In the 45th year, R. was ordered to accompany Abû ʿl-Faṣl to Nâsik; but as his son Dalpat (No. 252) had caused disturbances in Bikânîr

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1. “Abûgarh is a fort near Sarohî, and not far from the frontier between Gujrat and Ajmir.” Abû ʿl-Faṣl says in the Akbarnâma (events of the 21st year) that the old name of Abûgarh was Arbûdâ Achal, Arbûdâ being the name of a spirit, who, disguised as a female, shows wanderers the way, and achal meaning mountain. The fort on the top of this high mountain was difficult of access; it could, moreover, hold out for a long time, as there were several springs and fields within it. My copies of the Sâvânisîh and the Akbarnâma have Sultan Deora (سلاطین دیوره) for Saltân Deoda (سلاطین دوده) of the Mâṣâir.

2. For Dalpat, the Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî (pp. 36, 106, and 126) has wrongly Dalâp. The Tuzuk and the second volume of the Pâdisshâhnâma (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 635) have Sûraj Singh, for Sûr Singh. But the Mâṣâir and the first volume of the Pâdisshâhnâma have Sûr 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 Salīm against the Rānā of Udaipur.

At the death of the emperor, R. was a Commander of Four Thousand. Jahāngīr, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjāb to pursue Khusrav, R. was put in charge of the travelling harem; but on the road he left without order and went to Bikānīr. In the second year, when Jahāngīr returned from Kābul, R. at the advice of Sharīf Khān, presented himself before the emperor with a fūla 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, Muṣaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, in consequence of his differences with Khwāja Fathu 'llah had fled; and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bikānīr 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 Jahāngīr’s reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor; but at the request of Khān Jahān Lodī he was pardoned. After the death of his father, D. came from the Dakhin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of Rāy, although his younger brother (by another mother), Sūr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Rāy Singh had promised him from affection to his mother. Sūr Singh, however, disgusted Jahāngīr by the bold way in which he preferred his claim.

D. was then ordered to join M. Rustam-i Şafawi (No. 8), the governor of Sindh. In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahāngīr that Sūr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hīsār. Hāshim, the Fawjdār of the Sarkār, caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others.

For Dalpat’s son, Mahes Dās, and grandson, Ratan, vide Pādishāhnāma, pp. 635, 723; 684, 729.

2. Sūr Singh. After the death of his brother he rose to favour. In Histories he is generally called Rāo Sūr Singh, a title which he received from Shāhjahān. He died in 1040. He had two sons, Karan and Satr Sāl, the former of whom inherited the title of Rāo (vide Pādishāhnāma II, p. 727).
VII. Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred.

45. Shāh Quli Mahram-i Bahārlū.

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.¹ Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh. Q. served with Muḥammad Qāsim Khān (No. 40) against Ḥājī Khān in Nāgor and Ajmīr.

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 Qabūl Khān; and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,² 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 Tilwāra (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 (majbūb). From the circumstances, he was everywhere called Mahram,³ i.e., one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets.

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zābulistān, 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 mast male elephant. Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions. A rumour of his death spread over the whole country; in some provinces even disturbances broke out. The Rājpūts of Shaykhāwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewāt to Rewārī; and in the

¹ “Before the end of the first year, Pir Muhammad was dispatched against Hajj Khān in Alwar, and as he withdrew, the imperialists took possession of the Farkār of Alwar as far as Deoli Sājārī [or Sākhārī], the birth-place of Hemū, and performed many brave deeds. They also caught Hemū’s father alive, and brought him to Pir Muhammad, who asked him to embrace Islam. As he would not, he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils, Pir M. returned to Akbar.” Saʿādī, from the Akbar Nāma.
² For similar examples, vide p. 335, which also happened in the third year, and No. 37, p. 374.
³ Or Muḥrim.
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 Nārnaul, 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 Qulī Khān, brother of Khān Jahān (No. 24).

He must not be confounded with No. 72. He was caught in the battle near Jalindhar (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 Yūsufzā‘īs.

At that time epidemics were raging in Bijor, and the chiefs of the Yūsufzā‘īs came forward and submitted to I. Q., whilst Zayn Khān (No. 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalālá Rawshānī, 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 Sādiq Khān (No. 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalālá, annoyed 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 Jalālá 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 Mūrād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I. Q. was appointed his atā‘īq or Vakil; but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Sādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead.
In the 39th year, he was sent to Kālpī, to look after his jagīr. 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 Qulī (No. 322), a commander of Three Hundred; 2. Salīm Qulī (No. 357), and 3, Khālīl Qulī (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 Chingiz Khān. Abū’l-Fażl in the Akbarnāma gives his tree as follows:—

Chingiz Khān

Tūlī Khān.

Hulāgū Khān (the brother of Mangū [Qāān].)

Abāgh (or, Abāghā) Khān, [d. 663.]

Ārghūn Khān, d. 690.

Four generations inter- [vening.]

Atkū Timūr

Shankal Beg Tarkhān

Several generations not [known.]

Mīrzā ‘Abdū ’l-Khāliq Tarkhān

Zū ’l-Nūn Beg Ārghūn, who was the Amīrā ’l-Umarā and Sipahsālar of Sultān Husain Myrza.


He also was atālīq and father-in-law to Prince Bādī’z-Zamān Mīrzā, and held Qandahār as
M. Muḥammad ʿIʿṣā, jāgīr. When the prince’s career ended, his two sons, Bādīʿ ʾz-Zamān and Muḥṣaffar Mīrzā, proclaimed themselves kings of Khorāsān. Anarchy prevailed; and matters grew worse, when Shaybān Khān invaded the country. Mīrzā Pāyanda Muḥammad Tarkhān. Zu ʾl-Nūn Beg fell in battle against him. Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān.

Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān.

Shujaʿ Beg, better known as Shāh Beg, Ẓū ʾl-Nūn’s son, held Qandāhār during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government. He was bent on conquest. In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jām Nizām ʿd-Dīn (generally called in Histories Jām Nandā), king of Sindh. He continued to interfere, as related by Abū ʾl-Faḍl below in the Third Book, (Śūba 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 930,1 he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the Langāhs.

Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, who took Multān from Sultān Ḥusayn Langāh (vide Third Book, Śūba 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 Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿIsā, third ancestor of M. Jānī Beg, as their chief. M. Shāh Ḥusayn, assisted by his foster brother, Sultān Mahāmūd, Governor of Bkakhar, opposed him; but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sindh to M. ʿIsā. On Shāh Ḥusayn’s death, in 963, the whole country fell to ʿIsā.

In this manner the older branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of Thatha.

ʿIsā 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 Kāfiyya (شرح ʿاقيب), and commentaries to the Ṣaḥīḥ (شرح مسالج) and the ṢAqīʿ id-i Nasafi (شرح مسالج نسائي).
Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjāb, M. Jānī Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit. In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khān 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 tuyūl of the Khān Khānān, he did not move into Qandahār by way of Ghaznīn and Bangash, but chose a round-about way through his jāgīr. In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khān Khānān set out at once for Sindh (vide p. 356, and Brigg’s Finishta). After bravely defending the country, M. J. B. had at last to yield. In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khān Khānān, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lāhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Sūba of Multān as tuyūl, Sindh itself being assigned to M. Shāhrukh (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 tuyūl, 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. Lāhārī Bandar, however, became khāliṣa, and the Sarkār of Siwistān which had formerly paid pishkash, 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-Fażl 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 (sarsām), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhānpūr in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Ṭāsir.

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that he had an Ṭāsir, he would have held it for a hundred years.

M. J. B. was fond of poetry; he was himself a poet and wrote under the takhallus of Halimī.†

† Here follows in the Māṣāṣir ʿl-Umarī, a description of Sindh taken from the Third Book of the Āʾin, concluding with the following remark:—

"At present (when the author of the Māṣāṣir wrote), the whole of Sindh is under Khudā Yār Khān Lati (कुदा यार खान लती). From a long time he had farmed (ijāra kard) the Sūba of Thatha, and the Sarkars of Siwistān and Bhakkar. Subsequently when the district on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nādir Shāh, Khudā Yār Khān administered them for Nādir Shāh."
Mîrzâ Ghâzî Beg, son of M. Jâni 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 Mîrzâ Isâ Tarkhân, son of Mîrzâ Jân Bâbâ (brother of M. Muḥammad Bâqî, grandfather of M. Jânu Beg); but Khusraw Khân Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghûns and Vakîl to his father, espoused his cause, and M. Isâ Tarkhân fled from Sindh. The army which M. Ghâzî Beg and Khusraw Khân had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar; but the Emperor sent promptly Sa'id Khân (No. 25) and his son Sa'du 'Ilâh\(^1\) to Bhakkar, and M. Ghâzî Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh.

After the accession of Jahângîr, M. Ghâzî Beg received Multân in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahâr (Tuzuk, pp. 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Husayn Khân Shâmlû, the Persian Governor of Harât. He also received the title of Farzand (son). Shâh Abbâs of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several khîlîats.

He died suddenly at the age of twenty-five in 1018,\(^2\) the word Ghâzî being the Târîkh of his death. Suspicion attaches to Luṭfâ 'Ilâh, his Vakîl and son of Khusraw Khân Chirgis, who appears to have been treated unkindly. M. Ghâzî does not appear to have had children.

Like his father, he was a poet. He wrote under the takhallus of Vaqârî, which he had bought of a Qandahâr poet. He played nearly every instrument. Poets like Tâlibî of Amul, Mullâ Murshid-i Yazdîrdî, Mir Nîşîmatu 'Ilâh Vacili, Mullâ Asad Qâṣṣa-khwân, and especially Fughîftî of Gilân enjoyed his liberality. The last left him, because his verses were too often used for dakhîl (vide p. 108, note 8). In his private life, M. Ghâzî 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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\(^1\) Sa'du 'Ilâh has been omitted to be mentioned on p. 351. He received the title of Nawâzish Khân in 1020; vide Tuzuk, pp. 34, 96.

\(^2\) So the Ma'dâhir. The Tuzuk (p. 109), perhaps more correctly, places the death of M. Ghâzî in the 7th year of Jahângîr's reign, 1021.

After M. Ghâzî Beg's death, Sindh was taken away from the Tarkhân, and M. Rustam was appointed Governor (vide p. 314).

Khusraw Chirgis tried to set up some Abdâ l-ṣâlih Tarkâhân, whose pedigree is not known; but Jahângîr bestowed his favours on Mîrzâ Isâ Tarkhân, son of M. Jân Bâbâ (uncle of M. Jâni Beg). He rose to the highest honours under Shâhjâhân, and died more than a hundred years old, in 1062, at Sânmarsh. He had four sons—1. Mîrzâ Inâyatâ, who died in the 21st year of Shâhjâhân; 2. Mîrzâ Muḥammad Sâlih, who played some part during Awrangzeb's war with Dârâ Shikoh; 3. Fathâ 'Ilâh, 4. M. ʿÂqîl. Mîrzâ Bihrâz, M. Muḥammad Sâlih's son, is mentioned as a Commander of Five Hundred under Shâhjâhân.
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 Akbnāma (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 Khan 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). Chingiz Khan, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder. Under Timur, 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 ṭabl; 2, a tūmāntogha; 3, a naqqāra; 4, he can confer on two of his men a qushūn togh, or chatr togh; 5, his Qur (p. 116) was carried (qūr-i ū nīz bardārand). Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver. 6. He could enclose (qurg) 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 Amīr sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (kamānuwr).

When Tughluq Timur conferred this title upon an Amīr, he put all financial matters (dād o sitad) 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 (pādash-i khūn), he was placed on a silver-white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal. His statement was made by a chief of the Barlās clan (vide p. 364 note), and the

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[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 Chaghtānī tuqūz (or tuqūz or tuqūz), nine came to mean a present, in which sense it occurs in the Pānishakhāna and the Ašamgir-nama, especially in reference to presents of stuffs, as haft tuqūz pārcha, "a present of seven pieces of cloth."
[4] The MSS. call him یوئکس or یوئکس, with every variety of diacritical points.
sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkîwat (ارکیوات) 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 Khwâja in making Mir Khudâdâd a Tarkhân, added three new privileges. 1. At the time of wedding feasts (tâ'ī), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the yasāwal (chief mace-bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the Tarkhân also proceeds on horseback. 2. When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhân from the left. 3. The Tarkhân’s seal is put on all orders; but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his.

Abû ’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 Khân, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings.

He distinguished himself under Humâyûn, who on his return to India made him a Khân. After the restoration, he was made Governor of Ágra. On Hemû’s approach, he left Ágra, and joined Tardi Beg at Dihli. Both opposed Hemû, Iskandar commanding the left wing (jûranquhar). His wing defeated the right wing (burunquhar) and the van (harâwal) of Hemû, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives. The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists, when Hemû 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 Khân Zamân (No. 13) against Hemû, and received after the battle for his bravery, the title of Khân ʾAlâm.

As Khizr Khwâja Khân,1 the Governor of the Panjâb, had retreated

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1 Khizr had descended from the kings of Mughulistan; but according to the Tabuqât from the kings of Kânghar. He was a grandee of Humâyûn, left him on his flight to Persia, and was with M. ʿAskârî in Qandahâr, when Humâyûn on his return besieged that town. Before the town surrendered, Khizr Khwâja threw himself down from the wall, managed to reach Humâyûn’s tent, and implored forgiveness. He was restored to favour, was made Amîr ʿl-Umarâ, and married Gulbadan Begam, H.’s sister. When Akbar marched against Hemû, Khizr Khân was made Governor of the Panjâb and ordered to operate against Sikandar. Sûr, who during Humâyûn’s lifetime had retreated to the Sawâlikhs. Leaving Hâjî Khân Sîstâni in Lâhor, Khizr Khân moved against Sikandar, whom he met near a place called in the MSS. خمیر. 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 Lâhor. 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 Mânkot. After a siege of six months, Sikandar bribed Shamsuʾd-Din Atgah (No. 15) and Pir Mûhammad (No. 20) who prevailed
before Sikandar Khân Sûr, and fortified himself in Lâhor, leaving the country to the Afghâns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyâlkoṭ and assist Khizîr Khwâja.

Afterwards he received Audh as tuyûl. “From want of occupation,” he rebelled in the tenth year. Akbar ordered Ashraf Khân (No. 74) to bring him to Court but Isk. joined Khân Zamân (No. 13). Together with Bahâdur Khân (No. 22), he occupied Khâyrâbâd (Audh), and attacked Mir Mu’izzû ’l-Mulk (No. 61). Bahâdur 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 Khân Zamân and Bahâdur again rebelled, Isk. in concert with them occupied Audh. He was attacked by Muḥammad Quli Khân Barlâs (No. 31), and besieged in Avadh. When Isk. heard that Khân Zamân and Bahâdar had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorâkhpûr, which then belonged to Sulaymân, king of Bengal. He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bâyazid, Sulaymân’s son, over Jhârkand to Orîsâ. After Sulaymân’s return from the conquest of Orîsâ, Isk.’s presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaymân wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghâns waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar. He escaped in time, and applied to Munšîm Khân, who promised to speak for him. At his request, Isk. was pardoned. He received the Sarkâr of Lak’hnau as tuyûl, and died there in the following year (980).

49. Āṣaf Khân ābû ’l-Majîd (of Hirât), a descendant of Shaykh Abû Bakr-i Tâyba’dî.

His brother Vazîr Khân has been mentioned above (No. 41). Shaykh Zayn ā’l-Dîn Abû Bakr-i Tâyba’dî was a saint (šâhîb kamâl) at the time of Timûr. When Timûr, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirât, which was in the hands of Malik Ghîyâs ā’l-Dîn, he sent, on his arrival at

upon Akbar to pardon him. Sikandar sent his son ābû ’l-Râhîmân with some elephants as pîshkâsh, and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihâr as tuyûl (vide p. 335). Mánkot surrendered on the 27th Ramazân 994. Sikandar died two years later.

It is difficult to say why Abû’l-Fâzî had not entered Khizîr Khân in the List of Grandees. His name is given in the Tabaqât. Similarly Khwâja Mu’izzîm and Mir Shâh ābû ’l-Maṣâ’ilî are left out. For Kh.’s son, vide No. 163.

1 On Sulaymân’s return from Orîsâ, he appointed Khân Jâhân Lodhî, his Amir-ul-Umarâ, Governor of Orîsâ. Qutlû Khân, who subsequently made himself king of Orîsâ, was then Governor of Fûrî (Jagganath) Bad. II. 174.

2 He died a. h. 791. His biography is given in Jâmi’âs Nafhat ’l-’Ums. Tâyba’dî belongs to Jâm-i Khurâsân.
Tāybād, 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 ʿAbdū ʿl-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 Pānjāb, to crush Bayrām’s rebellion, ʿAbdū ʿl-Majīd received the title of Āṣaf Khān, regarding which vide the note after this biographical notice. Subsequently Āṣaf was appointed Governor of Dihli, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand. When Fattū, a servant of ʿAdlī, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanāqū (Chunar), Ā., in concert with Shaykh Muḥammad Ghwās, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kaṣa-Mānīkpūr on the Ganges. About the same time, Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī, an Afghan noble who had for a time been in Akbar’s services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamīndārs 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 Ghāzī Khān. The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū, 1 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 ʿl-Fazl in the events of the 42nd year of the Akbarnāma, says that ʿAlāʾu ʿl-Dīn-i Khiljī besieged Bāndhū in vain.
2 Gadha (Gurh, Gurhah, Gurrah) lies close to Jabalpūr in Central India. Katangah is the name of two small places, one due south of Jubalpūr below lat. 22, as on the map in Journal A. S. B., Decr. 1837, pl. ivii; another apparently larger place of the same name lies N.W. of, and nearer to, Jabalpūr and Gadha, about lat. 23°30', as on the map of Central India in Sir J. Malcolm’s Malwa; but both are called on the maps Katangi. In Muhammadan Histories, the country is generally called Gadha-Katangah. Abū ʿl-Fazl says, it had an extent of 150 kos by 80 kos, and there were in ancient times 80,000 flourishing cities. The inhabitants, she says, are all Gonds, who are looked upon by Hindus as very low.

The Rājas of Gadha-Katangah are generally called the Gadha-Mandlā Rājas. Mandlā lies S.E. of Jabalpūr, on the right side of the Narbaddah.
or Gondwánah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgāwatī,1 the heroine of Central India. Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bīr Sāh, at the conquest of Chaurāgaḍh (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 Mānīkpur, 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 Gaḏa spoils. He thereby regained Akbar’s confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels. At this juncture the imperial Mutāṣaddīs, 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 Gaḏa (Ṣafār, 973).

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) to Gaḏa. Ā. then left Central India “with a sorrowful heart”, and joined, together with his brother (No. 41), Khān Zamān at Jaunpur. 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 Mānīkpur, 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 sat 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, Kārāh, and asked Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) to intercede for them with the emperor. When Muẓaffar, 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 Kārā- Mānīkpur. 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

Rānā Udai Singh. A. was sent in advance (manqalā). In the middle of Rabi' I, 975, Akbar left Agra 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 A. was made Governor of Chitor.

Neither the Ma‘āṣir, nor the Tabaqāt, 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. Badāoni, 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. Ḩāwāja Mīrza Ghiyāṣu 'd-Dīn ʿĀlī Āṣaf Khān II, d. 989 (No. 126).
3. Mīrza Jaṣfar 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:—

Āghā Mulla Dāwātdār.


Mīrza Nūru 'd-Dīn. A daughter, Mīrza Jaṣfar Beg, Āṣaf Khān III.

Mumtāz Maḥall, (Shāhjahān’s wife).

Jahāngir conferred the title of “Āṣaf Khān” (IV) on Abū ʾl-Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and father of Mumtāz Maḥall (or Tāj Bībī, Shāhjahān’s wife), whose mother was a daughter of Āṣaf Khān II. During the reign of Shāhjahān when titles containing the word Daula ² were

¹ Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 120) says, ʿAbdu l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān officiated in 1013 for Mān Singh in Bengal. This is as impossible as his statement on p. 112, that Farīdu d-Dīn Bukhārī [No. 99] is the author of the History of the Emperor Jahāngir.
² They had been in use among the Khalifas and the Ghaznavīs. Thus Yāmīn ʿd-Dawla which title Shāhjahān bestowed on Abū ʾl-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān IV, had also been the title of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī when prince. The kings of the Dakhin occasionally conferred titles
revived, Āsaf Khān was changed to Āsaf ‘d-Dawla, and this title was conferred on Āsaf ‘d-Dawla Jumlatu ’l-Mulk Asadjang (Shāhjahān-Awrang-zeb), a relation of Āsaf Khān IV. Under Aḥmad Shāh, lastly, we find Āsaf ‘d-Dawla Amīru ’l-Mamālik, whose name like that of his father, Nizāmu ’l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, occurs so often in later Indian History.

50. Majnūn Khān-i Qāqshāl.\(^1\)

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and held Nārnaul as jāgīr. When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Ḥāji Khān besieged Nārnaul, but allowed Majnūn Khān to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rāja Bihārī Mal, who, at that time, was with Ḥāji Khān (vide p. 347).

On Akbar’s accession, he was made Jāgīrdār of Mānikpur, then the east frontier of the Empire. He remained there till after the death of Khān Zamān (No. 13), bravely defending Akbar’s cause. In the 14th year, he besieged Kālinjar. This fort was in the hands of Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Bhat, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bijli Khān, the adopted son of Pahār Khān. When, during the siege, the Rāja heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantambhūr, he surrendered Kālinjar to M. (29th Șafar, 997). Akbar appointed M. Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties.

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Munsim Khān (No. 11) on his expedition to Gōrakhpūr. At the same time the Gujrātī war had commenced, and as Bābā Khān Qāqshāl\(^2\) had words with Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80), the Mīr Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar. But the rumour spread in Munsim’s army that Bābā Khān Jābārī (Majnūn’s son), Mīrzā Muḥammad, and other Qāqshāls, had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and joined the rebellion of the Mīrzās in Gujrāt; and that Akbar had therefore ordered Munsim to imprison Majnūn. In consequence of these false rumours, M. and others of his clan withdrew from Munsim, 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 Khān was certainly the best of them.

2 Bābā Khān Qāqshāl also was a grandee of Akbar, but Abū ’l-Faḍl has left him out in this list. Like Majnūn he distinguished himself in the war with Khān Zamān and the Mīrzās. During Munsim’s expedition to Bengal, the Qāqshāls received extensive jāgīrs in Ghorānāt. Bābā Khān was looked upon as the head of the clan after Majnūn’s death. He rebelled with Maṣṣīm Khān-i Kābulī, partly in consequence of Mūẓaffar Khān’s (No. 37) exactions, and assumed the title of Khān Khānān. He died in the same year in which Mūẓaffar died, of cancer in the face (Khūra), which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[Khūra chancere?—P.]
when M. soon after heard that Bábā Khán and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrāti war, he was ashamed of his hastedness, and rejoined Munṣīm who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpūr.

M. accompanied Munṣīm on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dā,ūd, retired to Orīsā, and Kālā Pahār, Sulaymān Mankli and Bábū Mankli had gone to Ghorāghāt, Munṣīm 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 parcellt out the whole country among his clan. But Bábū Mankli and Kālā Pahār had taken refuge in Kūch Bihār, and when Munṣīm was in Kaṭāk, they were joined by the sons of Jalālū ḍ-Dīn Sūr, and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Tānda, and waited for Munṣīm, 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 Dāgh law led him and his clan into rebellion. Jabārī then assumed the title of Khān Jahān. 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 ‘Arab.

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 Mirzā ‘Askari. When Hūmāyūn took Qandahār on his return, Muqīm, like most old nobles,

1 The renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath at Pūrī in S. Orīsā. Vide below Third Book, Ṣūbas of Bengal and Orīsā. A minute description of his conquest is given in the Makhzan-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 Vynsavali (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 Qutlū of Orīsā, and Āziz Koka (vide p. 344) which, in 990, took place between Khalgāw (Colgong) and Gadhi (near Rajmahall).

Bábū Mankli subsequently entered Akbar’s service (vide No. 202). European historians generally spell his name Bábū Mangalī, as if it came from the Hindi mangal, Tuesday. This may be correct; for common people in India do still use such names. But mankli is perhaps preferable. Two of Timūr’s ancestors had the same name. The Turkish mankli means 记者了解, khālder, spotted.

2 The best MSS. of the Akbarnāma, Badā, onī, and the Maṣṣīr have. جباري. Stewart (p. 109) calls him Jubbaburdy (?).
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 Mendū,” 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 (Badāʾ, onī 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 Ḥājī 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 Badāʾ, onī (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.

Qāʾim Khān was the son of Muqīm Khān. Qāʾim’s son, Abdū ʿr-Rāḥīm, was under Jahāngīr a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made in the 5th year, Fawjdār of Alwar. Qāʾim’s daughter, Śāliḥa Bānū, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngīr in his harem, and went by the title of Pādishāh Ṭahull. She adopted Miyān Joh, son of the above, Abdū ʿr-Rāḥīm. Miyān Joh was

1 So the Manṣūr and the Akbarnāma. Badāʾ, onī (ii, 284) has Qāʾim Khān; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. 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 Uymāqs of Miyânkâl, Samarqand.

The Turkish Budāgh means “a branch of a tree”. He distinguished himself under Humāyûn and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand.

In the 10th year he accompanied Mîr Mu’izzu ‘l-Mulk (No. 61) against Bahādur (No. 22). Though the imperialists were defeated, B. Kh. fought bravely, and was captured. His son Ābdu ‘l-Matlab (No. 83) ran away. In the 12th year, B. Kh. went with Shihābu ‘d-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26) against Mīrzâs in Mâlwh, received Sârangpûr as tuyûl, fought under ‘Azîz Koka (No. 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramazân 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandû, where he died. The Tabaqât says, he had the title of Amīr ‘l-Umarâ. He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohinî.

Inside Fort Mandû, to the south, close to the walls, he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of Nîlkânth, regarding the inscriptions on which the Ma’âṣir gives a few interesting particulars.

53. Husayn Khân (Ţukriya), sister’s son of Mandî Qâsim Khân (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 Bâdâ,oni, who served Husayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsâbâd and Patyâlî).

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1 There were two tribes of the Qârâ Turks called ‘Abâma of ‘Abâma, or Aymâq. They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ‘Abâma as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians, means a kind of superior cavalry; vide Tuzuk, p. 147, l. 17. How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India, may be seen from p. 57, l. 1 of the second volume of my A’in text, where Abû ‘l-Fazî applies the word to Râjpût cavalry of the Râshthor clan. The word is pronounced aimâq in India.

The meaning of Miyâân Kâl is still unclear to me. To judge from Abû ‘l-Fazî’s phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan. The adjective Miyâ Büyük occurs frequently. Two Miyân Kallâs may be found below among the list of learned men (Qâsî Ābdu ‘l-Sâmî) and the poets (Qâsî-i Kâhî).

2 Vide my Essay on Bâdâ,oni and his Works in J.A.S. Bengal, for 1860, p. 120.
Husayn Khan was not only sister’s son, but also son-in-law to Mahdi Qasim Khan (No. 36). He was in Bayram’s service. In the second year, after the conquest of Mankot, Akbar made him Governor of Lahor, where he remained four months and four days. When Akbar in Safar 965, marched to Dihli, he appointed H. Kh. Governor of the Panjab. During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunnî. As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindûs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind. tukrâ) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of Tukriya “Patcher”.

Like Shâh Quli Khan Mahmam (No. 45), he stuck to Bayram to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhûjhar; but after Bayram had been pardoned, he entered Akbar’s service. When Mahdi Qasim Khan, from dislike to Gadh, went by way of the Dakhin to Makkah, H. Kh. accompanied him a short distance on the road. On his return, he reached Satwas in Malwah, when the rebellion of the Mirzâs broke out, and in concert with Muqarrrib Khan, the tuyûldâr of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwas. But Muqarrrib lost heart and fled; and H. Kh. was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrahim Husayn Mirza for an interview. Though urged to join the Mirzâ, H. Kh. remained faithful to Akbar.

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khan Zamân, H. Kh. was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready. In the 13th year his jâgîr was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Badû,oni had been for about a year, to Kânto Gola.1 His exacting behaviour towards Hindûs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much. In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihâr, H. Kh. was again absent; and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hâjîpûr, he confiscated H.’s jâgîr; but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jâgîr, and told him to get his contingent ready. His mania, however, again overpowered him. He made an expedition against Basantpûr in Kamâ, on, 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 Sadîq Khan (No. 43) to him to bring him by force to Court. H. Kh. therefore left Gârh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mun’im Khan, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bârha, and was taken to Faţhpûr Sikrî, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds.

1 Elliot (Index, p. 235, First Edition) has by mistake Lakhnor (on the Râmganga) instead of Lakhnau (in Audh), and he calls Husayn Khan a Kashmiri. This must be an oversight.
The Tabaqāt says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnāma, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yūsuf Khān, was a grandee of Jahāngīr. He served in the Dakhin in the corps of ʿAzīz Kokā (No. 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwīz, the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khān Khānān (Tuzuk p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (vide pp. 344 and 357). Yūsuf's son, ʿIzzat Khān, served under Shāhjahān, (Pādishāhn. II, 121).

54. Murād Khān, son of Amīr Khān Mughul Beg.

His full name is Muḥammad Murād Khān. In the 9th year he served under Āṣaf Khān (No. 48) in Gaḍha Katanga. In the 12th year, he got a jāgīr in Mālwa, and fought under Shihābū ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad against the Mirzās. After the Mirzās had returned to Gujrat, M. got Ujjain as tuyūl.

In the 13th year, the Mirzās invaded Mālwa from Khandesh, and Murād Khān, together with Mīr ʿAzīzū'llah, the Diwān of Mālwa, 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 Qulī Khān (No. 42) to their relief, when the Mirzās retreated to Mandū. Followed up by Qulī and Murād they retreated at last across the Narbaddah.

In the 17th year, the Mirzās broke out in Gujrat, and the jāgīrdārs of Mālwa assembled under the command of M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). Murād held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramaṇān, 980).

In 982, he was attached to Munṣim's expedition to Bengal. He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathābād, Sarkār Boglā (S.E. Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellassore) in Orīsā, after Ḍāʾūd had made peace with Munṣim.

When in 983, after Munṣim's death, Ḍāʾūd fell upon Nazar Bahādur, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Orīsā), and treacherously killed him, Murād wisely retreated to Tānda.1

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathābād, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out. Murād at Fathābād Qiyā Khān in

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1 As Munṣim left Tānahādār in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Ḍāʾūd must have been restricted to Kaṭak proper. Munṣim's invasion of Orīsā was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.

Having mentioned Kaṭak, I may here state that the name "Atak" (Attuck, in the Panjāb) was chosen by Akbar who built the town, because it rhymes with Kaṭak. The two frontier towns of his empire were to have similar names. Akbarnāma.
Orisā, Mirzā Najat 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 Fatehabād 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 Fatehabād, invited Murād’s sons to a feast, and treacherously murdered them.

Vide No. 369.

55. Hāji Muḥammad Khān of Sistān.

He was in the service of Bayrām, who was much attached to him. In 961, when Bayrām held Qandahār, rumours of treason reached Humayūn. The Emperor went from Kābul to Qandahār, and personally investigated the matter, but finding Bayrām innocent, he went back, taking Hāji Muḥammad 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’n (p. 365, note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sūr. Tardi Beg’s (No. 12) defeat by Hemū had a bad effect on the Emperor’s cause; and Mullā Ḥabīb Bālā Makhdūm’l-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 Sawāliks. 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 Muḥammad (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 Dīlū 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 Tarsō 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 Hāji Muhammad 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 Sīh-hazārī. In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chitor, he sent H. M. and Shībābū ’d-Dīn Ahmad (No. 26) from Gāṅrūn against the sons of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Mālwhah. H. M. then received the Sarkār of Mānḍū as jāgīr.

In the 20th year, H. M. accompanied Munṣīm Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Orīsā, and got wounded in the battle of Takarōi (20th Zī Qaṣīdā, 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 Takarōi, 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 Maʿāṣir have تکاروی, and بخاری Takarōi. My copy of the Sāwānīḥ has the former spelling. A few copies of the Akbarnāma have نکروھی Nakrohī. In Badā, onī and the Ṭabaqāt the battle of Takarōi is called the battle of بخاری (vide p. 334) which may be Bajhorah, Bachhorah, Bajhorh, or Bachhorr. Stewart’s account of Munṣīm’s Orīsā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the Akbarnāma and the Ṭabaqāt. He places the battle in the environs of Kaṭak, which is impossible, and his “Bukhtore” is a blunder for جنیسا, “in Chittuā,” the final alif having assumed the shape of a ر re, and the ر that of خ. 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. Tōdār Mal moved from Bardwān over Mādārān 1 into the Pargana of Chittuā (चिट्ठू), where he was subsequently joined by Munṣīm. Dāʿūd had taken up a strong position at حرپور Harpūr or Harīpūr, “which lies intermediate (barzakhe) between Bengal and Orīsā.” The same phrase (barzakhe), in other passages of the Akbarnāma, is applied to Chittuā itself. Dāʿūd’s object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orīsā into which led but few other roads; “but Ilyās Khān Langāh

1 Madārān lies in Jahānābād, a Pargana of the Hūgli district, between Bardwān and Medīnāpur (Midnapore). Regarding the importance and history of this town, vide 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*ūd's position. The battle then takes place (20th Żī Qaṣda, 982, or A.D., 3rd March, 1575). After the battle Toḍar Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak. Not long after, he writes to Munṣim to come and join him, as Dā*ūd had collected his troops near Kaṭak, and the whole army moves to Kaṭak, where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dā*ūd in the possession of Kaṭak.

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 Toḍar 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-Fazl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Orīsā lately published, I found on the road from Midnapūr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmāree 1 (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 Soobanreeka 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 تکروئی, Takaroī, of the Akbarnāma.

The battle extended over a large ground. Bādā,oni (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 جهوره, by which the battle is called in the Tabaqāt and Bādā,oni (II, 194, l. 2). It looks as if the name contained the word chaur which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts.

In Bādā,oni (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 196) and the Tabaqāt, it is said that Toḍar Mal in his pursuit reached الک کلگیا Kalkalgāhī (?), not Bhadrak.

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orīsā, at Gaur, of malaria.


1 Another "Mughulmārī" lies in the Bardwān district between Bardwān and Jahanābād (Hūgli district) on the old high road from Bardwān over Madārān to Midnapūr.


Regarding Turbatī vide No. 37. He was Mushrif (accountant) of Humāyūn’s Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of Mushrif-i Buyūtāt (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 Bahāshī, and got an ṣalam. He was together with Tardi Beg (No. 12) in Dihli, 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 Firdūsī and Ashraf Khān (No. 74), fled from the battlefield, partly from hatred towards Tardi Beg—the old hatred of Khurāsānīs towards Uzbeks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrām. As related above, Tardi 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.

“Nothing else is known of him.” Maṣāṣir.

57. Shāh Beg Khān, son of Irbāhim 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 Dawrān.

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 mansāb. Sh. B. distinguished himself in the war with the Yusufzāis, and got Khushāb as jāṣir. He then served under the Khān Khaṇān 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,

1 The word ṣAli has been omitted in my text edition on p. 224.
2 So the Maṣāṣir. My MSS. of the Aṣīn have حرم ک, which may be Ḥarīk, Harmak, Ḥarbak, etc. Some MSS. read clearly Ḥarmak.
Muzaffar Ḥusayn had ceded. During the time of his Governorship Sh. B. succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar tribe. In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghaznīn 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 (Tuzuk, 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 ʿAbbās for having besieged Qandahār “without orders”, and Ḥusayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege.

When Jahāngīr in 1016 (18th Șafar) visited Kābul,1 Sh. B. paid his respects, was made a Commander of 5,000, and received the title of Khān Dawrān. 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 (Tuz., p. 257), and was appointed Governor of Thatha.3 He resigned, however, in the same year (Tuz., p. 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of Khusbāb 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. Shāh Beg 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 (surhīsāb); but if not, I shall flay them.” Āṣaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

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1 According to the Tuzuk (p. 53), Sh. B. then held the Pargana of Shor as jagīr, regarding which vide Elliot’s Index, first edition, p. 198.
2 The text has șatra, 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 Patna—a confusion of șīa and șī. 
Sh. B. was a frank Turk. When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an ʿaṣal and a naqqāra (p. 52); but on receiving the insinia, he said to Fārid (No. 99), ‘What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my mansab, and a jāgīr, 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 kūknār, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients Chūr Bughrā (p. 63, l. 2), which gave rise to his nickname Chūr Bughrā Khur.


2. Yaʿqūb Beg, son-in-law to Mīrzā Jaʿfar Āṣaf Khān (III), (No. 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse. The Maʿāṣir says, he was a fatalist (azalparast), and died obscure.

3. Asad Beg (Tuz., p. 275), a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse. The Maʿāṣir does not mention him.

The Tuzuk, p. 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khān, a relation of Sh. B. This is perhaps the same as No. 350.

Shāḥbeg 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—

كلاد گوشت دارویش برغلک مايد که سايه همچون تو شاهي فکند برسر او

“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 extempore:—

برجاحم از تو هرهچه رسد جامد، منست است گراناک جفالت و از رکابوست

1 For Chalma, the MSS. of the Â’in have, at this place, Haliṃ. In No. 100, the same name occurs. The Maʿāṣir and good MSS. of the Akbarnāma have Chalmah. Turkish dictionaries give chalmah (جلمه) in the meaning of wild goat’s dung and chalma (جمال) in that of dastar, a turban.

In the Edit. Bibl. Indica of Bādā, oni, Khān ʿAlam is wrongly called خان ʿعالم, instead of خان ʿعالم.
“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 Mecca; 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 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 Sarnal (p. 353, No. 27).

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Daud in Patna, Khan 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 Munisim’s corps. In the battle of Takaroa (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 Munisim sent him an angry order to fall back. But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gujar Khan, Daud’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 Zi Qasda, 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 Hamdami (in allusion to the name of his father).

A brother of his, Muqaffar, is mentioned below (No. 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for مقیس, in my Text edition, p. 229, read عالم.
59. Qāsim Khān, Mir Bāhr Chamanārāī (? ) Khurāsān.1

He is the son of Mirzā Dost’s sister, who was an old servant of the Timūrids. When Mirzā Kamrān 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, Khwājagī Muhammad 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 krosh 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 gaz. It is built of red sandstone, the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them. The foundation everywhere reaches water”.2

In the 23rd year, Q. was made Commander of Āgra. In the beginning of Shābān 995 (32nd year), he was ordered to conquer Kashmir, “a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dīlū.” 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 Yaqūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Khān Chak. He had fortified a pass;3 but as his rule was disliked, a portion of his men went over to Q., whilst others raised a revolt in Surinagar. Thinking it more important to crush the revolt, Yaqūb 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 chaman-ārāy Khurāsān, “Ruler of Khurāsān.” The Maṣʿūdī, not knowing what to do with it, has left it out. Mir Bāhr means “admiral”. If chamanārāt Kh. 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 Bar, 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 (Bad. I. 429). It suffered much during the earthquake of 911 (3rd Safr), and was nearly destroyed during an explosion which happened in 962.

The Fort Badalgarh 绂烯, not 绂烯, which Elliot (Index, First Edit., p. 229) identifies with the Fort of Āgra, cannot be the old Fort of Āgra, because Badal, oni (I. 327) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwaliyar, not “one of the Forts dependent on Gwaliyar”.

For Udantgīr, on the same page in Elliot, read Utgar (وعقر). It was a Fort in the Sarkār of Mandalā, on the left side of the Chambal. Our maps have Oogir or Deogir.

3 Called in the MSS. كول چول. The word kutul, means “a mountain” or “a mountain-pas.” [Bad. II. 353, كول چول—B.]
but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became “a servant of Akbar”. The Kasmirís, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country. Q., tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (vide No. 35). In the 34th year he was made Governor of Kábul. At that time a young man from Andaján (Farghána) gave out that he was a son of Sháhrúkh.¹ He met with some success in Badakhshán, but was defeated by the Túrán Sháh. The pretender then made friendship with the Zábúli Hazáras, 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 Háshim Beg, Q.’s son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazáras. But Háshim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kábul. Q., on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service. The pretender, in the meantime, 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). Háshim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men. In the mêlée, the murderer was killed.

For Qásim’s brother, vide No. 241, and for his son, No. 226.

60. Báqí Kháń (elder), brother of Adham Kháń (No. 19).

His mother is the same Máhum Anaga, mentioned on p. 340. “From Badá,oni (II, 340) we learn that Báqí Kháń died in the 30th year as Governor of Gádha-Katangá.” This is all the Má’ásir says of him.

His full name is Muḥammad Báqí Kháń Koka. From Badá,oni II, 81, we see that Báqí Kháń took part in the war against Iskandár Kháń and Bahádur Kháń (972–3), and fought under Muḥizzu’l-Mulk (No. 61)

¹ In 1016 another false son of Mirzá Sháhrúkh (p. 326) created disturbances and asked Jahángír for assistance against the Túránís.

The fate of Mirzá Sháhrúkh’s second son, Mirzá Husáyn, is involved in obscurity. He ran away from Burhánpúr, went to sea and to Persia, from where he went to Badakhshán. People say that he is still alive (1016); but no one knows whether this new pretender is Sháhrúkh’s son or not. Sháhrúkh left Badakhshán about twenty-five years ago, and since then the Badakhshís have set up several false Mirzá, in order to shake off the yoke of the Uzbaks. This pretender collected a large number of Uymáqs (p. 371, note 2) and Badakhshí Mountaineers, who go by the name of Gharjás [ timeZone], whence Gharjísán, and took from the Uzbaks 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 Badakhshán. Several false Mirzá have since been killed; but I really think their race will continue as long as a trace of Badakhshís remain on earth.” Tuzuk i-Jahángírí, 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 Ḥusayn Khān Tukriya (No. 53) had personal grievances—their Uzbak hatred—against Muṣīzū l'-Mulk and Rāja Toḍar Mal.

61. Mir Muṣīzū l'-Mulk-i Mūsawī of Mashhād.

He belongs to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhād the Holy, who trace their descent to Ālī Mūsā Razā, the 8th Imām of the Shīʿahs. A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called Razawī.

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpur to punish Khān Zamān (No. 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahādur and Iskandar Khān Uzbak (No. 48) to the district of Sarwar. 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 Lashkar Khān (No. 90) and Rāja Toḍar 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 Toḍar 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. Mūḥammad 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

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1 Most MSS. have Sardār. The Edil. Bibl. Indica of Bada, on p. 78, has Sardār; but again, on p. 83. There is no doubt that the district got its name from the Sar River (آسار آباد).  
2 Bada, oni says Toḍar Mal's arrival was "naphkā on Muṣīzū l'-Mulk's fire". Throughout his work, Bada, oni shows himself an admirer of Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur. With Muṣīzū l'-Mulk a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, he has no patience. "Muṣīzū l'-Mulk's ideas," he says, were "I and nobody else"; he behaved as proudly as Firzān and Shaddād; for pride is the inheritance of all Sayyids of Mashhād. Hence people say: "Ahl-i Mashhād ba-juz Imām-i šumā, lānati lāh bar tomām-i šumā," "O people of Mashhād, with the exception of your Imām (Mūsā Razā), 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 Mashhād vanished from the surface of the earth."
centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (*vide* No. 60). Tōdar 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 Maṣṣūm-i Kābuli, *tuyūlādīr* of Patna, rebelled. They won over M. M., and his younger brother Mīr ʿAlī Akbar (No. 62); but both soon left the rebels, and M. M. went to Jaunpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others. In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, *jāgīrdār* of Mānīkpūr, to hasten to Jaunpūr 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 “founded,” and M. M. lost his life.

62. Mīr 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 Ghīyāṣʿu ʿd-Dir. 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 Jalālīn ʿDīn Muḥammad Akbar. This Mawlūd-nāma Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mīr ʿAlī Akbar with a pargana^{1} as *inṣām*.

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 Ghāzīpur (*vide* p. 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpūr. After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M. 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 Ghaznīn. After Bayrām’s fall, he held a *tuyūl* in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mīr Muḥammad Khān (No. 16).

On the transfer of the Atga Khayl 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), Muḥāhid Khān, Subḥān Quli Turk, against the Rānā. He afterwards distinguished

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^{1} Called in the *Muṣīr* (though it cannot be Nuddia in Bengal); in my copy of the *Sawāniḥ*; but Nadinah in Sambhal appears to be meant.
himself in the conquest of Kōbthalmír. In the 25th year, he was made 
adāḥiq to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālwah as 
Governor, Shujāʿat Khān (No. 51) having been killed. His son Bāz 
Bahādūr (No. 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrāt. In the 
28th year, he served against Muẓaffar, and distinguished himself in 
the siege of Bahrōch, which was held for Muẓaffar by Chirkis-i Rūmī and 
Naṣīrā, brother of Muẓaffar’s wife. The former having been killed, 
Naṣīrā escaped in the 7th month of the siege, through the trench held by 
Sharīf, and the Fort was taken. In the 30th year, he was sent with 
Shihābū ’d-Dīn (No. 26) to the Dakhin, to assist Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21). 

In the 35th year he went from Mālwah to Court, and was made in 
the 39th year Governor of Ghaznūn, 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 Bahādūr (No. 188), held a jāgīr in Gujrāt, and was trans-
ferred to Mālwah as related above. He served in the siege of Āsīr, and 
in the Aḥmadnagar war. In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingahs, 
but was released, when Abū ’l-Faẓl made peace, and the prisoners were 

exchanged.

IX.—Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred.

64. Ibrāḥīm Khān-i Shaybānī (uncle of Khān Zamān, No. 13).

He served under Humāyūn. After the conquest of Hindūstān, 
Humāyūn sent him with Shāh Abū ’l-Maṣāli to Lāhor, to oppose Sikandar 
Sūr, should he leave the Sawāliks. After the fall of Mānkoṭ, he received 
the Pargana of Sarharpūr, near Jaunpūr, as jāgīr, and remained with 
Khān Zamān. During Khān Zamān’s first rebellion, Ibrāḥīm Khān and 
Khān Zamān’s mother repaired at Munṣīm Khān’s request to Court as 
hostages of his loyalty. Ibrāḥīm 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 Ibrāḥīm 
got with Iskandar (No. 48) to Audh. When the latter had gone to 
Bengal, Ibrāḥīm, at Munṣīm’s request, was pardoned, and remained with 
the Khān Khānān.

1 It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badāoni II. 23, where Sarharpūr, 
which “lies 18 kos from Jaunpūr”, is mentioned as the jāgīr of Abī ’r-Rahmān, Sikandar 
Sūr’s son, who got it after the surrender of Mānkoṭ.
In the Ṭabaqāt, Ibr. is called a Commander of Four Thousand.

His son, Ismā'īl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Audh. In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sūltān Husayn Khān Jalā’īr. Ismā'īl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khān Zamān; but he was defeated and killed.


The MSS. of the Ā’in have Muḥammad, instead of Maḥmūd, which other histories have, and have besides a word after Maḥmūd which reads like بجوع the scriptio defectiva of the Turkish بجوع bujuq, “having the nose cut,” as given in the copy of the Ma’āṣīr.

Jalā’ī ‘d-Dīn was in the service of M. Askarī. He had sent him from Qandahār to Gāmsīr, to collect taxes, when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia. The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humāyūn conferred on him the title of Mīr Sāmān, which 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 Ghaznīn, 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 Ghaznīn. His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munṣīm Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge. Jalāl soon found his post in Ghaznīn so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere. He had scarcely left Ghaznīn, when Munṣīm called him to account. Though he had promised to spare his life, Munṣīm 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, Munṣīm’s men caught him and his son, Jalā’ī ‘d-Dīn Masʻūd. Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munṣīm.

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munṣīm’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 Jalā’ī ‘d-Dīn Masʻūd mentioned in Tuzuk, p. 67, who “ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother”.
66. Ḥāydar Muḥammad Khān, Akhṭa Begī.
He was an old servant of Ḥumāyūn, and accompanied him to Persia. He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Bālkh, Ḥumāyūn’s horse had been shot. On the march against Kāmrān, who had left Kābul for Afghānistān, the imperialists came to the River Surkhāb, Ḥāydar, with several other faithful Amīrs, leading the van. They reached the river Siyāh-āb, which flows near the Surkhāb, before the army could come up. Kāmrān suddenly attacked them by night; but Ḥāydar bravely held his ground. He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahār and to India, and was appointed to Bayānah (Bad. I, 463), which was held by Ghāzi Khān Sūr, father of Ibrāhīm Khān. After the siege had lasted some time, Ḥāydar allowed Ghāzi to capitulate; but soon after, he killed Ghāzi. Ḥumāyūn was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Ḥāydar do so again.

After Akbar’s accession, Ḥ. was with Tārdī Beg (No. 12) in Dihlī, and fought under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. After the victory, he went for some reason to Kābul. At Munṣīm’s request he assisted Ghānī Khān (vide p. 333) in Kābul. But they could not agree, and Ḥ. was called to India. He accompanied Munṣīm in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kābul and continued to serve under him in India.

In the 17th year, Ḥ. served with Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) in Gujrāt. In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mīrzā Quli, attached to the Bengal Army, under Munṣīm. Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaūr (vide p. 407).

A son of Ḥ. is mentioned below (No. 326).

Mīrzā Quli, or Mīrzā Quli Khān, Ḥāydar’s brother, distinguished himself under Ḥumāyūn during the expedition to Bādakhšān. When Kāmrān, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Ḥumāyūn, M. Q. was wounded and thrown off his horse. His son, Dost Muḥammad, saved him in time.

According to the Ṭabaqāt, M. Q. belonged to the principal grandees (umarā-i kibār), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand. His name occurs also often in the Akbarnāma. It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abū ’l-Faṣl in this list.

67. Iṣṭimād Khān, of Gujrāt.
He must not be confounded with No. 119.
Iṣṭimād Khān was originally a Hindū servant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, king of Gujrāt. He was “trusted” (iṣṭimād) 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. Iṣṭimād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sultān Maḥmūd having died without issue, Iṣt. raised Raẓīyū ’l-Mulk, under the title of Aḥmad Shāh, to the throne. Raẓī was a son of Sultān Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadābād; but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in Iṣt.’s hands. Five years later, the young king left Aḥmadābād, and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Būkharā,1 a principal courtier; but Iṣt. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sultān Aḥmad then thought it better to return to Iṣt., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister; and Iṣt. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. Iṣt. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (ناطع) 2 to the throne, “who did not belong to the line of kings”; but on introducing him to the grandees, Iṣt. swore upon the Qurʾān that Nathū was a son of Sultān Maḥmūd; his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sultān 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 Sultān Muẓaffar.

This is the origin of Sultān Muẓaffar, who subsequently caused Akbar’s generals so much trouble (vide pp. 344, 354, 355).

Iṣt. 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. Iṣt. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khān, son of Iṣṭimādu ’l-Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sultān Muẓaffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state; and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mīrzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, Iṣt. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sultān, and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alīf Khān and Jhujhār Khān took Sultān Muẓaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Aḥmadābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mīrzās, seeing how distracted the country was, took possession of Bahūrō and Şurat. The general confusion only increased, when Sultān Muẓaffar fled one day to Sher Khān Fūlādī and

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1 Regarding this distinguished Gujrātī noble, vide the biography of his grandson, S. Hāmid (No. 78).
2 Some MSS. read Naḥū.
his party, and 1st. retaliated by informing Sher Khān that Nathū was no prince at all. But Sher Khān’s party attributed this to 1st.’s malice, and besieged him in Aḥmadābād. 1st. then fled to the Mīrzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujráṭ.

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khān’s party had broken up. The Mīrzās still held Bahrōch; and Sulțān Muẓaffar, who had left Sher Khān, fell into the hands of Akbar’s officers (vide No. 361). Iṣtimād and other Gujráṭi 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, Champānīr, and Sūrat were given to Iṣt. as tuyūl; 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 Iṣtimād’s 1-Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Iṣt. and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Iṣt. fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) as prisoner.

In the 20th year, Iṣt. 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 Mīr Abū Turāb (vide p. 207) went to Makkah. On his return he received Patan as jāgīr.

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shīhāb’s d-Dīn Aḥmad (No. 26), he was put in charge of Gujráṭ, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles, though Akbar had been warned; for people remembered Iṣt.’s former inability to allay the factions in Gujráṭ. No sooner had Shīhāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled. Iṣt. did nothing, alleging that Shīhāb was responsible for his men; but as Sulțān Muẓaffar had been successful in Kāthīwār, Iṣt. left Aḥmadābād, and went to Shīhāb, who on his way to Court had reached Kārī, 20 kos from Aḥmadābād. Muẓaffar used the opportunity and took Aḥmadābād, Shīhāb’s men joining his standard.

Shīhāb and Iṣt. then shut themselves up in Patan, and had agreed to withdraw from Gujráṭ, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujráṭīs who had left Muẓaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists. Iṣt. paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khān, against Sher Khān Fūłādī, who was repulsed. In the meantime, M. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm (No. 29) arrived. Leaving Iṣt. at Patan, he marched with Shīhāb against Muẓaffar.

Iṣtimād died at Patan in 995. The Fābaqāt puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand.
In Abū 'l-Faẓl’s opinion, Gujrātīs are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness; and Iṣṭimād was the very type of a Gujrātī.

68. Pāyanda Khān, Mughul, son of Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān Koki’s brother.

Ḥāji Muḥammad and Shāh Muḥammad, his brother, had been killed by Humāyūn for treason on his return from Persia. Ḥāji 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 Mālwā. 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. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm’s (No. 29) harāswal.

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorāghāt as jāgīr, whither he went.

This is all the Maʾāṣir 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., Jahāṅgīr, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old. Tuz., p. 68.

69. Jagannāth, son of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharaftuʾd-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, Jagannāṭ’h 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 jāgīr in the Panjāb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from invading the Panjāb. In the 29th year, he again served against the Rānā. Later he accompanied Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35) to Kashmīr. In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murād in Kābul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mālwā, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor. In the 43rd year, after several years’ service in the Dakhin, he left Murād without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court. On Akbar’s return from the Dakhin, J. met the emperor at Rantānbūr, his jāgīr, and was then again sent to the Dakhin.

In the 1st year of Jahāṅgīr, 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 Nagor.

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse.

Rām Chand,1 his son. He was under Jahāngīr a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse.

Rāja Manrūp, a son of Rām Chand. He accompanied Prince Shāhjāhān on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2,000 horse. He died in the 4th year of Shāhjāhān. He had a son Gopāl Singh.

70. Makhṣūs Khan (younger), brother of Sa'īd Khan (No. 25).

He served under his brother in Multān. In the 23rd year, he served under Shāh Chāz Khan (No. 80) against Gajpati, 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 Ḥakim.

Subsequently, Makhṣūs served under Prince Salim. 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 Mā'āṣir 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 manṣab.

71. The author of the Ā'īn, Abū 'l-Fāzīl, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nagor.

Abū 'l-Fāzīl’s biography will be found elsewhere.

X. Commanders of Two Thousand.

72. Ismā'īl Khan Duldāy.

Duldāy, or Duldāy, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlās clan (vide p. 364, note).

The Mā'āṣir calls him Ismā'īl Quli Beg Duldāy. A similar difference was observed in the name of Ḥusayn Quli Khan (No. 24), and we may conclude that Beg, at least in India, was considered a lower title than Khan, just as Beglar Begi was considered inferior to Khan Khanān.

Ismā'īl Quli 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. 'Askarī, 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 Pādishāhānāma, I, b. 318.
When Kābul was besieged, Ism. and Khizr Khwāja (vide p. 394, note) attacked Sher ʿAli, an officer of Mīrzā Kāmrān, who at the prince's order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (qāfīla-yi-wilāyat) on its way to Chārīkān; 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 spoilt 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 Mīrzā 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 Dihlī together with Shāh Abū ʿl-Maṣūlī to Lāhor.

"Nothing else is known of him." Maṣūrī.

73. Mir Babus (?), the Īghur (Uighur ?).

The Īghurs 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 Maṣūrī has left out the name of this grandee; nor do I find it in the List of the Tabaqāt.

74. Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshi, Muḥammad Aṣghār, of Sabzwar (?)

He was a Ḥusaynī Sayyid of Mashhad (Maṣūrī, Mīr-ātū ʿl-Ṣālam). The author of the Tabaqāt says, he belonged to the ʿArabshāhī Sayyids; "but people rarely make such fine distinctions." Abū ʿl-Faḍl says, he was of Sabzwar; but in the opinion of the Maṣūrī, 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 Taṣīiq and Nastaṣīiq character (pp. 107–8). He also understood jafr, or witchcraft.2

Ashraf was in Humāyūn's service, and had received from him the post and title of Mīr Munshi. After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mīr ʿArz and Mīr Mal. At Akbar's accession, he was in Dihlī, 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 Māchhiwāra on his way to the Siwālikis where Bayrām

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1 So the Maṣūrī. Our maps have Charīkār (lat. 35°, long. 69), which lies north of Kābul, and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade. Istāḥf (اِسْتَاهْف), or (اِسْتَاهْف) lies half-way between Kābul and Charīkār. [Downs, v., 225, has Charīkārān.—B.]

2 Jafr 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 Takaroi, and died in the twentieth year (983) at Gaur (vide p. 407).

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions.
His son, Mīr Abū ʾl-Muẓaffar (No. 240) held a Command of 500. In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh.

Ashraf’s grandsons, Ḥusaynī and Burhānī held inferior commands under Shāhjahān.

75. Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bārha (Kūndliwāl).
“Sayyid Maḥmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Timūrids.” He was with Sikandar Sūr (Badāʾ,onī II, 18) in Māṅkot, 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 ʿAlī Quli Khān Zamān (No. 13) against Hemū. In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hājjī Khān in Ajmīr (vide Nos. 40, 45). In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shāh Quli Mahram (No. 45) For Jaitārān,2 and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadauriyāhs of Hatkānṭh (vide p. 341, l. 8).

After Bayrām’s fall, Sayyid Maḥmūd got a jāgīr near Dīlī. 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 Gujrāt, was present in the battle of Sarmāl, and followed up Mīrzā Ibrāhīm 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 Rāja Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyār. S. Maḥmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981.

Sayyid Maḥmūd 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 Mīrāt says in the tenth year (973), as stated on p. 101, note 6. This is clearly a mistake of the author of the Mīrāt.
2 The best MSS. have چیتار. The name is doubtful. Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmīr over Pāli to Jālor.
"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 pādīshāhī) accompanied you." Mistaking the word "Iqbāl" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Maḥmūd, "Iqbāl-i Pādīshāhī 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 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 Maḥmūd 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 Maḥmūd 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 Maḥmūd's brother and sons, vide Nos. 91, 105, and 143.

Note on the Sayyids of Bārha (Sādāt-i Bārha).

In MSS. we find the spelling بارہ, and بار. The lexicographer Bahār-i Ājam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled Jawāhiru 'l-Hurūf, says that the names of Indian towns ending in form adjectives in تابو, as تابو, Tatta or تابو Thatha, forms an adjective تابو: but of بالا no adjective is formed, and you say sādāt-i bārha instead of sādāt-i bārhave.

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 Tabāqāt and the Tuzuk derive the name from 12 villages in the Du,āb (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held.

Like the Sayyids of Bilgrām, the Bārha family trace their origin to one Sayyid Abū 'l-Farāh of Wāsī; but their nasabnāma, 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

1 "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmān families in Northern India, the Bārha and Belgrām Sayyids, and in Khīrābād, Futtēbār Hūsā, and many other places. branches of the same stem are found." C. A. Elliot, The Chronicles of Onao, Allahabad, 1802, p. 93.
nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung 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-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 (harāval); 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 Amrohah, of Mānikpur, the Khānzādas of Mewāt, and even families of royal blood as the Šafawīs.

The Sayyids of Bārha are divided into four branches, whose names are 1. Tihānpūrī; 2. Chatbanūrī or Chātraurī; 3. Kūndīwāl; 4. Jangērī. The chief town of the first branch was Jānsath; of the second, Sambalhaṛa; of the third, Majhaṛa; of the fourth Biḍaulī on the Jamna. Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians, perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz., the Kūndīwāl to which Sayyid Maḥmūḍ (No. 75) belonged; and the Tihānpūrī, 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 Maḥmūḍ 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-Faẓl’s statement that Sayyid Maḥmūḍ was the first that served under a Timuride.

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muḥammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid Abū ‘l-Īlah Khān and Sayyid Ḥusayn Āli Khān, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Maḥmūḍ and Akbar, and the above two

brothers, who made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three.¹

The Sayyids of Bārha are even nowadays numerous and “form the characteristic element in the population of the Muṣaffarnagar district” (Leeds’ Report).

Abū 'l-Fazl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees, viz.:—

2. Sayyid Ahmad, his brother (No. 91). 7. Sayyid Chajhū (No. 221).
5. Sayyid Rājū (No. 165).

The Akbarnāma mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong. Thus S. Jamālū 'd-Dīn, a grandson of S. Maḥmūd (vide under 91); S. Sālim; S. Fāṭḥ Khān (Bad. II, 180); etc.

The following trees are compiled from the Tuzuk, Pādishāhnāma, and Maṭāsīr.

(a) Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha, Kūndliwāl. — Sayyid Ahmad, his brother. (No. 91).


d. 1025. S. Jamālū 'd-Dīn

1. S. Ādam, Tuz. S. Bāyazid. 2. S. Sulaymān, 1. S. Muṣaffar, Himmat Khān, Pād. II, 735

80, 102 (twice). (No. 296?) Pād. II, 735.


(b) Sayyid Dilīr Khān (Ṣāḥib 'l-Wahhāb), d. 1042.


(c) Sayyid Hizâbr Khān, d. 1047. — Sayyid Ālam, his brother. Perished with Prince Shujā' in Rakhang (Arracan).

S. Zabardast.

¹ They made Farrukh Siyar, Raṣūl 'd-Darajāt, Raṣūl 'd-Dawla and Muhammad Shāh emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes Āczizzu 'd-Dīn, Āli Tabār, and Humāyūn Balkh.
(d) Sayyid Khān Jahān-i Shāhjahānī, Tīhanpūrī—a brother.

(aliases S. ʿAbduʾl-Muẓaffar Khān), d. 1935.


The Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 312, 319; II, p. 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S. Mākhān, d. 9th year of Shāhjahān; S. Sikhan; S. ʿAbduʾl-Īlāh; S. Muḥammad, son of S. Afzal; S. Khādīm; S. Sālār; S. Shīhāb.

(e) Sayyid Qāsim, Shahāmat Khān [Chātraufi]—a brother
   (was alive in the 24th year of Awarangzīb).

1. S. Nuṣrat Yār Khār.
   (under Muḥammad Shāh).

(f) Sayyid Ḥusayn Khān, d. 1120.


(g) Sayyid ʿAbduʾl-Īlāh Khān [Tīhanpūrī],
   alias Sayyid Miymān (under Shāh ʿAlam I.)

   'l-Mulk S. ʿAbduʾl-Īlāh Khān. (killed by Muḥammad Shāh).

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 Sādāt-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 Wāsīt is doubtful. The two MSS. mention the time of Ilitimitish (Altamsh), and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulāgū’s invasion of Baghdād 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 Shīhāb ʿl-Dīn Ghori—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 mauza of Tīhanpūr.
2. Sayyid Abū ʿl-Faḍl, who settled in the qaṣba of Chhatbanūrā (چہت بنور).
3. Sayyid Abū 'l-Fażāsīl, who settled in the mawṣaṣ of Kūndī.
4. Sayyid Najmū 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, who settled in the mawṣaṣ of Ḫujar.

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 Chhatbanūrī, the name of the second branch, the MSS. have also Chhātraudi or Jagnerī instead of Ḫujarī, 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 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 hāshas, as the Sayyids were Shi'a hāshas; some derive it from twelve (bārah) villages which the family held, just as the district of Balandshahr, Taḥṣil Anūpshahr, is said to contain a bārha of Paṭhāns, i.e. 12 villages belonging to a Paṭhān family; and others, lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic abrār, pious.

The descendants of S. Dā'ūd settled at Dhāsrī; and form the Tihanpurī branch, those of S. Abū 'l-Fażīl at Sambalhaṛa, and form the Chhatbanūrī or Chhātrauri branch; those of S. Abū 'l-Fażāsīl went to Majhaṛa, and are the Kūndliwāls; and those of S. Najmū 'd-Dīn occupied Bīdauli, and form the Ḫujarī, or Jagnerī branch.

A. The Tihanpurīs.

The eighth descendant of S. Dā'ūd was S. Khān Qir (؟) (خان قیر).

He had four sons:—

1. Sayyid ʿUmar Shahīd, who settled in Jānsaṭh, a village then inhabited by Jāts and Brahmans. To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p. 428 (g).

The occurrence of the name ʿUmar shows that he, at any rate, was no Shi'aḥ.

2. Sayyid Chaman, who settled at Chatora (چطورہ), in the Pargana of Joli-Jānsaṭh. To his descendants belongs S. Jalāl, who during the reign

[1] Plural.—P.

[2] The word Qir occurs also in the lists of Paṭhān nobles in the Tāriḵ-i Farūzshāḥi. The title of qirbāḵ, which is mentioned in the same work, appears to be the same as the later qirbāḵ or qurbegī, the officer in charge of the qir (p. 116). But the name Khān Qir is perhaps wrong; the MS. calls him Khwān Fir or Khwān Qir (؟).
of Shāhjahān  

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 ʿAlī and ʿAlī 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 ʿṢālāḥ Khān, who served in Audh, and died childless.

3. Sayyid Ḥunā. He settled at Bihārī, Muẓaffarnagar. He had six sons:

I. Sayyid Qutb, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspūr in the Muẓaffarnagar District. From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids.

II. S. Sultān, whose descendants hold Sirdhāoli.²

III. S. Yūsuf, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS. reads Dubalna).

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. Maṣūr, built Maṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Maṣūrpūr and Khātauli; his second son Muẓaffar Khān [Sher Zamān] built Muẓaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved.

4. Sayyid Aḥmad. He settled at Ḥamā in Jolī-Jānsāth, where his descendants still are. The MSS. mention Tātār Khān, and Diwān Yār, Muḥammad Khān as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangzib.

B. The Chhatbanūrī, or Chhāṭraurī, Clan.

One of the descendants of S. Abū ʿl-Faḍl is called S. Ḥasan Fakhr ʿd-Dīn who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalṭara, the rājas of which place were on friendly terms with the family. His son, S. Naddah, is said to have had four sons:

I. Sayyid ʿAlī.

II. Sayyid Aḥmad, a descendant of whom, S. Rawshan ʿAlī Khān, served under Muḥammad Shāh.

¹ The Pādīshāhīnāma, though very minute, does not mention S. Jalāl and S. Shams. A S. Jalāl is mentioned Tuz., p. 30. He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwāl (vide No. 99).

² Sandhā,olt ?—F.]
III. S. Taj"u 'd-Din, whose son, S. 'Umar settled at Kakrauli.

IV. S. Sálār (perhaps the same on p. 428d, last line of) who had two sons S. Ḥaydar Kháń, and S. Muḥammad Kháń. The descendants of the former settled at Mīrānpūr, which was founded by Nawab S. Shahāmat Kháń, evidently the same as on p. 428. S. Muḥammad Kháń settled at Khatora ("a village so called, because it was at first inhabited by Kháń,itha"). Among his descendants are S. Nuṣrat Yār Kháń (p. 428) and Rukn"u 'd-Dawla.

C. The Kûndlīwāls.

S. Abū 'l-Faẓāil settled at Majhara,1 which is said to have been so called because the site was formerly a jungle of mūnī grass. The MSS. say that many Sayyids of the branch are mafqūd" khābar, i.e. it is not known what became of them. The Kûndlīwāls which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhara1 being altogether deplorable.

The Kûndlīwāls are now scattered over Majhara,1 Hāshimpūr, Tisang,2 Tandera, etc.

D. The Jagnerīs.

The son of S. Najm"u 'd-Din, S. Qamar"u 'd-Din, settled at Bīḍaulī. A descendant of his, S. Fakh"u 'd-Din, left Bīḍaulī and settled at Yalī in Joli-Jānsāth, and had also zamīndāris in Chandaurī Chandaura, Tulsīpūr, and Khari. Nowadays many of this branch are in Bīḍaulī, Ḥāqa Pānīpat, and Dihli.

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bārha still exist are Mīrānpūr, Khatauli, Mużaffarnagar, Joli, Tis-ha, Bakhera, Majhara, Chataura, Sambalhara, Tisang, Bilāspūr, Morna, Sandhā,oli, Kailā,odha, Jānsāth.

[1 On maps Munjherah.—B.]
[2 As this place is said to have been founded by Hīzabr Kháń [p. 427 (c.)] it would seem as if this Sayyid also was a Kûndlīwal. His brother, S. Ālam 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 Mughuls.

The value of the above-mentioned two Urdu MSS. lies in their geographical details and traditional information. A more exhaustive History of the Sādāt-i Bārha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India—now so accessible—and completed from inscriptions and sanads and other documents still in the possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History, and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves.

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kûndlīwāls, who are the very opposite of Mafqūd" khābar.
After the overthrow of the Tihanpūrī brothers (p. 428, (g)), many emigrated. Sayyids of Bārha exist also in Lakhnau, Bareli, Āwla, in Audh; also in Nagina, Maiman, and Chandpūr in the Bijnor district. A branch of the Joli Sayyids is said to exist in Purīna (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint ʾAbdul ʾIlāh Kirmānī of Bīrbhūm 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 Elphinstone, Vth edition, p. 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhainsī (بہائیسی), 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. ʾAbdul ʾIlāh Khān Mughul.

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the Maṣāṣir or the Tabaqāt. He has been mentioned above, p. 322, l. 10. Akbar’s marriage with his daughter displeased Bayrām, because ʾAbdul ʾIlāh’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 Abdul ʾIlāh defeated a party of his friends under Wali Beg (No. 24).

ʾAbdul ʾIlāh Khān Mughul must not be confounded with ʾAbdul ʾIlāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14).

77. Shaykh Muḥammad-i Bukhārī.

He was a distinguished Hindūstānī Sayyid, and paternal uncle (tughāi(?)) to Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99). Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness. Fattū Khāṣa Khayl Afghān handed over the Fort of Chanār to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaykh Muḥammad.

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a tuyūl in Ajmīr, and ordered him to take charge of Shaykh Muṣin-i Chishti’s tomb, as the khādīms 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 ʾAziz (No. 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Aḥmadābād. After the Emperor’s victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā joined Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and ʾĀqīl Mīrzā, at Patan (Gujrāt); but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Āgra. The other
three Mirzâs remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fûlâdî party (vide No. 67). Mirzâ Azîz had been reinforced by the Mâlwa contingent under Quṭbū' d-Dîn (No. 28), Shâh Budâgh (No. 52), and Mâlîb Khân (No. 83). His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykhw M., whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dhulqa to Sûrat. Mirzâ Azîz Koca left Sayyid Hâmîd (No. 78) in Ahmadâbâd, and moved against the Mirzâs in Patan. The Mirzâs and Sher Khan Fûlâdî, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khan sent proposals of peace through Shaykhw M. to M. Azîz. Shâh Budâgh advised M. Azîz not to listen to them, as the enemies only wished to gain time, and Azîz drew up his army. He himself, Shâh Budâgh, Muṣînâ' d-Dîn-i Farânhûdî (No. 128), Mâṣûm Khân and his son, and Mâlîb Khân (No. 83) stood in the centre (gol); Quṭbū' d-Dîn (No. 28), and Jamâlû'd-Dîn Injû (No. 164), on the right wing; Shaykhw Muḥammad, Murâd Khân (No. 54), Shâh Muḥammad (No. 95), Shâh Fakhrû' d-Dîn (No. 88), Muẓaffar Muğhul, Pâyanda (No. 68), Ḥâji Khân Afgân, and the son of Khawâ Khân, on the left wing; Dâstâm Khân (No. 79), Nawrang Khân (vide p. 351), Muḥammad Quli-toqâbâi (No. 129), and Mihr Azâli Sîldzâ (No. 130), led the van (harâcâ'); Bâz Bâhâdur (No. 188) occupied the Altîmash (between the van and the commander); and Mirzâ Muqîm and Chartâs Khân formed the reserve behind the centre. The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khân Fûlâdî and Junayd-i Kararâni; the right wing by the three Mirzâs; the left wing by Muḥammad Khân (Sher Khân's eldest son) and Sâdât Khân; and their van was led by Badr Khân, younger son of Sher Khân. The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramazân, 980 (22nd January, 1573). The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mirzâs. Murâd Khân (No. 54) preferred to look on. Shâh Muḥammad (No. 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadâbâd. Shaykhw Muḥammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahâ'u' d-Dîn, and Sayyid Ja'far, brother of Shaykhw Farîd (No. 99). The Mirzâs also fell upon Shâh Fakhrū' d-Dîn and repulsed him. Quṭbû' d-Dîn even was hard pressed, when M. Azîz 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 Khân fled to Jûnâgâd, and the Mirzâs to the Dakhîn.

78. Sayyid Hâmîd-i Bukhârî.

Sayyid Hâmîd was the son of S. Mirân, son of S. Mubârik. Sayyid Mubâarak was a Gujrâti 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 Khân (No. 67) raised Nathû to the throne, under the title of Mumazzar 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 Hamid.

When Akbar, on his invasion of Gujrat, arrived on 1st Rajab, 980, at Patan, Sayyid Hamid went over to him, and was favourably received. During the war of Mirzâ Ḥazīz Koka with the Mirzâs (vide No. 77), S. H. was put in charge of Ahmaddâbâd. In the 18th year, Dholqa and Dandoqa were again given him as tuyûl. Subsequently, he served under Qutb Ad-Dîn in Kambhâ, it.

In the 22nd year he was appointed to Multân, and served in the end of the same year with M. Yusuf Khân-i Razawi (No. 35), against the Balûchis. In the 25th year, when M. Muhammed Ĥakim invaded Lâhor, S. H. with the other tuyûldârs 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 from Sirhind to his jâgir.

In the 30th year he served under Mân Singh in Kâbul. On his arrival at Peshâwar, his jâgir, S. H. sent most of his men to Hindûstân, and lived securely in Bigrâm (on our Maps, Beqhrîm), leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Mûsa. This man oppressed the Mahmand and Gharbah (?), Khayl tribes, "who have ten thousand homes near Peshâwar." The oppressed Afghâns, instead of complaining to Akbar, chose Jalalâ-yi Tarikî 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 Maṭâşir says he was killed in 993. In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished. The Afghâns then besieged the Fort, which was held by Kamal, 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 Hazârîship. He was made Governor of Dîlîh, vice Shaykh ṬAbî 'l-Wahhâb, also a Bukhârî Sayyid (Tuz. p. 35, l. 8 from below). Kamâl served under Farid-i Bukhârî (No. 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusrâw, and commanded
the left wing in the fight near Bhairōwāl, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bārha who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Yaśqūb, 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 Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 322; II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Ḥāmid, of the name of Sayyid Bāqir, 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 Dastam, a very unusual name though most MSS. of the Āstin and many of the Akbarnāma give Rustam. 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 Naṣība 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 Muṣīzz ‘l-Mulk (No. 61) against ‘Abdu ‘l-lāh Khān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 17th year he served under Mirzā ‘Azīz Koka in the battle of Patan (vide No. 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, and got a flag. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the Šāba of Ajmīr, and got Rantanbhūr as tujūl. His administration was praiseworthy; he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed.

In the 25th year Uchā, son of Balbhadr, and Mohan, Sūr Dās, Tilūkṣī, sons of Rāja Bihārī Mal’s brother, came without permission from the Panjāb to Lūnī (?), 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,1 the three nephews of the Rāja were killed. Dastam received a

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1 The geographical details given in the Akbarnāma are unsatisfactory.

Abū ‘l-Fażīl mentions the Qasba (small town) of Lūnī (لند) as the birth-place of the Kachhwāha rebels; the fight, he says, took place in a village (manḍaṣ) of the name of Thor, and Dastam died at Shergīr, which is also called a Qasba. But the Akbarnāma leaves the reader to find out where these three places are. The Tabaqat, in its list of grandees, fortunately says that Dastam Khān was killed in the neighbourhood of Rantanbhūr. The only places near Rantanbhūr which resemble the above three are Bounlee, Tobra, and Shergarh, as given on the Trig. Map of the Jodhpūr Territory for 1856. The road from Shergarh (about 4 miles S.E. of Rantanbhūr) to Bounlee is bisected
wound from Uchlä, who had attacked him from an ambush. Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchlä, and killed him. Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse. His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers. The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (988).

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpur. Akbar said that even D.’s mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because D., with the exception of three years, had never been away from him.

The *Ma‘āṣir* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand. Rantanhūr was then given to Mirzā ʿAbdurrahim (No. 29) as jāgīr.

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No. 362).

80. *Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū.*


[آکر قطع الرجال فتد بهس كس كم انس گیري]
[بیک انگان ددم کنبو سیو سب دذات کمشیری]

“The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmiris 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 Shāhbāz was Ḥāji Ismā‘īl, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahā’u d-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. 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 Bahā’u ’d-Dīn 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 Ismā‘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.

Shāhbāz 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 Banaś River. Rantanhūr lies in the angle formed by the confluence of the Chambal and the Banaś, and Bounlee lies about 30 miles N.W. of it. There are two villages of the name of *Tohra*, one about 3 miles S.W. of Bounlee, and the other S. of it, on the right bank of the Banaś. *Bounlee*, or *Baulli*, would be *بَونلیَ* or *بَنلی*, which will be found below as the head of a Pargana in Sarkār Rantanhūr, and the change of *بَنلی* to *بَونلی* is very simple. The greatest differences lies in Sherpur and Shergarh.

The Akbarnāma says the fight took place on the 10th Abān of the 25th year.
the duties of kotwal, drew Akbar's attention to him, and he was made an Amir and appointed Mir Tozak (quarter master).

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khan (No. 90) fell into disgrace, Sh. was appointed Mir Bakhshi. 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. Shahbaz first took Fort Daigur (?), where a large number of Raithor rebels were killed; after this he took Dunaara, from where he passed on to Siwana, which on his arrival capitulated (984).

In the same year, Shabhaz was sent against Raja Gajpati. This Raja was the greatest Zamindar in Bihar, and had rendered good services during Munsim's expedition to Bengal. But when Daud, king of Orissa, invaded Bengal after Munsim'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 Qaratag Khan, opposed the Raja, but perished in the fight. When Shabhaz 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 Muhammed, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junayd-i Kararan, had been hard pressed by Muzaffar (No. 37); he therefore fled to Shabhaz, 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 Kóbhalt (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 Sannasi 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 Pur Mandal. He also prevailed upon the rebellious Dauda, son of Ray Surjan Hadha (No. 96), to submit, and took him to Court. After this, Sh. was sent to Ajmir, where disturbances frequently occurred.

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1 The MSS. have دیکور, which I cannot find on the maps. There are many places of a similar name, S.W. of Jodhpur, near which it must lie. Dunaara (most MSS. have دوئوار) lies on the right bank of the Luni, S.W. of Jodhpur. Here Shabhaz crossed (Subur) and went to Siwana, which lies N.W. S. of Dunaara, about ten miles from the left bank of the Luni.

2 So according to the best MSS. Stewart calls him Gajety, the Lakhnau Akbarnama (III, 140) Kaji, and the Edit. Bibl. Indica. of Badaloni, Kachiti, (p. 179, 284, 285) and Kajiti (p. 237), which forms are also found in the Lakhnau 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 Bahādur, and marched to Jagdespūr. At that time the report reached him that Maṣūm Khān Farānkūdhī (No. 157) had rebelled, and ʿArab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān had joined him. Sh. therefore marched to Auch, and met the enemies near Sultānpūr Bilkarī, 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 Jaunpūr, 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 Mirzā 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. ʿAzīz 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 ʿĪsā, took Sunnārgāw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra. ʿĪsā 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 tuyūldārs of Bihār were ordered to join him. Sh. then took the field and followed up Maṣūm. In the 30th year, he and Šādiq Khān (vide No. 43) quarrelled. Subsequently, Sh. marched again to Bhāṭī, and even sent a detachment “to Kokra (کوکر), which lies between Orīsā and the Dakhīn”. Mādhū Singh, the Zamīndār of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute. In the 32nd year, when Šāʿīd (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 atiliq to M. Shahrulkh, who had been appointed to Malwa, and was on his way to Prince Murad in the Dakhin. During the siege of Ahmadnagar, 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-Duwaza Imam, 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 Sadig Khan (No. 43) was appointed his atiliq, Sh. left without permission for Malwa. Akbar gave his jagir to Shahrulkh, and transferred Shahbuz.

In the 43rd year Sh. was sent to Ajmir as Commander of the mangala of Prince Salim (Jahangir), whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilahabad against the Ranah. 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 Ilahabad without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father.

Shahbuz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmir within the hallowed enclosure of Munsin-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 Shahbuz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome.

Shahbuz 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 Fatpjur and seized Shahbuz's hand to accompany him. It was near the time of the 'asr, or afternoon prayer, and Sh. was restless and often looked up to the sun,
not to miss the proper time. Ḥakīm Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ (No. 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Ḥakīm ʿAlī who stood near him, “I shall indeed call Shāḥbāz 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 vird (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, “Get up!” Abū ‘l-Fażl stepped up and interceded for Shāḥbāz, whose persistency he admired.

Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ says that Shāḥbāz 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, 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 Ashrafīs to the memory of the renowned Ghawṣu ’s-siqlayn (I) (ʿAbd Ḥ-ʾl-Qādū-i Jilānī). To the Kambūs he gave so much, that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances.

During the time he was Mīr Bakhshī he introduced the Dāgh law, the most important military reform of Akbar’s reign (vide pp. 252, 265, 266).

Shāḥbāz’s brother, Karamu ʾl-lāh, was likewise pious. He died in 1002 at Saronj (Maʾāṣir). The Maʾāṣir mentions a son of Shāḥbāz, Ilhāmu ʾl-lāh. He was Wāqīš-a-nawīs (p. 268) of the Sarkār of Baglāna, where he died.

The Tuzuk (p. 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbāz Khān, who during the reign of Shāhjahān was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse. He was, in the 13th year, Bakhshī and Wāqīš-a-nawīs of the corps which was sent to Bangash. He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shāhjahān’s reign.¹

81. Darwish Muhammad Uzbak.

The Maʾāṣir says nothing about this grandee; the MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt merely say that he was dead in 1001.

¹ Ranbāz Khān is wrongly called Ninqāz Khān in the Ed. Bibl. Indica of the Pādisahā, 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 Khabūn ʾl-lāh; but this is a most extraordinary name, and therefore likely to be wrong. It should, perhaps, be Habūn ʾl-lāh.

In the list of Akbar’s grandees in the Ṭabaqāt, Ninqām says, “At present (in 1001) Shāḥbāz is Mīr Bakhshī of Mālwa.”
From the *Akbarnama* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayrām. He was sent by Bayrām together with Mużaffar ṣAlī (No. 37, and p. 332, l. 6) to Sher Muḥammad Diwāna, who dispatched both fettered to Court.

His name occurs again in the *Akbarnama* (Lucknow edition, II, p. 250 —where for Darwīsh Uzbak Khwāja, read Darwīsh Uzbak o Mużaffar Khwāja). From the fact that Abū ʿl-Faẓl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayrām’s submission.

82. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaykh Mūsā, elder brother of Shaykh Salīm of Fatḥpur Sikrī.

His father, Shaykh Mūsā, lived a retired life in Sikrī. As Akbar had at first no children, he asked the Sikrī Shaykhs 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 Shaykhs with particular favour. To this lucky circumstance, the Sikrī family owes its elevation.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm 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 Fatḥpur Sikrī. 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 Qutbū of Orīṣā. 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 Ṭabaqūt, he was not only the brother but also the son-in-law of Shaykh Salīm-i Sikriwāl.

83. ʿAbdu ʿl-Maṭḥlab Khān, son of Shāh Budāgh Khān (No. 52). The Maʿāṣir makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred.

ʿAbdu ʿl-Maṭḥlab accompanied Sharafū ʿd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17) on his expedition to Mīrtha. In the 10th year he served together with his father under Muṣīzzu ʿl-Mulk (No. 61) against Iskandar and Bahādur Khān, and fled from the battlefield of Khayrābād. In the 12th year he served under Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās (No. 31) against Iskandar Khān in Audh. He then retired to his tuyūl 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 Qutbū ʿd-Dīn’s men (No. 28) brought Mużaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā from the Dakhin to Court, ʿAbdu ʿl-Maṭḥlab attached himself as convoy and saw the Mirzā safely to Court. In the 25th year he accompanied Ismāʿīl Quli Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against Niyābat Khān ʿArab. In the
following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Dawlat, son of 'Ali Dost. He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kabul. In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kalpi, his jagir.

In the 30th year he accompanied M. Aziz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalala Tarki, the Afghan rebel. One day, Jalala fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nurin Khan (No. 212), Salim Khan (No. 132), and Sheroya Khan (No. 168). They were in time, and, assisted by Muhammad Quli Beg, routed Jalala, who escaped to the mountains. 'Abdu 'l-Matlab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight". He seems to have taken this to heart; for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court. He died soon after.

His son, Sherzad, was under Jahangir, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse.

84. Istibar Khan, the Eunuch.

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was Ambar. He was one of Babar's Eunuchs. When Humayun left Qandahar for Irak, he despatched Istibar and others to conduct Maryam Makani (Akbar's mother) to his camp. In 952 he left Kabul 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 Kabul to India. Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihli, where he died.

He must not be confounded with No. 86.

85. Baja Bir Bal [Bir Bar], the Brahman.

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Das (Maasir; the Ed. Bibl. Indica of Badan, oni, II, p. 161, calls him Brahman Das) and was a Bhat, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call badfarosh, "dealers in encomiums." He was very poor, but clear-headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension. According to Badan, oni, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kalpi 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 Ray, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate, and had him constantly near himself.

1 Just as Jolik Ray the (Hindu) Court Astrologer. The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayzi] had the title of Malik 'sh-Shu'car, 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. Nargakoṭ was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr. He also received the title of Rāja Bīr Bār. But Jai Chand’s son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch., or Badi Ch.—the MSS. differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Husayn Quli Khān (No. 24) was ordered to conquer it. The invasion of Ibrāhīm Husayn Mīrzā, as related above, forced Husayn Quli to raise the siege, and Bīr Bār, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr. He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 24th Rabī‘ 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 Bār spent his time chiefly at Court. In the 34th year Zayn Khān Koka marched against the Yūsufzājis in Bijūr and Sawād; and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bīr Bār 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 Bār 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 Bār and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest defeat which Akbar’s army ever suffered.¹

How Akbar felt Bīr Bār’s loss has been mentioned on p. 214. There is also a letter on this subject in Abū ‘l-Fażl’s Maktūbāt.

The following passages from Badā,oni (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 Bār, 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 Bār’s loss, and invented the story that Bīr Bār had been seen in the hills of Nagarkot, walking about with Jogīs and Šannāsīs. His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Bār was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzājis; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogīs,

¹ A similar catastrophe befell Awrangzīb, when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amin Khān were killed in the Khairāb Pās, on the 3rd Muḥarram, 1083, or 21st April, 1672. Maṣā‘īr-i Qālamgīrī, p. 117. Vide Journal A. S. Bengal for 1862, p. 261.
inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Aḥādī 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 Bīr Bār had been seen at Kālinjar (which was the jāgir 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 Bīr Bār had engaged him to rub his body with oil; from that time, however, Bīr Bār 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 Bīr 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 Bīr 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.”

Bīr 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 Badā,omī Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) and other pious Muslims showed towards Bīr Bār (vide pp. 192, 198, 202, 209, 214) arose from the belief that Bīr Bār had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām.

Bīr Bār’s eldest son, Lāla, 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 Icībār, 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 a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of One Thousand.

87. Bahār Khān (Muḥammad) Aṣghar, 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 Afghān, 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.

88. Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn, son of Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsawi Sayyid of Mashhad.

Shāh Fakhr al-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 ʿAbd al-ʿIlāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 16th year he was in the manualā, or advance corps, commanded by Khān-i Kalān (No. 16). When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh. F. al-Ḥakīm ʿAyn al-Mulk to Mīr Abū Turāb and Iṣṭiṣād Khān (No. 67). On the road he fell ill with the former, and went to Iṣṭiṣād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar. He was among the auxiliaries of M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p. 433). He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrat (p. 343, note, where according to the Akbar nāma we have to read 24th Rabiʾ II, for 4th Rabiʾ I). After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqībat Khān.1 In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrat), vice Tarsī Muhammad 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 Bābar 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 al-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 lakhs 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 Gādu (p. 396)2 he came in

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1 The Lucknow Edition of the Akbar nāma (III, p. 222) calls him Naqīb Khān (?).
2 On p. 396, Rām Chand is by mistake called Rām Chandr.
contact with Rām Chand; but by timely submission the Rāja became “a servant” of Akbar. In the 14th year Yam Chand lost Fort Kālinjar, as related on p. 399. He sent his son, Bīr Bhadr, to Court, but from distrust would not pay his respects personally. In the 28th year, therefore, when Akbar was at Shāhābād, he ordered a corps to march to Bhath; but Bīr Bhadr, through the influence of several courtiers, prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to Court. Rāja Bīr 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 Bīr 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 Bikramājīt, a young relation of Rām Chand, had taken possession. Akbar therefore sent Rāja Partārā (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 Ismāʾīl Qulī Khān (No. 46) to Bāndhū, to convey Bikramājīt to Court (41st year), their intention being to prevent Bāndhū from being conquered. But Akbar would not yield; he dismissed Bikramājīt, 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 Dihlī. In the 8th year of Shāhjahān when Ṣāhibu ʿlāh Khān Bahādur marched against the refractory zamindār of Ratanpūr, 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, Jāgīḍār of Chaurāgaḍh, attacked Anūp, because he had afforded shelter to Dairām, a zamindār of Chaurāgaḍh, 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 Şalābat Khān, Governor of Ilāhābād (vide p. 427), conducted him to Court, where Anūp turned Muḥammadan. He was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse, and was appointed to Bāndhū and the surrounding districts.

90. Lashkar Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Khūrāsān.

He was Mīr Bakhshī and Mīr ʿArţ. In the 11th year Muṣaffar 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 Orīsā.

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (*Maṣāgīr*, 1,000).

The *Maṣāgīr* has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him.

The title of *Lashkar Khān* was conferred by Jahāṅgīr on Abū ’l-Ḥasan Mashhādī, and by Shāhjahān on Jān Niṣār Khān Yādgār Beg.

91. Sayyid Ahmad of Bārha.

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Maḥmūd (p. 427). In the 17th year he served in the *manqāla*, which, under the command of Khān-i Kalān (No. 16), was sent to Gujrat. After the conquest of Aḥmadābād, he was ordered with other Amīrs to pursue the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī (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 Mīrza Abū ’r-Raḥīm (No. 29), but appointed S. A. as Governor. In the same year, Muḥammad Husayn Mīrzā, Shāh Mīrzā, and Sher Khān Fūlādī, besieged Patan; but they dispersed on the approach of M. Ṣāzīz.

In the 20th year S. A. and his nephews S. Qāsim and S. Hāshim quelled the disturbances in which Jalīlu ’d-Ḥin Qūrchi (No. 213) had lost his life. In 984 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwānah. According to the *Tobaqāt*, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985.

Abū ’l-Fażl mentioned Sayyid Aḥmad above on p. 300, l. 11 from below. Sayyid Aḥmad’s son, S. Jamālulu ’d-Ḥin was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chītor (p. 398).

This S. Jamālulu ’d-Ḥin must not be confounded with the notorious S. Jamālulu ’d-Ḥin who was executed in 993 (Badā, oni II, 345). He was a grandson of S. Maḥmūd (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 Qulī Nāranji (No. 231) to Gaḍha-Katanga, because Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No. 36) had gone without leave to Makkah. Kākar served also under Muṣīzulu ’l-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; *Maṣāṣir*, 980).

93. **RAY KALYĀN MAL**, Zamīndār of Bikānīr.

He is the father of Rāy Singh (No. 44), and has been mentioned above, p. 384.

94. **TĀHIR KHĀN**, Mir Farāghat, son of Mir Khurd, who was *atālīq* to Prince Hindāl.

His name is not given in the *Maṣāṣir*. The *Tabaqqāt* 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 *BAṢĪR 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), Ḥakīmu‘l-Mulk, Muqbil Khān, and Shimāl Khān (No. 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwāja Muṣazzam, 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 *Maṣāṣir* says that the name of the town of Qalāt is generally spelt with a ʿ, 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 *jāḡīr*. 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 Ṭahmāsp of Persia that it was Humāyūn’s intention to cede Qandahār; he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahādur, and take possession of the town. Ṭahmāsp sent 3,000 Turkmān troopers furnished by the *jāḡīrdārs* of Sīstān, Farāh, and Garmār. Their leader, ṢAli 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 Ṭahmāsp then ordered his nephew, Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā felt disgusted and withdrew.
Tahmāsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultan Ḥusayn Mirzā with ‘Alī Sultan, Governor of Shīrāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ‘Alī Sultan was shot during the siege, and Sultan 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 Ma‘āṣir, differs from Munshi Sikandar’s version of his great work entitled ʿAlamārā-yi Sikandarī. According to that history, Tahmāsp, at the very first request of Shāh Muḥammad sent Sultan Ḥusayn Mirzā with Wali Khalīfa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahādur; but as S. M. would not hand over Qandahār, Tahmāsp sent ‘Alī Sultan with a stronger army, and appointed Sultan 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 Baz Bahādur lost Mālwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbdu’l-Ilāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kota. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzā ‘Azīz Koka, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p. 432).

Regarding ʿĀdil Khān, S. M.’s son, vide below, No. 125.

96. Ray Surjan Hādā.

He is often merely called Ray Hādā. The Hādās are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantānbūr is called after them Hādāuī.

Ray Surjan was at first in the service of the Rānā, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantānbūr. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p. 398), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantānbūr, and R. S., despairing 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 Bahā’u’l-Din Majzuūb of Badā, on, but was cut down by one of Muṣaffar 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 Khan (No. 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R. S. to the Emperor. Rantanbhūr was annexed (Shawwāl, 976, or beginning of the 14th year).

R. S. was made Governor of Gadha-Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanāḏh (Chunār).

Soon after, Daudā fled and created disturbances in Būndi. Zayn Khān Koka (No. 34), R. S. and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Būndi, 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 Shāhbāz 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 Maṣāṣir does not mention the year of his death. From the Tabaqāt, 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. Shāḥam Khān Jalā,ār.

Jalā,ār is the name of a Chaghtā,ī tribe.

Shāham’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.

Shāham Khān was made an Amīr by Akbar.

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalā,ārs, mentioned below, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān-i Sistānī (No. 55), Chalma Beg (58), Kamāl Khān, Ghakkar, and Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), under Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the Jaunpūr District against the Afghāns. The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of ʿAdli, 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 Munṣīm in the Bengal and Orisā wars, was present in the battle of Takaroi and pursued with Toḍar Mal the Afghāns to Bhdrak (p. 406). After Munṣīm’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 jāḡīrār of Ḥājipūr (opposite Patna). After Muẓaffar’s death (No. 37) in 988, before Toḍar Mal had arrived, he defeated and killed Saṣid-i Badakhshi, one of the Bengal rebels. Subsequently, he pursued ʿArab Bahādūr, whom Shāhbāz Khān
(p. 438) had defeated. In the 26th year Sh. Kh. was stationed at Narhan. In this year, Maṣṣūm Ḫān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrā,īch over Kalyānpūr to Muḥammadābād, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpūr. Sh. Kh. from Narhan, Pāhār Khān (No. 407) from Ghāzipūr and Qāsim 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 Gaḍha, and soon after, of Dihlī. 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 Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43) in his expedition against Jalālā Tārīkī in Terāh.

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbār made Dihlī his residence. It was proved that Sh. had been oppressive, and he was therefore reprimanded. Two years later, he served in the Āsīr war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zī Ḥijjah, 1009.

The Ṭabaqāt says that Shāhām Khān was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand.

The Akbarnāma mentions two other Jalā,ir Grandees:—

1. Sultān Husayn Khān Jalā,ir. He was mentioned above, p. 417, 1. 3.
2. Muḥammad Khān Jalā,ir. The Ṭabaqāt says of him, “he is an old Amir, 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 Jalā,irs served under Khān Zamān against the Afghāns in the Jaunpūr District.

98. Āsaf Khān (III), [Mīrzā Qiwāmū d’-Dīn] Jaṣfar Beg, son of Bādīṣu ‘z-Zamān of Qazwīn.

His father Mīrzā Bādiṣu ‘z-Zamān was the son of Āghā Mullā Dawāštār of Qazwīn (vide p. 398). M. Bādī, during the reign of Shāh Tāhmāsp, had been vazīr of Kāshān, and Jaṣfar had also been introduced at the Persian Court.

In the 22nd year of Akbār’s reign (985), Jaṣfar Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbār by his uncle M. Ghiyāṣu ’d-Dīn ʿAlī Āsaf Khān II (No. 126), on his return from the İdar expedition. The new Dāḵ law having then been introduced, Akbār made Jaṣfar a Commander of Twenty (Bātī) and attached him to the Dāḵhīlās (p. 252) of his uncle. According to Badāʿonī (III, 216) people attributed this minimum of royal favour to the malice of Jaṣfar’s uncle. The post was so low that Jaṣfar threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) had just been appointed governor. He was with
him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shamsu’d-Din-i Khāfi (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 Fatḥpūr, 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 Mīr Bakhshī, vice Qāzī ʿAlī. In his first expedition, against the Rānā of Udaīpūr, Āṣaf was successful.

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thānadār of Sawād (Swat), vice Ismāʿīl Quli Khān, who had been reprimanded (p. 388, where for Waijūr read Bījūr). In the 37th year Jalāla Rawshānī fled to ʿAbdu’l-ʿllah Khān Uzbak, king of Türān; but finding no support, he returned to Terāh, and stirred up the Āfrīdī and Īrakzā, Afghāns. Āṣaf was sent against him, and with the assistance of Zayn Khān Koka, defeated Jalāla. The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists; his women were given to Wahdat ʿAlī, who was said to be Jalāla’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), Muhammad Quli Afsḥār, and ʿHasan ʿArāb were the most important. The cultivation of Za’farān (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 khauwārs, at 24 dāns 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 Dīwān-i kull vice Patr Dās (No. 196).

In 1013 Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) rebelled against Akbar; but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar’s mother, and Salīm was placed for twelve days under surveillance. After this, he received Gujrāt as tuyūl, and gave up the Sūbas of Ilāhābād 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 atālīq 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 Amirʾu’l-Umarā remained
dangerously ill in India, Aṣaf was made Vakil and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen-box studded with jewels. But he never trusted Jahāṅgīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Aṣaf’s death (Tuzuk, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar’s death, the kings of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik Āmbar had seized upon several places in the Bālāghat District. The Khān Khānān (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahāṅgīr sent Prince Parwiz to the Dakhin, with Aṣaf Khān as atālıq, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodi, Khān-i Aẓam (No. 21), ‘Abdul 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 Amīrs, spoiled everything, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Aṣaf died at Burhāmpūr. The Tārīkh of his death is:

مد حیف ز آسف خان. A hundred times alas! for Aṣaf Khān.

The Tuzuk (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty-three.

Aṣaf Khān is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and 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 Nūrnāma ranks after Niẓam’s Shīrīn Khusraw. Vide below among the poets of Akbar’s reign.

Aṣaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. Mīrzā Zayn al-Ṣābīdīn. He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān’s reign. He had a son Mīrzā Jafr, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same takhlīṣ (Jafr). He, Zāhid Khān Koka, and M. Shāfi (Pādishāhnāma; Sāqī, Maṣāṣir) son of Sayf Khān, were such intimate friends, that Shāhjahān dubbed them sīh yār, “the three friends.” He

1 It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen-box or a golden inkstand, or both, as insignia on Diwāns. 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 dunyādār, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the Akbarnāma.
later resigned the service, and lived in Agra on the pension which Shāhjāhān granted and Awrangzib increased. He died in 1094.

2. *Suhrāb Khān*. He was under Shāhjāhān a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shāhjāhān.

3. *Mīrzā ʿAlī Asghar*. He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue. In the Parenda expedition, he created dissensions between Shāh Shujāʿ and Mahābat Khān. He served in the war against Jujhār Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamūnī, as related in the *Pādishāhnāma*. He had just been married to the daughter of Muṣṭamīd Khān Bakhshī (author of the *Iqbalnāma-yi Jahāngīrī*); but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shāhjāhān married her to Khān Dawrān. He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

4. *Mīrzā ʿAskarī*. He was in the 20th year of Shāhjāhān a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

The lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* mention two relations of Aṣaf—1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Mīrzā Shāhī, brother or nephew of Aṣaf. He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjāhān’s reign. 2. Muṣīm, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse.

**XI. Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred.**

99. Shaykh Farīd-i Buhārī.

The *Iqbalnāma*, according to the *Maṣāṣir*, says he belonged to the Mūsawī Sayyids; but this is extraordinary, because the Buhārī Sayyid’s trace their descent to Sayyid Jalāl-i Buhārī, seventh descendant of Imām ʿAlī Naqī Alhādī.

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farīd was Shaykh ʿAbdullā Ḥassār of Dihlī, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyūrgāl tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings. This they seem to have done.

Shaykh Farīd was born at Dihlī (*Tuzuk*, p. 68). He entered Akbar’s service early. In the 28th year, when M. ʿAzīz (No. 21) resigned from ill-health the command of the Bihār army, S. F. accompanied Vazīr Khān (No. 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwān, where Qutlū of Oriṣā had collected his Afghāns. Qutlū having made proposals of peace, S. F. was ordered to meet him. In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlū’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 Mīr Bakhshī, and had also for some time
the *Daftar-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 Khusraw at Bhairowal. When Prince Salīm occupied Ilahībād during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to mansābs 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 Gujrāt. When Akbar lay on the death-bed, he ordered Salīm to stay outside the Fort of Āgra; and M. ʿAziz Koka (No. 21) and Rāja Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusraw’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 Šāhibu ’s-sayf wā ’l qalam,\(^1\) and was appointed Mīr Bakhshī.

A short time after, on the 8th Zī Hijjah, 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 Sharif Khān Amīr ʿl-Umarā and Mahābat Khān, who were hostile to S. F., and took every possible opportunity of slandering him. Sulṭān Khusraw had gone to Lāhor and besieged the town, when he heard of S. F.’s arrival with 12,000 horse at the Ab-i Sulṭānpūr. He raised the siege, and arrived at the Biāh, 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 Maḥmūd Khān Kundliwāl (p. 427) and Sayyid Jalāl. There were about 50 or 60 of the Bārha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badaḵshī troopers, and had not S. Kamāl (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

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\(^1\) This title we also find in old inscriptions, e.g. in those of Tribeni and Sātgāw, Hūgli District. It means *Lord of the sword and the pen.*
into the hands of the Imperialists. The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairōwāl.¹ In the evening Jahāngīr arrived, embraced S. F., and stayed the night in his tent. The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fatḥābād, and was given S. F. as a present. He received, besides, the title of Murtaza Khān, and was appointed governor of the Şüba of Gujrat.

In the 2nd year, S. F. presented Jahāngīr with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 misqal, 15 surkhs, and was valued at 25,000 Rs. As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrat, he was recalled from Ahmadābād (Tuzuk, p. 73). In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In 1021 he made preparations to invade Kāŋgra. He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Dīhlī (Tuz. p. 159). 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 Dīhlī, entitled Āsār 's-Sanāʿī, No. 77, says that the name of S. F.'s father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukḥārī. 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 Sārāţ, built by Shaykh Farīd in Dīhlī, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیل خانہ, jel khāna).

According to the Tuzuk, p. 65, Salīmgaḏ (Dīhlī) belonged to S. Farīd. It had been built by Salīm Khān the Afghān during his reign in the midst (dar miyān) of the Jamna. Akbar had given it to Farīd.²

When Shaykh Farīd died, only 1,000 Ashrafis were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the Tāriḵh of his death: —

¹ Bhairōwāl, on our maps Bhīrouval, lies on the road from Jālindaḥar to Amritsaṁ, on the right bank of the Bīāh. After the defeat Khusraw fled northwards with the view of reaching Rohtās beyond the right bank of the Jhelum. He had therefore to cross the Rāwī, the Chanāb, and the Jhelam. 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 Sodhra, which is also mentioned as a place for crossing in the Takapāṭ-i Naṣīrī—on our maps Sodra, N.E. of Vazīrābād—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 Chaudhī of Sodhra, and a report was sent to ĠAbdul 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (No. 199), one of Jahāngīr's officers stationed at Gujrat (at some distance from the right bank of the Chanāb, opposite to Vazīrābād). 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 Ḥasan Bāq-i Badakhshī (No. 167), and ĠAbdul 'r-Rahīm Khar, were brought to Jahāngīr in the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmran.

² The family must have had large possessions in Dīhlī; for when Akbar, in the 22nd year, visited Dīhlī, he stayed in Sh. Farīd's mansion, and Abū 'l-Faḍl (Akbarānāma, III, p. 196) speaks of his extensive possessions along the Jamna.
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 jagīr lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrat, he had a list made of all Bukharī 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 sarais. The one in Dihlī 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 Wajīhu d-Dīn (died 988; Badā,oni, III, 43). He also built Farīdābād near Dihli, 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 chauk, or bāzār. The Government officers under him received annually three khilkats; 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 Gujrat, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh. Farīd was in Kalānūr on his march to Kangra. The Shaykh ordered Dwarkā Dās, 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 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] Khurd, eat, enjoyed.—P.

[2] In Dihli, Ahmadabād, and many other places in Gujrat do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. Vide Nos. 77, 78.
“Night and day,” exclaims the author of the Maʿāṣir, “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, Muhammad Saʿīd 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 Muhammad Saʿīd, and Shaykh F. had to remain quiet.

Muḥammad Saʿīd was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahān, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (Pādishāhn, II, 743).

Sayyid Jaʿfar, S. F.’s brother, was also in Akbar’s service. He was killed in the battle of Patan (p. 433).

The Pādishāhnāma (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. Samānji Khān, son of Chalma Beg.

For Samānji we often find in MSS. Samājī. The Turkish samān means hay, so that Samānji or Samānchi would mean one who looks after the hay.

The name of this grandee is neither given in the Maʿāṣir, nor the Tabaqāt. Nor have I come across his name in the Akbarnāma. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No. 58.

Another Samānji 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 Tabaqāt says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt).¹

¹ Tardi Khān is also mentioned in Sayyid Aḥmad’s edition of the Tuzuk, p. 19, l. 15. But this is a mistake. It should be Tar Khān, not Tardi Khān. The word toqūāt, l.c., also is a mistake, and should be Toghāt. Pages 18, 19, of the Tuzuk treat of Akbar’s forced march to Patan in Gujrāt (vide p. 343, note, and p. 445). The Maʿāṣir (MS. 77 of the Library As. Soc. Bengal, p. 163, b.) mentions the 4th Rabīʿ I, 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 Rabīʿ II, 981, and engaged the enemies on the 9th day after his
102. Mihtar Khān, Anīsū 'd-Dīn, a servant of Humāyūn.

The word mihtar, prop. a prince, occurs very often in the names of Humāyūn’s servants. Thus in the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, Vol. I, p. 269—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, etc., who accompanied the emperor to Persia).

Mihtar Khān was the title of Anīsū 'd-Dīn. He was Humāyūn’s treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor.

In the 14th year, when Rantambhūr had been conquered (vide No. 96), the fort was put in his charge. In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984) he accompanied Mān Singh on his expedition against Rānā Partāb of Maiwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the Chandāwul (rear). In the 25th year he held a jāgīr in Audh, and distinguished himself in the final pursuit of Māsūm Khān Faranāhūdī (No. 157).

Anīs 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 Jahāngīr’s reign, 1017, eighty-four years old. If I read the MSS. of the Maṣāṣir 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 Jahāngīr a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse. Abū Tālūb, son of Mūnis Khān, was employed as treasurer (Khizānchī) of the Śūba of Bengal.

103. Rāy Durgā Sīsodia.

Rāy Durgā is generally called in the Akbarnāma, Rāy Durgā Chandrāwaṭ, (چندراوَت). The home of the family was the Pargana of Rāmpūr, also called Islāmpūr, near Chitor.

In the 26th year of Akbar’s reign Rāy Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm of Kābul. In the 28th year he was attached to Mirzā Khān’s (No. 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrāt war. In the 30th year he was with M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 36th year he followed Prince Murād to Mālwa, and later to the Dakhin.

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā. He then accompanied Abū ʾl-Faḍl to Nāsik, and went afterwards home on departure, i.e. on the 5th Jumāda I, 981. Hence the date 5th Jumāda I, 980, which Sayyid Ahmad gives, Tazuk, p. 18, l. 16, should be corrected to 5th Jumāda I, 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 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 Údai 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 Maṭārīr continues the history of his descendants, from which the following tree has been taken.

**Genealogy of the Rā,os of Rāmpūr (Islāmpūr), Chitor.**

1. Rāy Durgā Sisodiya  
Chandrawat)

2. Rā, o Chandā (Jahāngīr)
   
   (a) A son
   
   (b) Rāp Mukund

3. Rā, o Daudā (Shāhjahān)

4. Rā, o Hattī Singh (Do.)  
(died childless)

5. (a) Rā, o Rāp Singh  
(died childless)

6. (b) Rā, o Amr Singh  
(Awrangzib)

7. Rā, o Mukkam Singh

8. Rā, o Gopāl Singh

9. Rā, o Ratan Singh

Rā, o Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan, and got the title of Muslim Khan (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 Kīkā, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st Rabi‘ I, 984). In the 30th year he accompanied Mīrzā Shāhrūkh (No. 7)

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1 There is some confusion in the MSS. and printed editions regarding his name. Thus in the Pādīshāhānāma, Ed. Bibl. Indica, I, b. 305, he is called Mathī Singh; but Hattī Singh in the same work, Vol. II, p. 730, and Hāthī, on p. 374.

2 It was stated above, p. 361, note 2, that the battle of Goganda was fought in 983. This is the statement of the Tabaqat, which the Maṭārīr follows in his biographical note of Rāja Mān Singh. But from the Akbarnāma and the History of Bādā,oni, who was present in the battle, and brought Akbar Mān Singh’s report, it is clear that Mān Singh set out on the 2nd Muḥarram, 984, and that the battle took place on the 21st Rabi‘ I, of the same year.

It has been remarked above (p. 383, note 1) that the chronology of the Tabaqat is erroneous. Bādā,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 Akbarnāma is the only source for a history of Akbar’s reign, and the Savānīb should be the guide of Historians.
on his expedition to Kashmir. In the 31st year, after the death of Sayyid Ḥāmid (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, 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, Bhīm Singh and Anand Singh, in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahān's reign. His third son, Ugar Sen, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (vide Pādishāh, I, p. 294; I, b., pp. 305, 314).

105. Sayyid Qāsim, and 143. Sayyid Hāshim, sons of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān of Bārha, Kūndliwāl (No. 75).

In the 17th year S. Qāsim served under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the pursuit of Muḥammad Husayn Mīrzā, who after his defeat by M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhin.

S. Hāshim served, in the 21st year, with Rāy Rāy Singh (No. 44) against Sultān De,ora, ruler of Sarohī, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place.

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shāh bāz Khān (No. 80) against the Rānā. In the 25th year, when Chandr. Sen., son of Māldeo, raised disturbances, both brothers, who had jāgīrs in Ajmīr, were ordered to march against him. Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the harāwal of Mīrzā Khān (No. 29) in the Gujrat war.

S. Hāshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Aḥmadābād. S. Qāsim was wounded. He was subsequently appointed Thānādār of Patan. When Mīrzā Khān went to Court, leaving Qulī Khān as Governor of Aḥmadābād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Mūzaffar, Jām (zamīndār of Little Kachh), and Khangār (zamīndār of Great Kachh).

On the transfer of Mīrzā Khān, Khān-i Aṣzam (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 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, Shaykhwādat.

He is also called Rāja Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Sojā, son of Rāy Rāy Mal Shaykhwādat, 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 Shaykhwāwats. To the latter branch belong Rāja Lō Karan, Rāy Sāl, etc.; the former contains Mān Singh’s posterity (the present rulers of Jaipūr).

The term Shaykhwāwat, or Shekhwāwat, 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. ¹ Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhwāwat Branch.

Rāy Sāl was employed at Court, as his title of Darbārī 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 Munṣhī 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 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 Pādishāhnāma (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-Fażl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250. This mansab is unusual, and Rāy Sāl stands alone in this class. It does not

¹ He is the same as the Shaykhjī of Jaipūr genealogies. Shaykhjī is said to have been a grandson of Udaikaran, twelfth descendant of Dholā Rāy (p. 348).
occur in the lists of Grandees in the Pādīshāhnāma. From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Mansāb after the Hazārī was the Hazār o pānṣadī, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred.

XIII. Commanders of One Thousand.


This grandee must not be confounded with Muḥibb ʿAli Khān Raḥīṣī (p. 466).

Muḥibb ʿAli Khān is the son of Mir Niẓām ʿd-Dīn ʿAli Khalīfa, the “pillar of Bābār’s government.” He had no faith in Humayūn, 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, Humayūn to the throne.

His son Muḥibb ʿAli Khān distinguished himself under Bābār and Humayūn. His wife was Nāḥīd Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka. Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Bābār. Bābār had fallen into the hands of ʿAbbū ʿIlāh Khān Uzbak, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that he was Bābār. He was cut to pieces, and Bābār escaped. In 1975, Nāḥīd Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Ḥājī Begam (daughter of Mīrzā Mūqīm, son of Mīrzā Zū īl-Nūn). After Qāsim Koka’s death, Ḥājī Begam married Mīrzā Ḥasan, and after him, Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān, king of Sindh (p. 390). Before Nāḥīd Begam reached Thatha Mīrzā ʿĪsā died. His successor, Mīrzā 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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd, ruler of the District. He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muḥibb ʿAli 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 Aḥmad, author of the Tabaqāt-i Akbarī. Muqīm was then Diwān-i Buyūlāt.
in the 16th year (978), called for Muhîibb, who had then retired from court-life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar.

Muhîibb set out, accompanied by Mujahid Khân, a son of his daughter. Sa'id Khân (No. 25), Governor of Multân, had also received orders to assist Muhîibb; but at Sultan Mahmûd’s request, Muhîibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers. When he arrived at Bhakkar, Sultan Mahmûd said that he had changed his mind: he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance; but he should do so from Jaisalmir, and not from Bhakkar. Muhîibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sultan Mahmûd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar. Mahmûd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Mathila (ماثیلا). Muhîibb 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 Mahmûd. The consequence of this victory was that Mubârak Khân, Sultan Mahmûd’s vazîr, left his master and went with 1,500 horse over to Muhîibb. But as Mubârak’s son, Beg Oghlâ, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sultan Mahmûd, Muhîibb wished to kill Beg Oghlâ. Mubârak, who had not expected this, now tried to get out of Muhîibb’s power. Muhîibb therefore killed Mubârak, and used the money which fell into his hands to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar.

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair. The swelling which is peculiar to the district decimated the people; and the bark of the Sirs tree (p. 238), the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold. Sultan Mahmûd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salim, if Muhîibb were recalled, and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmûd) to Court; for he said, he could not trust Muhîibb. Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesû, Bakawal-begi, to Bhakkar. Before Mir Gesû arrived, Sultan Mahmûd had died. New complications arose on his arrival. Mujahid Khân just besieged Fort Ganjâba, and his mother Sâmini Begam (Muhîibb’s daughter), who felt offended at Akbar’s proceedings, dispatched a few ships against Mir Gesû, and nearly captured him. In the meantime Muqim-i Harawi also arrived and dissuaded Muhîibb from hostilities against Mir Gesû.

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1 The conquest of Bhakkar is minutely related in the Târikh-i Maṣûmi (vide No. 329), from which Prof. Dowson in his edition of Elliot’s History of India (I, p. 240 ff.) has given extracts. But Abû ‘l-Faṣîl’s account contains a few interesting particulars and differences. For Dowson’s Mir Kisi, we have to read Mir Gesû. His biography is given in the Maṣâir.  
2 Generally called Ganjâwa.
The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him.

But neither Muḥibb nor Mujāhid 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 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. Muḥibb upon this withdrew to Māthiā. 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 Muḥibb thought it now wise to go to Court.

In the 21st year, Muḥibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of Mīr ʿArz. As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of Mīr ʿArz, the guard of the Harem, the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihlī. Muḥibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office.

He died as Governor of Dihlī in 989.

Muḥibb is placed in the Tabaqāt among the Commanders of Four Thousand.

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū ʿl-Faḍl says that it is called in old books Manṣūra. 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 Arghūn, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster-brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After Shāh Ḥusayn’s death, Sulṭān Maḥmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān (p. 390) at Thatha. Both were often at war with each other. Sulṭān Maḥmūd is said to have been a cruel man.

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha, it was attached to the Šūba of Multān.

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1 If Prof. Dowson’s MSS. agree with his version (I, p. 341), the Tārīkh-i Maṣūmī would contradict the Akbarnāma. Mujāhid Khān is again mentioned, l.c., p. 282.
Like Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfa, Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī is put in the Tabaqāt among the Commanders of Four Thousand. It is impossible to say why Abū ʾl-Faḍl had not mentioned him in this list. His name, however, occurs frequently in the Akbarnāma and other histories. As he was a long time Governor of Rahtās in S. Bihār, he is generally called Rahtāsī. This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Shāh. During his reign, as also that of Salīm Shāh, Fath Khān Bātnī commanded the Fort. Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaymān and Jūnayd-i Karrarānī. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhāmmed commander. As related above (p. 437), he handed it over to Shāhībāz Khān (No. 80), at the time of the war with Gajpatī and his son Sīr Rām (984).

In the same year, Akbar appointed Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān governor of Rahtās, and Shāhbāz Khān made over the Fort to him.

Muḥibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt. His son also, Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān (vide No. 133), distinguished himself by his bravery, but was killed in a fight with one Yūsuf Mīṭṭī, who had collected a band of Afgāns 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 ʿUbā, Muḥibb was ordered to join Vazīr Khān (No. 41), Governor of Bengal. In the 33rd year Bihār was given to the Kachhwāhas as jāḡīr, and Akbar called Muḥibb to Court, intending to make him governor of Multān. But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997), Muḥibb accompanied him.

Soon after entering Kashmir, Muḥibb 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 Akbarnāma (III, p. 245) a place Muḥibb ʿAlīpur 1 is mentioned which Muḥibb founded near Rahtās.

108. Sultān Khwāja, ʿAbdul ʾl-ʿAzīm, son of Khwāja Khwāwand Dost.

He is also called Sultān Khwāja Naqshbandī. 2 His father Khwāwand Dost was a pupil of Khwāja ʿAbdul ʾsh-Shahīd, fifth son of Khwāja

1 Not given on the maps.
2 Naqshband was the epithet of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu ʾd-Dīn of Bukhārā, born 728, died 3rd Rabīʿ I, 791. He was called naqshband, because according to his own words, he and his parents used to weave kumkubās adorned with figures (naqsh).
'Abdu 'llāh (generally called Khwājagan Khwāja; vide No. 17), son of the renowned saint Khwāja Aāsiru 'd-Dīn Ahrār (born 806, died 29th Rabī‘ I, 895).

When 'Abdu 'sh-Shahid came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pargana Chamāri. He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later.

Sultān Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in taṣawwuf (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 khilsats 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 Fatḥpur, 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 Badāʾoni and Abū 'l-Fażl, Sultān Khwāja belonged to the elect of the "Divine Faith" (vide p. 214).


His name is not given in the Maṣāṣir and the Tabaqāt. The Akbar-nāma mentions a Khwāja 'Abdu 'llāh who served in the war against Abdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak (No. 14), in Mālīwah (971–2), during the last rebellion of Khān Zamān (No. 13), and in the fight at Sarnāl (middle of Shāvābān, 980; vide No. 27). He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād. Vide the Lucknow Edition of the Akbar-nāma, II, 285, 287, 367; III, 24.


His full name is Khwāja Aminu 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt. The form Aminā is modern Irānī, which likes to add a long ā to names.

Amin 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, Amin 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 Muzaflar Khan (No. 37) of want of loyalty shown in the rebellion of Khan Zamân. Amîn 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 Hajipûr; but Amîn had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpûr. When the emperor returned from Hajipûr over Jaunpûr to Âgra, Amîn 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 Amîn, convalescent as he was. He died near Lakhnau in the beginning of Sha’bân, 982.

According to the chronology of the Tabaqt, his death took place in 983.

A son of Amîn’s brother is mentioned. His name was Mirzâ Beg. He was a poet and wrote under the takhallus of Shahri. He withdrew from Court, and died in 989.

Jahangir also conferred the title of Khwâja Jahân on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kâbul) who had served him as Bakhshî while Prince.

111. Tâtár Khân, of Khurasân.

His name is Khwâja Tâhir Muhammâd. In the 8th year he accompanied Shâh Budâgh Khân (No. 52) and Rûmî Khân (No. 146), and pursued Mîr Shâh Abû ‘l-Ma’âli, who withdrew from Hisâr Firûza to Kâbul.

He was then made governor of Dihlî, where he died in 986. The Tabaqt says he was for some time Vâzîr, and died in 985.

Regarding his enmity with Mullâ Nûru’d-Dîn Târkhân, vide Badâ’oni, III, 199.


His name is Masîlîu’d-Dîn Abû ‘l-Fâth. Mawlânâ ˚Abdü r-Razzâq, his father, was a learned and talented man, and held for a long time the post of Sadr of Gilân. When Gilân, in 974, came into the possession of Tahmâsp, Aḥmad Khân, ruler of the country was imprisoned, and ˚Abdü r-Razzâq was tortured to death. Hakîm Abû ‘l-Fâth, with his distinguished brothers, Hakîm Humâm (No. 205) and Hakîm Nûru’d-Dîn, left the country, and arrived, in the 20th year, in India (p. 184). They went to Court and were well received. Abû ‘l-Fâth, in the 24th year, was made Sadr and Amîn 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 “Qarârî’. Their fourth brother, Hakîm Lutfî ‘llâh, came later from Iran to India, and received through Abû ‘l-Fâth’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 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 Vakil.

As related above (p. 367), he accompanied Bir Bar on the expedition against the Yusufzâis 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 'Urfi of Shîrâz (vide below, among the poets) is Abû 'l-Fath's encomiast. Fayzi also has composed a fine maršiyya, or elegy, on his death.

Abû 'l-Fazl and Badâ, onî speak of the vast attainments of Abû 'l-Fath. A rare copy of his Munshiyyât 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 Anwârî diminutively Anwariyyak; 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-Fazl, who would give him another box, and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Badâ, oni, III, 167).

Badâ, oni mentions Abû 'l-Fath's influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islâm (p. 184).

Abû 'l-Fatâ had a son, Fathî 'llâh. He was killed by Jahângîr, as he was an accomplice of Khusraw (Tuzuk, p. 58).

A grandson of Abû 'l-Fatâ is mentioned in the Pâdischâhnâma (II, p. 739). His name is Fatî Zîyâ; he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse.

113. Shaykh Jamâl, son of Muhammad Bakhtyâr.

His full name is Shaykh Jamâl Bakhtyâr, son of Shaykh Muhammad Bakhtyâr. The Bakhtyâr clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dîhli.

Shaykh Jamâl's sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar's

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1 His Munshiyyât contain interesting letters addressed by Abû 'l-Fath to his brother Hakîm Humâm, the Khân Khânân (No. 29), Khwâja 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 25th 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 ʕArab. Before his rebellion he held Jhosī and Arail (Jalālabās) 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 Mīrzā 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 jogī. 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 Lūdhiyāna. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamāl has been mentioned above on p. 200.

114. Jaśfar Khān, son of Qazāq Khān.

He is generally called in the histories Jaśfar Khān Taklū, Taklū being the name of a Qızılbaš tribe.

His grandfather, Muḥammad Khān Sharafūd-Din Oğlu Taklū was at the time of Humāyūn’s flight governor of Hīrāt and lalla ² to Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Shāh Tāḥmāsp-i Ṣafawī. 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 Tāḥmāsp, in 972, sent

¹ The Bibl. Indica edition of Badā’i,oni (II, 289) says, the fight took place at Gasht (غشت), a dependency of Patna (پٹنا), 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 (پننا), 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 lalla is not in our dictionaries, though it occurs frequently in Persian Historians, as the Memoirs of Tāḥmāsp, the ʕAlamārū, 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 atāliq, which so often occurs in Indian Histories, vide p. 383, note 3. [Lalla a tutor.—P.]
Maṣūm Beg-i Ṣafawī against him. Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirât, he died. Maṣūm 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 Khân Zamān, and was made a Khân and a Commander of One Thousand. From Badāloni (II, p. 161), we see that he had a jāgīr in the Panjāb, and served under Ḥusayn Quli Khân (No. 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot.

According to the Tabaqât, 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 Fanāzī, son of Mīr Najafī.

His name is not given in the Maṣāṣir and the Tabaqât. From the Akbarnâma (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 Fanāzī who is mentioned in Badāloni (III, 296), the Tabaqât, and the Mīrāzū’l ʿĀlam, 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 Khân. He was a Chaghtāzī 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. Asadullāh Khân, of Tabriz.

His name is not given in the Maṣāṣir and the Tabaqât. An Asadullāh ʿllāh Khân is mentioned in the Akbarnâma (end of the 12th year). He served under Khân Zamān (No. 13) and commanded the town of Zamāniyâ (p. 337, l. 14). After Khân Zamān’s death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal. But Munṣīm (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, Khân Khānān Lodi, had to withdraw. This incident, however, brought the Afghāns into contact with Munṣīm; 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 Khân Khānān Lodi, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the Khufba, and to strike coins in
Akbar's name. Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980.\textsuperscript{1}

The Akbarnāma mentions another officer of a similar name, Asad\textsuperscript{u} 'llāh Turkmān. He was mentioned above under 61.

117. Sa\c{s}ādat ʿAlī Khān, of Badakhshān.

From the Akbarnāma (III, 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel ʿArab Bahādur. Shāhbāz Khān had sent Sa\c{s}ādat to a Fort 2 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 Ma\textsuperscript{*ā}sīr says that Rūpsī 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, Rūpsī's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23). He served some time under Sharaf\textsuperscript{u} ʿd-Dīn (No. 17), jagirdār of Ajmīr, and was Thānādār of Mīrtha. When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court. In the 17th year he served in the mangālā of Khān Kalān (vide No. 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmādābād (p. 458, note). In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Daudā, son of Ray Surjan (No. 96), and the conquest of Būndī (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 Udai Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a Sālī. Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her. He arrived just in time. Jagnāth (No. 69) and Ray Sāl (No. 106) got hold of Udai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him.

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, after Akbar's forced march to Patan and Ahmādābād, 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.

\textsuperscript{1} According to the Akbarnāma, Badā,oni, and the Tabaqāt, Sulayman died in 980. In Prinsep's Tables, Stewart's Bengal, etc., 981 is mentioned as the year of his death. The Rīgāz-ʾs-Salāfīn, upon which Stewart's work is based, has also 981; but as this History is quite modern and compiled from the Akbarnāma and the Tabaqāt, 981 may be looked upon as a mistake. Vide note 3, p. 179.

\textsuperscript{2} The MSS. call the Fort ىرط, کسک, etc. It is said to be a dependency (az muẓāfūl) of Rohtās.
119. Ištimād Khān, Khwājasarā.

He has been mentioned above, p. 13, note. His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl (vide No. 140) had died.

Maqṣūd ʿAli, who killed Ištimād, is said to have been blind in one eye. When he explained to Ištimād 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, Ištimād was murdered by Maqṣūd, whilst getting up from bed.

Ištimād built Ištimādpūr, 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 ʿl-Fażl says below (Third Book, Ṣūba of Mālwa) that his real name was Bāyazīd.

Bāz Bahādur’s father was Shujāʿat Khān Sūr, who is generally called in histories Shajāwal, or Sajāwal, Khān. The large town Shajāwalpūr, or Sajāwalpūr, in Mālwa bears his name;² its original name, Shujāʿatpūr, which Abū ʿl-Fażl gives below under Sarkār Sārangpūr, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use.

When Sher Shāh took Mālwa from Mallū (Qādir Khān), Shujāʿat 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 Shujāʿat fled to the Rāja of Dūngarpūr. Some time after, he surrendered to Salīm, and remained with him, Mālwa being divided among the courtiers. Under ʿAdli, 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 Gaḍhā was not successful, Rānī Dūrgāwatī (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 Rūpmaṭī, who is even nowadays remembered.

¹ The trigonometrical maps have a village of the name of Ištimādpūr Mandra about 9 miles E. of Āgra, in the Pargana of Fatḥābād, near Samūgar, where Awrangzīb defeated Dārā Shikoh.

² A few MSS. have Shujāʿ Khān for Shujāʿat Khān, just as one MS. read Shujāʿpūr for Shujāʿatpūr. Elphinstone also has Shujāʿ (p. 501, note 1). The word “Shujāʿat” should be spelled “Shujāʿat”, whilst ʿa is pronounced Shujā; but the former also is pronounced with a u over all India.
In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign Adham Koka (No. 19) was ordered to conquer Mālwa. Ṣir Muḥammad Khān (No. 20), ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭīm ʿAlī Khān Uzbek (No. 14), Qiyā Khān Gung (No. 33), Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qandahār (No. 95) and his son ʿĀdil Khān (No. 125), Ṣādiq Khān (No. 43), Ḥābib ʿAlī Khān (No. 133), Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān (No. 66), Muḥammad Quli Toqbaṭ (No. 129), Qiyā Khān (No. 184), Mīrak Bahādur (No. 208), Samānjī Khān (No. 147), Pāyanda Muḥammad Mughul (No. 68), Mīr ʿAlī 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).¹ Bāz Bahādur fled to the jungles on the Khāndesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Ṣir Muḥammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Mīrāṇ Shāh of Khāndesh, who assisted him with troops. Ṣir 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, Ṣir Muḥammad fled, and was drowned in the Narbadā. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jāgīrdārs left for Āgra, so that Bāz Bahādur without opposition re-occupied Mālwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭīm Khān Uzbek to Mālwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bāhrī, Zamīndār of Baghāna, and tried to obtain assistance from Chingiz Khān and Sher Khān of Gujrat, and lastly even from the Niẓām al-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 Khizânchī ² 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 mansāb of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Bāz Bahādur and his Rūmpatī lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. Vide No. 188.

121. Udai Singh, Mōṭh 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 Gajpatī of Orīṣā.

In 981 he was at Kambhāt, which he left on the approach of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, and withdrew to Ahmadābād to M. ṢAzīz Koka (No. 21).
Akbar, in 994, married Ūdai Singh's daughter to Jahāngīr. On p. 8 of the Tuzuk, Jahāngīr says that her name was Jagat Gosā'īnī. She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān); vide p. 323, l. 18.

Mīrzā Ḥādī in his preface to Jahāngīr's Memoirs (the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī) has the following remark (p. 6): "Rāja Udai Sing is the son of Rāja Māldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse. Although Rānā Sānkā, who fought with Firdaws-makānī (Bābar) possessed much power, Māldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory; hence he was always victorious."

From the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 183) we see that Moth Rāja accompanied in the 22nd year Sādiq Khān (No. 43), Rāja Askaran, and Ulugh Khān Ḥābshi (No. 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabī’ I, 985). In the 28th year he served in the Gujrat war with Muẓaffar (Akbarnāma, III, 422).

Another daughter of Moth Rāja was married to Jaymal, son of Rūpsī (No. 118).

122. Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, of Shīrāz.

Mansūr was at first mushrif (accountant) of the Khushbū-Khāna (Perfume Department). Differences which he had with Muẓaffar Khān (No. 37) induced Sh. Mansūr to go to Jaunpur, where Khān Zamān made him his Diwān. Subsequently he served Munṣim Khān Khānān in the same capacity. After Munṣim’s death he worked for a short time with Toḍar Mal in financial matters. In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor Vazīr. 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 Khwāja in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding Dahsāla roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year. The empire itself, which did not then include Orīsā, Thatthah, Kashmīr, and the Dakhin, was divided into 12 parts, called Sūbas; and to each sūba a sipahsālār (Military Governor), a Diwān, a Bakhshī (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a Mīr ʿAdl, a Ṣadr, a Kotsūāl, a Mīr Bahār, and a Wāqī‘a Nawīs (p. 268) were to be appointed. The strictness which the Khwāja displayed towards jāgīr-holders led to serious results. In the 25th year he lowered the value of the jāgīrs of the grandees in Bengal by one-fourth of their former value, and those in Bihār by one-fifth. As Bengal and South Bihār were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghāns still mustered large forces
in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orīsā, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mansūr’s rigour was impolitic; for Akbar’s officers looked upon the old jāgīr emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghāns. 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 Bihār. This Mansūr cut down: he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihār 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 Suyurghāl tenures brought matters to a crisis. The jāgīr-holders in Jaunpūr, Bihār, 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. 1

Toḍar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mansūr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Maṣṣūm Khān-i Farankhūdī (No. 157) and Muḥammad Tarsō (No. 32). Akbar deposed Mansūr and appointed temporarily Shāh Quli Maḥram (No. 45); but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mansūr’s demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers.

In the same year, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, at Maṣṣūm Khān-i Kābulī’s instigation, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north. Mansūr’s enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mirzā M. Ḥakīm’s Munshi, addressed to Mansūr. Accidentally Malik Ṣāni Ḥakīm’s Dīwān, who had the title of Vazīr Khān, left his master, and paid his

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1 The chief rebel was Maṣṣūm Khān-i Kābulī, who has been frequently mentioned above (pp. 198, 365, 377, 438, etc.). He was a Turbatī Sayyid (vide p. 373, No. 37). His uncle, Mirzā Āzīz, had been Vazīr under Humāyūn, and Maṣṣūm himself was the foster-brother (koka) of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi (p. 339) who had married the widow of Mīr Shāh Abu ‘l-Maṣīḥ, Maṣṣūm, in the 20th year, went to Akbar and was made a commander of Five Hundred. He distinguished himself in the war with the Afghāns, and was wounded in a fight with Kālā Pahār. For his bravery he was made a commander of One Thousand. In the 24th year, he received Orīṣā as tugāl, when Mansūr and Muzaffar’s strictness drove him into rebellion. Historians often call him Maṣṣūm Khān-i Āzīz, “Maṣṣūm Khān, the rebel”. His fights with Muzaffar and Shāhḥāzād have been mentioned above. He was at last driven to Bhāḥī (p. 365, note), where he died in the 44th year (1007).

His son Shujāʿ-i Kābulī was under Jahāngīr Thānādār of Ghanāzin, and a commander of Fifteen Hundred under Shāhjahān, who bestowed upon him the title of Asad Khān. He died in the 12th year of Shāhjahān’s reign. His son, Qubād, was a commander of Five Hundred.

The editors of the Pādīshāhīnāma, Ed. Bibl. Indica, have entered Shujā’s name twice, I, b. 304, and p. 308. As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, the second entry is wrong. (Regarding his death vide Akbarn. III, 810.—B.)
respects to Akbar at Sonpaṭ. As he put up with Mansūr, new suspicions got afloat. Several words which Mansūr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M. M. Ḥakim were sent to Akbar. Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Faridūn Khān (maternal uncle to M. M. Ḥakīm) had presented the Beg to the Mīrzā. Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees, gave orders to arrest Mansūr; 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 Mansūr on a tree near Sarā Kot Khachwa (beginning of 989).\(^1\)

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction. But when Akbar came to Kābul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Mansūr’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 Mansūr 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 Shāhabāz Khān-i Kambū (p. 440, l. 23), had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rāja Toḍar Mal.

Mansūr had been Vazīr for four years.

123. Qutlugh Qadam Khān, Ākhta-begī.\(^2\)

The Turkish word qutlugh 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 Qutlū, instead of Qutlugh, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p. 383.

Qutlugh Qadam Khān was at first in the service of Mīrzā Kāmrān, and then went over to Humayūn.

In the 9th year of Akbar’s reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muḥazzam, and served in the same year in Mālwa against Cābulu ‘llah Khān Uzbak (No. 14). In the battle of Khayrābad, he held a command in the van.

\(^1\) So the Akbarnāma. Kot Khachwa is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhīyāna, Lat. 30° 17’; Long. 76° 53’. In the Ed. Bibl. India of Badā, oni (II, pp. 293, 294) the place is called kābj kōt, probably by mistake. Sharaf Beg, moreover, is called Musharraf Beg, and a few lines lower, again Sharaf Beg. Badā, oni says nothing of Toḍar Mal’s intrigues. Mansūr was hanged in the very beginning of 989, i.e. the end of the 26th year. The 26th year of Akbar’s reign commences on the 5th Šafar 989 (the Lucknow Edition III, 325, has wrongly 990); and the 27th year commences 15th Šafar 990, which in the Bibl. Indica Edit. of Badā, oni (II, p. 300, l. 2 from below) is wrongly called the 28th year.

\(^2\) Ākhta means “a gelding”, and ākhta-begī, the officer in charge of the geldings (vide No. 66). This title is not to be confused with the much higher title Āl-begī, from the Turkish ār, a horse; vide p. 145, Āśin 53.
In the 19th year, he was attached to Munṣim’s Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroi (p. 406). He was no longer alive in 1001.

His son, Asad (?) Khān, served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatābād.

124. ʿAli Qulī Khān, Indarābī.

Indarāb is a town of Southern Qunduz. A straight line drawn from Kābul northwards to Tālikhān passes nearly through it.

ʿAli Qulī had risen under Humāyūn. When the Emperor left Kābul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayrām’s rebellion, he appointed ʿAli Qulī governor of Kābul. Later, he went with Humāyūn to India.

In the first year of Akbar’s reign, he served under ʿAli Qulī Khān Zamān (No. 13) in the war with Hemū, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar 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 Tabaqāt 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 ʿAbdu’l-Khān Uzbak. Later, he assisted Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chītor (p. 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramażān, 975), Akbar was on a tiger-hunt between Ajmir and Alwar. ʿĀdil, who was at that time mustāb, 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’l-Fazl 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 ʿĀdil in his anger struck at him with a sword.

Qiyām Khān, brother of ʿĀdil Khān. Jahāngīr made him a Khān. He served the Emperor as Qarāwalbegī (officer in charge of the drivers).
126. Khwāja Ghiyās"ū 'd-Dīn [5Alī Khān, Āṣaf Khān II] of Qazwīn. He is not to be confounded with Mīr Ghiyās"ū 'd-Dīn 5Alī Khān (No. 161). For his genealogy, vide p. 398. The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaykh Ghiyās"ū 'd-Dīn Suhrāwārdī,1 a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalīfa.

Khwāja Ghiyās was a man of learning. On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a Bakhshī by Akbar. In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujratī war, and received the title of Āṣaf Khān. He was also made Bakhshī of Gujrat, and served as such under M. 5Azīz Koka (No. 21). In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Mīr's to İdar, "to clear this dependency of Gujrat of the rubbish of rebellion." The expedition was directed against Zamīndār Nārā'īn Dās Rāṭhor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm-i Naqshbandī, the leader, was killed. The day was almost lost, when Āṣaf, 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 Dugh (pp. 252, 265).

He died in Gujrat in 989. Mīrzā Nurū 'd-Dīn, his son. After the capture of Khusraw (p. 455) Jahāngīr made Āṣaf Khān III (No. 98), Nurū 'd-Dīn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nurū 'd-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 İstibār Khān, one of Jahāngīr's eunuchs, and Nurū 'd-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 Waisī, Dīwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father. Nurū 'd-Dīn and Muḥammad Sharīf, son of İstimādū 'd-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 5Avārīf 5-Maṣārif. He died at Baghdād in 632. His uncle 5Abdu'l-Najīb (died 563) was also a famous saint. Wüstenfeld's Jacut, III, p. 203, Nafḥāt 5-Uṣa, pp. 478, 544. Safīnāt 5-Aṣfīyā (Lahore Edition), pp. 681, 683.
127. Farrukh Husayn Khan, son of Qasim Husayn Khan. His father was an Uzbek of Khwārazm; his mother was a sister of Sultan Husayn Mirza.

The Ma'āṣir and the Tabaqāt say nothing about him. A brother of his is mentioned in the Akbarnama (II, p. 335).

128. Mu'inu'd-Din [Ahmad] Khan-i Faranghūdi.¹

Mu'in joined Humayun’s army when the Emperor left Kabul for Hindustān. 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 Ābdul Ilah Khan Uzbek was ordered to re-conquer Mālwa, Mu'in was made a Khān. After the conquest, he divided the province into khāliṣa and jāġir 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 Tabaqāt merely says of him that he had been for some time Mir Sāmān.

For his son, vide No. 157.

Badā'oni (III, p. 157) mentions a Jami' Masjid built by Mu'in at Āgra.

129. Muḥammad Quli Toqba.

Toqbaṭi is the name of a Chaghtāi clan.

Muḥammad 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 Sharaṭu'd-Din (No. 17) in the 8th year. In the 17th year (980) he served in the manqalā of the Khan-i Kalān (No. 16).² In the 20th

¹ Many MSS. have Faranjūdī. The Muṣjam mentions a place ʃaʃaʃa, Farangkod, which is said to be near Samarqand.

² Akbar left Fatipūr Sikri for Gujrat, in the 20th Safar 980 (17th year), passed over Sangānīr (8 miles south of Jaipur), and arrived on the 15th Rabīṭ I, at Ajmir. On the 2nd Rabīṭ II, 980, he ordered the Khan-i Kalān (No. 16) to march in advance (manqalā), and left Ajmir on the 22nd Rabīṭ II. Shortly before his arrival at Nāgor on the 9th Jumāda I, Akbar heard that Prince Dānāyl had been born at Ajmir on the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. He reached Patan on the 1st Rajab, 980, and Ahmadābād on the 14th of the same month. In the middle of Sha'baan, 980, the fight at Sarnāl took place with Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirza. On the 26th Sha'baan, Akbar reached Baroda, and arrived at Sūrat on the 7th Ramāzan, 980. On the 18th Ramāzan, 980, Mirzā Ḍāzīz defeated Muḥammad Husayn Mirzā and the Fūlādīs at Patan. Sūrat surrendered on the 23rd Shawwāl.

There are serious discrepancies in the MSS. regarding the day and year of Prince Dānāyl’s birth. The Tuzuk (Sayyid Ahmad’s edition, p. 15) has the 10th Jumāda I, 979, which has been given above on p. 309. Badā'oni (II, p. 139) has the 2nd Jumāda I, 980. The Akbarnama has the 2nd Jumāda I, and relates the event as having taken place in 989. The MSS. of the Sawānīb also place the event in 980, but say that Dānāyl was born on the 2nd Jumāda I, 979.

On the 6th Zi Qaḍa, 980, the 18th year of Akbar’s reign commences. After the ʿId-i Qurbān (10th Zi Hijjah, 980) Akbar returned over Patan and Jāler to Āgra, which he reached on the 2nd Safar, 981. After this, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā invaded Gujrat, and took Bahroṣ and Kambhā, it, but was defeated by Quli Khan and S. Ḥamīd (No. 78).
year, he was attached to Munim’s corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroi, and the pursuit of the Afghans to Bhadrak (p. 375).


Sildooz is the name of a Chaghātāi clan. According to the Tabaqat, he was at first in Bayrām’s service. In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanādī (Chunār) which Jamāl Khān, the Afghān Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (vide Badā,oni II, 32). Akbar offered him five parganas near Jaunpūr, but Jamāl did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr ʿAli with vain promises. Mihr ʿAli at last left suddenly for Āgra.

On his journey to Chanādī, he had been accompanied by the Historian Badā,oni, then a young man, to whom he had given lodging in his house at Āgra. 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 ʿAli 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 Ḫīṣar, and honoured him by being his guest. In the following year, he attended Sakina Bānū Begum, whom Akbar sent to Kābul to advise his brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 25th year, he served under Toḍar Māl against the rebel ʿArab.

The Tabaqat makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he was dead in 1001.

131. Khwāja Ibrāhīm-i Badakhshī.

He is not mentioned in the Ma’āṣir and the Tabaqat. From the Akbarnāma (II, p. 207) we see that he was Jāġīrdār of Sakīt (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

Ikhtiyār ʿl-Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadābād. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā joined him. Both besieged Ahmadābād. Akbar now resolved again to go to Gujrat. This is the famous nine days’ march (24th-Rabīʿ II, 981, to 4th Jumāda I, 981); vide p. 458, note. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā was captured and killed, apparently without the order of the Emperor. Ikhtiyār was also killed. Akbar then returns, and arrives, after an absence of forty-three days, at Fathpur Sikri, 8th Jumāda II, 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 Aṣṣīn-i Akbār is the third part—and have ended their second volume with the birth of Dānṭāl (2nd Jumāda I, 980). Their third volume opens with the beginning of the 18th year (6th Zī Qaṣida, 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 Mīrzās.
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. ضرونکه.

The Tabaqāt mentions a Sultān Ibrāhīm of Awba (near Hirāt) among Akbar's grandees. His name is not given in the Ā'īn. He was the maternal uncle of Nizam'ud-Dīn Ahmad, author of the Tabaqāt. He conquered Kamān and the Dāman-i Koh.

132. Salīm Khān Kākar.

Several MSS. of the Ā'īn call him Salīm Khān Kākar ʿAlī. The Akbarnāma calls him Salīm Khān Kākar, or merely Salīm Khān, or Salīm Khān Sirmūr. The Tabaqāt has Salīm Khān Sirmūr Afgān.

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Mālwa, and later under Muṣīzūl-Mulk (No. 61) in Audh, and was present in the battle of Khayrābād. In 980, he took a part in the fight of Sarnāl. He then served in Bengal, and was jāgirdar of Tājpūr. In the 28th year, he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) to Bhatī. As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal, Vazir Khān having gone to the frontier of Orīsa, Jabārī (vide p. 400, note 2) made an inroad from Kūch Bihār into Ghorāghāt, and took Tājpūr from Salīm’s men, and Pūr, a from the relations of Tarsō Khān (No. 32). Jabārī moved as far as Tānda. The Kotwī, Ḥasan ʿAlī, was sick, and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Ṣadr fled in precipitate haste. Fortunately, Shaykh Ṣafīd arrived, and Jabārī withdrew to Tājpūr. In the 32nd year, Salīm served under Ṣaṭṭār Khān (No. 83) against the Tārikīs, and shortly after, in the 33rd year, under Ṣādiq Khān against the same Afgān 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 Āgra, he ordered Ḥabīb to assist Qiyā Khān (No. 33) in the conquest. Towards the end of the fourth year, Akbar sent him against Rantānbūr. This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afgāns, and Salīm Shāh had appointed Jhujhār 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 Udai Singh. But Ḥabīb had to raise the siege.

[1] Parókh, nineteen kos south of Siyālkoṭ.—B.
[2] Should be Ormar.—B.
Abū 'l-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 Tabaqāt, he died in 970.

134. Jaggāl, younger brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No. 23).

He must not be confounded with No. 218. Jaggāl was mentioned on p. 348. In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mirtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Aḥmadābād, 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 Husayn Mīrzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rāja to go to Dihli. 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 Shāhībāz Khān (No. 80). When Shāhībāz returned unsuccessfully from Bhātī (p. 438) Kangār, Sāyyid ʿAbdu ʿllah Khān (No. 189), Rāja Gopāl Mīrzādā ʿAlī (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 Qāqshāl, the leader. They then joined Shāhībāz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Mūrcha.

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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrat.

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian Khān-i Kalān (the great Khān).

He rose to dignity under Maḥmūd 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 Aḥmadābād, he was one of the first Gujratī nobles that joined the Imperialists.

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Şādiq (No. 43) against Rāja Madhukar Bundela, Zamindār of Úndcha. In the 24th year, he followed Şādiq who had been ordered to assist Rāja Toḍar Mal on his expedition against the rebel ʿArab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār. He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabīta (p. 383, note 1) was killed.

He died in Bengal.
136. Maqsūd ʿAlī Kor.

The Tabaqāt 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 pretexts to send away Qabūl’s troops, but also his son Yādgār Ḥusayn (No. 338), to Nawshahra. 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 Ramaẓān, 978).

Akbar ordered Khān Jahān to invade the District. The lands of the rebellious Zamīndārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders.

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 Afghan war in Bengal under Muḥammad Khān Khānān. He was present in the battle of Takaro, and pursued the Afghāns under Tojār Mal to Bhadrak (p. 406).

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the Tabaqāt and the Maʾāṣir.

Commanders of Nine Hundred.¹


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 ʿĀmū (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 Aṭāʼin have these words; they count the officers from No. 138 to 175 amongst the Hazārās. But the best MSS. have this mansāb. In the list of grandees in the Padishahhnāma also the mansāb 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,ī (p. 406).

His sons are mentioned below, No. 148 and No. 380.

139. Sabdal Khān, Sumbul, a slave of Humāyūn.

140. Sayyid Muhammad, Mīr ʿAdl, 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. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad had studied the Ḥadīṣ and law under the best teachers of the age. The father of the Historian Badāʾūnī was his friend. Akbar made Sayyid Muḥammad, Mīr ʿAdl. When the learned were banished from Court (ikhrāj-i ʿulamāʾ) 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. 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 Badāʾūnī to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious Madad-i maṣāḥsh tenures, an advice resembling that of ʿAbduʾl-Ghaflār (vide No. 99, p. 454). S. Muḥammad’s sons were certainly all in the army; vide Nos. 251, 297, 363.

141. Razawi Khān, Mīrzā Mīrak, 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, Mīrzā Mīrak was placed under the charge of Khān Bāqī Khān (No. 60), but fled from his custody (at Dīlāl, Badāʾūnī 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 manṣab, and the title of Razawi Khān. In the 19th year, he was made Diwān of Jaunpūr, and in the 24th year, Bakhshi of Bengal in addition to his former duties.

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muẓaffar 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 (Akbarnāma III, 138). Badāʾūnī (III, p. 75) has 984.
the revolt. When the rebels had seceded (9th Zī Ḥijjah, 987) and gone from Ţānda to Gaur, Muẓaffar sent Raẓawī Khān, Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196) and Mīr Aḥmād Munshī 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 Raẓawī Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it. They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās. Raẓawī Khān and Mīr Aḥmād Munshī surrendered themselves.

The Maʿāṣir says that nothing else is known of Raẓawī Khān. The Tabaqāt says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001.

Mīrzā Mīrak is not to be confounded with Mīrak Khān, “an old grandee, who died in 975” (Tabaqāt); or with Mīrak Bahādur (208). Shāhjahān conferred the title of Raẓawī Khān on Sayyid ʿAlī, son of Ṣadr-a š’-Ṣudūr Mīrān S. Jalāl of Bukhārā.

142. Mīrzā Najāt Khān, brother of Sayyid Barka, 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 Akbārnāma (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India.

Mīrzā Najāt served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Rāja ʿAlī Khān, had shown signs of disaffection. Later, he served in Bengal. When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl (vide, p. 399, note 2), Jabārī (p. 400), Vazīr Jamīl (No. 200), Saʿīd-i Toqbaʾi, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zī Ḥijja, 987, from Ţānda to Gaur across the Ganges. Mīr Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself; and when Muẓaffar sent his grandees [Mīr Jamāl-u ʾd-Dīn Ḥusayn Injū (No. 164), Raẓawī Khān (No. 141), Timūr Khān (No. 215), Rāy Patr Dās (No. 196), Mīr Adham, Ḥusayn Beg, Ḥakīm Abū ʾl-Fatḥ (No. 112), Khwāja Shamsu ʾd-Dīn (No. 159), Jaʿfar Beg (No. 98), Mūhammad Qulī Türkman (No. 203), Qāsim Khān-i Sīstānī, ʿĪwāz Bahādur, Zulf ʿAlī Yazdī, Sayyid Abū Is-hāq-i Şafawī (No. 384), Muẓaffar Beg, etc.] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mīr Najāt stayed with Vazīr 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 (Hūgli). Abū 'l-Faḍl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fatḥābād (No. 34), and Qiyā Khān in Orīsā (No. 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (Akbarna. III, 291). But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afghāns under Qutlū, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity. Mir Najāt also was attacked by Qutlū and defeated near Salīmābād (Sulaymānābād), S. of Bardwān. He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūgli. Bābā Khān Qāshālī sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt; but the officer hearing of Qutlū’s victory, attacked the Afghāns near Mangalkot, N.E. of Bardwān. Qutlū, however, was again victorious.


144. Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshi.

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 Ḥadīṣ, under Mullā ‘Iṣām u’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age. He was also the murūd of Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Shāfi. 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 Khānpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (Akbarna., III, 85). He received several presents, and was appointed Parvānchī 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 Akbarna. call him Bartāb Bār Firingī, or Partāb Firingī.
him the title of Ghāzi Khan, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions.

In the 21st year, Ghāzi Khan 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 tuyūl, 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 Khan is the author of several works (vide Badā, oni III, 153).

The sījda, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (vide p. 167, note).

His son Ḵusām 'd-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 Ḵusām, 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 Nizām 'd-Dīn Awliyā in Dīhlī. The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea; but Ḵusām 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. Ḵusām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dīhlī. Khwāja Bāqī 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 'l-Faḍāl's sister. She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwīshes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband. Vide Tuzuk, p. 80.

145. Farḥat Khan, Mihtar Sakā, a slave of Humāyūn.

The MSS. have Sakāʾi and Sakāhī. Farḥat Khan is first mentioned in the war between Humāyūn and Mīrzā 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 Farḥat, and put to flight. When Humāyūn left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khan was, Farḥat was appointed Shiqdār of Lāhor. Subsequently, Mir Shāh Abū 'l-Maʿālī was appointed Governor of Lāhor. He sent away Farḥat, and appointed his own men instead. Farḥat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb.

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1 Akbarnāma I, 416. At the same time, Mir Bābā (No. 73) was appointed Faujdār of the Panjāb, Mīrzā Shāh Sultān was made Amīn, and Mihtar Jawhar, treasurer.

Humāyūn was on the 29th Muharram, 962, at Bigrām, crossed the Indus on the 5th Safar, when Bayrām arrived from Kābul, was at Lāhor on the 2nd Rabiʿ II, and at Sarhind, on the 7th Rajab.
After Akbar's accession, Farḥat was made Tuyūldār of Korra. He distinguished himself in the war with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā near Ahmadābād. When the Mīrzā was brought in a prisoner, Farḥat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for; but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farḥat for his cruelty. In the 19th year, he served in Bihār and was made jāgīrdār of Āra. In the 21st year (984), Gajpatī (p. 437) devastated the district. Farḥānγ Kān, Farḥat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain. Farḥat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (vide No. 80).

146. Rūmī Kān, Ustād Jalābī (?), of Rūm.

He is not mentioned in the Tabaqāt and the Ma'āṣir, and but rarely in the Akbarnāma. In the 20th year, he and Bāqī Kān (No. 60) and ʿAbd al-Rahmān Beg (No. 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah. The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salīma Sultan Begam, Ḥājī Begam, Gulṣaṭar Begam, Sultan Begam (wife of Mīrzā Ḍaskarī), Umm Kulsūm Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujār Ṭaghī (one of Bābar's wives), Bibi Ṣafiya, Bibi Sarw-i Sahī and Shāhām Ṭaghī (wives of Humāyūn), and Salīma Khānum (daughter of Khīżr Khwāja). They left in Rajab, 983.

Rūmī Kān has also been mentioned above (No. 111).

147. Samānjī Kān Qurghūjī (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 Tabaqāt says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000. In the same work he is called a Mughul.

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Mālwa under Adham Kān (No. 19) and was present in the battle of Sārangpūr. In the 9th year, he accompanied Muḥammad Qāsim Kān-i Nishāpūrī (No. 40) and pursued ʿAbd al- Ḥān Kān Uzbek (No. 14). In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Kān Mīr Munshī (No. 74), to go to Rantanbhūr and suppress the disturbances created by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn in Mālwa. Later, he held a jāgīr in Āra.1 He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp.

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later. His sons received employments in the army.

From the Akbarnāma (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

1 The Ma'āṣir has Awanā. At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jāgīrdār of the Āra District (Akhbarnāma, III, 244).
21st year under Khân Jahân (No. 24) and was present in the battle of Āg Māhāll. In the 30th year, he was in Mālwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps. Two years later, he served under Shihâb Khân (No. 26) against Râja Madhukar.

148. Shâhbehg Khân, son of Kûchak 'Alî Khân of Badakhshân (Nos. 138 and 380).

His name is not given in the Ma'âṣir and the Tabaqât. Amîr Beg, a Pânsadî under Shâhjahân, appears to be his son.

149. Mirza Husayn Khân, brother of Mirzâ Najât Khân (vide No. 142).

150. Hakîm Zanjîl, brother of Mirzâ Mu'âammad Tabîb of Sabzwâr.

Zanjîl means "a basket". In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakîm Zanjîl Beg. Badâ,oni says, he was a muqarrîb, or personal attendant on the emperor.¹

151. Khudâwând Khân-i Dakhînî.

Khudâwând Khân was a Nizamshâhî Grandee. As his father was born at Mashhad, Kh. is often called Mashhadî. He was of course a Shî'âh.

He was a man of imposing stature, and well known for his personal courage. When Khwâja Mirak of Iṣfâhân, who had the title of Chingiz Khân, was the Vâkil of Murtaza Nizâm Shâh, Kh. rose to dignity. He held several districts in Barâr as jâgîr. The Masjid of Rohankhara ² was built by him.

In 993, when Mîr Murtaza of Sabzwâr (No. 162) commanded the army of Barâr, and was no longer able to withstand Şâlahat 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 Patan in Gujarât as tuyâl.

He was married to Abû 'l-Faţl's sister, and died at Kârî in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 998 (Badâ,oni II, 372, where in the Türîkh of his death the word Dakhînî must be written without an h).

Once Abû 'l-Faţl 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 'l-Faţl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindûstânî custom, Kh. disliked Abû 'l-Faţl, and never went again to his house. "Hence Dakhînis are notorious in Hindûstân for stupidity."

¹ The Edit. Bibl. Indica of Badâ,oni (III, 164) calls him wrongly Hakim Zinal Shîrâzi. Zinal is the reading of bad MSS., and Shîrivs is often altered to Shîrâzi. Other bad MSS. have Ranbal.

² Rohankhara lies in West Barâr, in the district of Buldâna. In Abû 'l-Faţl's list of parganas in Sarkâr Talingâna, there is one called Qiryât-i Khudâwând Khân.
The *Tabaqāt* puts Ḵẖān among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995. The *Maḥāsīr* has 997.

He served in the 9th year in Mālwa during the expedition against ʿAbdu ʿIlah Ḵẖān Uzbak (No. 14). In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrat war under the Ḵẖān-i Kalān (No. 16). Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qasim Ḵẖān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghānīs ravaged the frontiers of Bihār. In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shāḥbāz Ḵẖān in the war with Rānā Partāb.  
He then served in Bihār under Ḵẖān-i Aʿzam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāḥbāz Ḵẖān (*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 Qasim Ḵẖān (No. 59), who was on his way to Kashmīr. Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīris who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdu ʿIlah Ḵẖān (No. 189).

Badāʾonī (III, p. 326) says he was a poet. He places his death in 996.

153. **Saʿādat Mirzā**, son of Khizr Khwāja Ḵẖān (p. 394, note).

154. **Shimāl Khān Chela**.

*Cheła* means "a slave". The *Tabaqāt* says he was a Qurchī, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion. He was made a *Hazārī* and was no longer alive in 1001.

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muṣʿazzam, 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 Shāḥbāz (No. 80) in the expedition to Siwāna.

155. **Shāh Ghāzi Khān**, a Sayyid from Tabriz.

The *Tabaqāt* calls him a Turkmān, and says, he was dead in 1001. He served in the 19th year with Mirzāda ʿAlī Khān (No. 152) against Qasim 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.


He is not to be confounded with Maʾṣūm Khān-i Kābulī (p. 476, note).

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1 He is also called Mirzād ʿAlī Khān. My text edition has wrongly Mirzā ʿAlī Khān. For Muḥtaram many MSS. read wrongly Muḥram.

2 His father, Muḥtaram Beg, was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court.

3 Generally called in the Histories Rānā Khītā.
Maṣṣūm was made a Hazārī on the death of his father, and received Ghāzipūr as tuyūl. 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, Maṣṣūm thought it opportune to rebel. He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsō Khān’s men (No. 32). As Akbar kad known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as tuyūl. This M. did; but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Quli Maḥram and Rāja Bīr Bār 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 Zamīndārs 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 Maqṣūd joined him and supplied him with funds. M. collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahrāich. Vazīr Khān (No. 41) and others moved from Hājipūr 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 Mihsī, Sarkār Champāran, as tuyūl. 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 Zaḥāk (خماک) 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 Shāh Abū’l-Ma'āli. Afterwards, T. went to Kābul, where he remained for a long time. In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghānī Khān, son of Mun'aīm Khān (No. 11), who was in charge of Kābul. Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bábah Khātūn, his jāghir, collecting men to take revenge on Ghānī. A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghānī one day had left Kābul for a place called Khwāja Sayyārān (خیام حواء سازان), to waylay a caravan from Balkh. He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khān fell upon them. Ghānī, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwāja Awāsh (خیام آواش), a place two kos distant from Kābul. But he was opposed by Fazīl Beg (Mun'aīm's brother) and his son Abū ‘l-Fath (called wrongly 'Abdu'l-Fath, on p. 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghānī go. Ghānī immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindūstān. Ghānī overtook him near the Āb-i Ghorband and killed Bábah Qūchān, and several other relations and friends of Tolak. Tolak himself and his son Isfandiyār managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India. Akbar gave Tolak a jāghir in Mālwa, where he remained for a long time.

In the 28th year, T. served under Khān Khānān (No. 29) in Mālwa and Gujrat, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambhā, it. He distinguished himself in the fights with Muqaffar, and served under Qulij Khān (No. 42) in the conquest of Bahrāch. In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M. 'Azīz Koka was to be sent to the Dakhin. Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M. 'Azīz Koka and Shihābu'd-Din, he was imprisoned. After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Mān Singh against the Afghāns.

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004).

159. Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khawafī.

Khwāfī means "coming from Khawāf", which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have "Khaff" or "Khāf", due west of Hirat, between Lat. 60° and 61°. According to the Mu'jam'u'l-Buldān, "Khawaf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishāpūr. Near it lies on one side Būshanj which belongs to the districts of Hirat, and on the other Zūzan. Khawaf
contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Sirāwand, and Kharjard).’ Amin Rāṣī in his excellent Haft Iqlīm says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, ar 1 learned men it has produced. The dynasty called, Āl-i Muẓaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fārs and Shirāz, 1 were Khawāfīs. The author of the Zakhīratu'l Khawānīn says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnis. When Shāh 4 Abbās-i Ṣafawī, 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 (sabb-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 Shīʿas as they were formerly bigoted Sunnis.

Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn was the son of Khwāja 4 Alāu'd-Dīn, 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 Maṣūm-i Kābulī 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 Singrām, Rāja of Kharakpūr (Bihār). 2 As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

1 They succumbed to Timūr. The Histories disagree regarding the length of their reign, some give 57 years, from a.h. 741 to 798.

Amin Rāṣī mentions also several learned men and vazirs besides those mentioned in the Muṣjam, 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 Mughul emperors was considerable. One is mentioned below, No. 347. The Maṣāʿir has notes on the following:—Mīrzā ʿIzzat (under Jahāngīr); Mīrzā Ahmad, and Muṣṭafīd Khān Muhammad Ṣalih (under Shāhjahān); Sayyid Amir Khān Shaykh Mir, Khwāja Mir Khawāfī Šalāb Khān, Ṣāvāvat Khān, and Mustafā Khān (under Awarzāb). The lists of grandees in the Pādishāhīnāmā mention several other Khawāfīs. In later times we have the name of ʿAbd-ʿr-Raqqāq ʿṢamsān ʿd-Dawla Awarzābādī, who was murdered in 1171. His ancestor, Mir Kāmāl ʿd-Dīn Khawāfī, has served under Akbar.

For Khawāfī some MSS. have Khāfī. The Historian Muhammad Ḥāshim 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 Rāmī Khān, Ghawzin Khān, Ḥabkī Khān. The authors of the Pādishāhīnāmā and the Maṣāʿir never use the form Khāfī.

Singrām later fought with Shāhāb Khān (No. 80), and ceded Fort Mahdā. Though he never went to Court, he remained in submission to the Imperial governors of Bihār and Bengal. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, Jahāngīr Quli Khān Lāla Beg, governor of Bihār, sent a corps against Singrām, who was killed in a fight. His son turned Muḥammad, and received the name "Rāja Roz-asfūn", was confirmed in his zamindāris, and reached, under Jahāngīr, the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred. Under Shāhjahān, he served with Mahābāt, Khān in Balkh, against Jhūjūr Singh Bundela, in the siege of Porenda, and was at his death in 1044 a Commander of Two Thousand. His son, Rāja Bhirūz served in Qandahār, in the war between Awarzābī and Shāh Shujā, and distinguished himself in the second conquest of Palāmāu (4th year of Awarzābī). Rāja Bhirūz died in the 8th year of Awarzābī'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 (26th) to superintend the building of Fort Aṭak (built 990-1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was.  

After this, Shams was for some time Dīwān of Kābul. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No. 42) after the death of Qāsim Khān (No. 59) was made Šūbadār of Kābul, Shams was made Dīwān of the empire (Dīwān-i kull), vice Qulij. When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Āgra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) were left in Lāhor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjāb, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Āgra.

Shams died at Lāhor in the 45th year (1008). The family vault which he had built near Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl having been used for other purposes (p. 469) he was buried in Lāhor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called Khwāfīpūra.

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business.

Like Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless.

His brother, Khwāja Mūmin Khawāfī, was made, on his death, Dīwān of the Panjāb. Mūmin's son, 'Abd-i Khaliq was a favourite of Āṣaf Khān IV (p. 398). He was killed by Mahābat Khān, when Āṣaf had been removed by Mahābat from Fort Aṭak and imprisoned.


Kūwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mīrzā Ja'far Āṣaf Khān (No. 98) against Rāja Bāṣū, zamīndār of Mau and Paṭhān (Nūrpūr, N.E. Panjāb). In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Mālwa, and Prince Salim (Jahāngīr) was ordered to move against Rānā Amr Singh,

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1 The author of the Ma'āṣir repeats Abū 'l-Fażl's etymology of the name "Atak", which was given on p. 404, note. He also says that some derive it from the Hindi, atak, prevention, a bar, "because Hindūs will not go beyond the Indus." But there is no instance on record that Hindūs ever did object to cross the Indus. Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, and others were governors of Kābul and Zābulstān, and had their Rājputās there; and during the reign of Shāhjahān, the Rājputās distinguished themselves in the conquest of Balkh and the siege of Qandahār. [Fort Aṭak built in 960-91.—B]

Abū 'l-Fażl's etymology is also doubtful; for in the Akbarnāma (II, 302) he mentions the name "Atak" long before the building of the Fort (III, 235)

2 The twelve Dīwāns, who in 1003 had been appointed to the 12 Šūbas, were under his orders. Dīwān-i kull is the same as Vazīr-i kull or Vazīr-i mutlaq, or merely Vazīr.
Mān Singh was called from Bengal, and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal, as nā′ib of his father. While still at Ágra, 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 Afghan under ʿUsmān and Shujaʿwal Khān to attack him. They defeated him and Partab Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No. 336), near Bhadrak in Orīsā (45th year). Mān Singh hastened to Bengal, and after defeating in 1009 the Afghan near Sherpur ʿAtā, between Shi,ūri (Sooree) in Bhīrhum and Murshidābād, recovered Lower Bengal and Orīsā.

Mahā Singh died soon after, like his father, from excessive drinking.


Naqīb Khān is the title of Mīr Ghiyās ʾd-Dīn ʿAlī. His family belongs to the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, who were known in Irān for their Sunni tendencies. His grandfather Mīr Yaḥyā 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, Mīr Yaḥyā was patronized by Shāh Ṭahmāsp-i Ṣafawī, who called him Yaḥyā 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 to him and his son, Mīr ʿAbdu ʿl-Latīf, were the leading men among the Sunnis of Qazwīn. They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Āzarbāyjān, to order Mīr Yaḥyā and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Iṣfahān. At that time, his second son, ʿAlāʾu ʿd-Dawlā was in Āzarbāyjān, and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father. Mīr Yaḥyā, being too old and infirm to flee, accompanied the king's messenger to Iṣfahān, and died there, after one year and nine months, in a.H. 962, at the age of 77 years."

"Mīr 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 Mīr Yaḥyā is the author of an historical compendium called Lubbaʿ ʿd-tawwirikā, compiled in 1541. Vide Elliot's Bibl. Index to the Historians of India, p. 129. His second son ʿAlāʾu ʿd-Dawlā wrote under the poetical name of Kāmī, and is the author of the Naṣfāʾiṣn ʾl-Maʾṣūr, a "taṣkīra", or work on literature. Badā,oni (III, 97) says he composed a Qasida in which, according to the manner of Shīʿaḥ, he abused the companions of the Prophet and the Sunnis, and among the latter his father and elder brother (ʿAbd aʿl-Latīf), whom he used to call Ḥaẓrat-i ʿĀqī, as he had been his teacher. But the verse in which he cursed his relations is ambiguously worded.
Some fix the date of Mīr Yaḥyā'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 Ḥâtîz. 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 Āgra 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, l.c.

Mir ṢAbdu 'l-Laṭîf died at Sikrî on the 5th Rajab, 981, and was buried at Ajmîr near the Dargâh of Mir Sayyid Ḥusayn Khîng-Suwâr.

ṢAbdu 'l-Laṭîf had several sons. The following are mentioned: 1. Naqīb Khân; 2. Qâmar Khân; 3. Mir Muḥammad 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 Qâmar Khân, vide No. 243.

Naqīb Khân arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjâb (AKbâr, 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 Munṣîm Khân had interceded (II, 281). In the 18th year, N. accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Almadâbâd (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 Qâmar Khân served under Tôdâr Mal and Şâdiq Khân in Bihâr against Maṣṣûm-i Kâbuli (III, 273). In the 26th year, he received the title of Naqīb Khân. Though

1 The MSS. of the Maṣarîr have جمال کلاته؛ so also Badâ.oni, l.c.
2 He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of sulh-i kull, "peace with all," the Persian term which Abû 'l-Faṣl so often uses to describe Akbar’s policy of toleration. Abû 'l-Faṣl (AKbâr, II, 23) says that ṢAbdu 'l-Laṭîf was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindûstân of being a Shâhah.
3 Elliot has by mistake 971. The Târîkh of his death in the Maṣarîr and Badâ.oni (III, p. 99) is fakhr-i al-i Ya-Sîn, "the pride of the descendants of Ya’sîn (the Prophet)"); 981, if the long alif in all be not counted 2, but 1.
4 Kewal Râm, according to Elliot, says in the Taṣkîría l-Umarâ that the title was conferred on Naqīb Khân in the 25th year for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by Maṣṣûm Khân-i Kâbuli on the Imperialists under Tôdâr Mal and Şâdiq Khân. This night attack is related in the Akbârnama (III, 293). The fight took place in the 25th year, near Gâyâ; but Abû 'l-Faṣl says nothing of Naqīb’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 super-intended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, mentioned on p. 110. Several portions of the Tārīḵh-i Alḥī also (p. 113) are written by him.

Naqīb had an uncle of the name of Qāzī ʿĪsā, 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 Bānū Begam, sister of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (Akbar’s half-brother); and as Naqīb Khān, in the 38th year, reported that Qāzī 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 Jahānghīr, 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 Maḥmūd, Munshiyā ’l-Mamālik, who had been for twenty-five years in Akbar’s service (Badā,oni III, 321).

Naqīb’s son, ʿAbdu’l-Latīf, was distinguished for his acquirements. He was married to a daughter of M. Yūṣūf 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-i ḥ-safā by heart. Jahānghīr, 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 Murtaẓā Khān, a Sabzwārī Sayyid.

Mir Murtaẓā Khān was at first in the service of ʿĀdil Shāh of Bijāpur. Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh called him to Aḥmadnagar, and made him Military Governor of Barār, and later Amīr-i ʿl-Umarāʾ. He successfully invaded, at Nizām Shāh’s order, ʿĀdil Shāh’s dominions. But Nizām Shāh suffered from insanity, and the government was left in the hands of his Vakīl, Shāh Quli Ṣalābat Khān; and as he reigned absolutely, several of the nobles, especially the tuyūldārs of Barai, were dissatisfied. Ṣalābat Khān being bent on ruining them, Mir Murtaẓā Khudāwand Khān (No. 151), Jamshed Khān-i Shīrāzī and others, marched in 992 to Aḥmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān and Shāhzhāda Mirān Ḩusayn surprised them and routed them. Mir Murtaẓā lost all his property, and unable to resist Ṣalābat Khān, he went with Khudāwand 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 Aḥmadnagar, Śādiq Khān (No. 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barār), and M. M. in Ilichpūr, to guard the conquered districts. During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gāwīl, near Ilichpūr (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajhū 'd-Dīn and Biswās Rāo, to enter Akbar’s service. Later, M. M. distinguished himself in the conquest of Aḥmadnagar under Prince Dānyal, and received a higher Manṣāb, as also a flag and a naqqāra.

Mīr Murtazā is not to be confounded with the learned Mīr Murtazā Sharīf-i Shīrāzī (Badā, onī III, 320), or the Mīr Murtazā mentioned by Badā, onī III, 279.

163. Shamsī, son of Khān-i Aʿẓām Mirzā Koka (No. 21).

He was mentioned above on pp. 345 and 346. At the end of Akbar’s reign, Shamsī ¹ was a Commander of Two Thousand.

In the third year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he received the title of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, vacant by the death of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Beg, Governor of Bihār, and was sent to Gujrat as naṭib of his father. Mirzā ʿAzīz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Shība; 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 Shāhjahan had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending ʿAbdu ʿIlāh Khān Fīrūz-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 Shība of Ilāhābād.

On Shāhjahan’s accession, Shamsī was deposed, but allowed to retain his Manṣāb. A short time after, he was appointed to Sūrat, and Jūnāgadh, vice Beglar Khān. He died there in the 5th year of Shāhjahan’s reign (1041).

Shamsī’s son, Bahārām, was made by Shāhjahan a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (Pādishāhn. I, b., 309) and appointed to succeed his father. Whilst in Gujrat, he built a place called after him Bahāmpūra. He died in the 18th year of Shāhjahan’s reign (Pādishāhn. II, p. 733).

164. Mīr Jamālū ’d-Dīn Husayn, an Injū Sayyid.

From a remark in the Wassāf it appears that a part of Shīrāz was called Injū; vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, p. 67 to p. 69.

Mīr Jamālū ’d-Dīn Injū belongs to the Sayyids of Shīrāz, who trace their descent to Qāsimarrāsī (?!) ibn-i ʿHasan ibn-i Ibrāhīm ʿTabāṭībāʾi Ḥusaynī. Mīr Shāh Maḥmūd and Mīr Shāh Abū Turāb, two later members

¹ Shamsī is an abbreviation for Shamsu ’d-Dīn.
² Sorath.—R.
of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shâh Ţahmâsp-i Şafawî, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mir Shamsu 'd-Din Asadu 'llâh of Shushtar, the first as Shaykhâ 'l-Islâm of Persia, and the second as Qâziyâ 'l-Qużåt. Mir Jamâlu 'd-Din is one of their cousins.

Mir Jamâlu 'd-Din went to the Dakhin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injûs. He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrât 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 Muẓaffar (Akbar-nâma III, p. 255). In the 30th year (993) he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied, shortly after, Aẓâm Khân (No. 21) on his expedition to Gadha and Râ'ís in (Akbar-n. III, 472). In the 36th year, he had a jâgîr in Mâlwa, and served under Aẓâm Khân in the Dakhin. His promotion to the rank of a Hazârî took place in the 40th year. When in the 45th year the fort of Āsîr had been conquered, Ādîl Shâh, king of Bijâpûr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Dânyâl. To settle matters, Akbar dispatched the Mir in 1009 (Akbar-n. 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 Agra, 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-Hazârî, and received a naqqâra and a flag. When Khusraw rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusraw the kingdom of Kâbul with the same conditions under which M. Muḥammad Ḥâkîm, 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, Ḥasan Beg (No. 167), Khusraw's principal agent told Jahângîr that all Amîrs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion; Jamâlu 'd-Din had only a short time ago asked him (Ḥasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as Panîhazârî. The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirzâ Āzîz Koka (No. 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities; Ḥasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others; he himself (Āzîz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment. Jahângîr consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihâr. In the 11th year, Mir Jamâl received the title of Āsâdhu '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 Bijáipur. At the top of the handle, he had a yellow yáqūt fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other yáqūts and emeralds. The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees.

In 1621, Jahángrír 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 Panjhažârî with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred. In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahángrír’s accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled Farhang-i Jahángrírî, 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 Bahrá,ich, Mir Jamál returned to Ægra, where he died.

Mir Jamál u’d-Dín had two sons. 1. Mir Amin u’d-Dín. He served with his father, and married a daughter of ṢAbd u’r-Raḥîm Khân Khânân (No. 29). He died when young.

2. Mir Ḥusam u’d-Dín. He married the sister of Aḥmad Beg Khân, brother’s son of Ibrahîm Khân Fath-Jang (Nûr Jâhán’s brother). Jahángrír made him Governor of Āsîr, which fort he handed over to Prince Shâhjahân during his rebellion. On Shâhjahân’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 Murtâzâ Khân. He was also made Governor of Thathah, where he died in the second year (1039).

Mir Ḥusâm’s sons—1. Šâmsâm u’d-Dawla. He was made Diwân of Shâh Shujâ in the 21st year. In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orîsâ with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse. He died in the end of the same year. 2. Nûr u’l-lâh. He is mentioned in the Pâdishāhnâma (I, b., p. 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse.

165. Sayyid Râjû, of Bârha.

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (vide p. 427) the Bârha clan Râjû belongs.

He served in the 21st year, under Mân Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannâth (No. 69), against the Râna. While serving under the latter, Râjû commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Râna’s troops. In the 30th year, Jagannâth and Râjû attacked the Râna in his residence; but he escaped.

¹ Regarding the Farhang-i Jahángrírî, vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1868, pp. 12 to 15, and 65 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 Aḥmadnagar. 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 Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul died, and the country was annexed to India. Mir Sharif was appointed Āmin 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 Bihār and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmir as-aqālı, and the Pargana of Mohān near Lakhnau, as tayyīl. 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 Tabaqat says, “Mir Sharif belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with ṣūfism and is at present (1001) in Bihār.”

Note on the Nuqtawiyya Sect ( نقطویه).

It was mentioned above (p. 186) that Mir Sharif spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān. The curious sect which Maḥmūd founded, goes by the name of Maḥmūdiyya, or Wāhidīyya, or Nuqtawiyya, or Umanā. Maḥmūd called himself Shakk-i wāhid, or “the individual”, and professed to be the Imām Mahdi, whose appearance

1 The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma (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 Badā,oni (Ed. Bibl. Indica) has Basakhwān; the MSS. of the Maṣāṣir, Basakhwān (with a long penultima) and in other places Basakhwān without a w; the Calcutta edition of the Dabistān (p. 374) and Shea and Troyer’s Translation have Masajwān—a shifting of the diacritical points.

3 The name nuqtaui was evidently used by Badā,oni, though the MSS. from which the Bibl. Indica edition was printed, have Nabati, which was given on p. 185. For Umanā, Shea’s translation of the Dabistān has Imanā; but ʿumān (umanad) is, no doubt, the plural of ʿāmin.
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 Maʿāṣir have A.H. 800, which also agrees with Badāoni's statement that Maḥmūd lived at the time of Timūr. The sect found numerous adherents in Irān, but was extinguished by Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māzī,1 who killed them or drove them into exile.

Maḥmūd had forced into his service a passage from the Qurʿān (Sur. XVII, 81), ʿasā an yabṣaṣa-kā rabbu-kā maqāmān māhmūdān, "peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (māhmūd) station." He maintained that the human body (jāṣad) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection "Maḥmūd" would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qurʿān, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muḥammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the nuqta-yi khāk, or earth-atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose. The term nuqta-yi khāk has given rise to their name Nuqtaunās. For other of Maḥmūd’s tenets, vide Shea’s translation of the Dabistān, vol. III, pp. 12 to 26.

Some of Maḥmūd’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 Āmulī 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 ʿAlam Ārā-yi Sikandari, as the Maʿāṣir says, mentions Mir Sharif-i Āmulī under the following circumstances. In 1002, the 7th year of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Māzī’s reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh ʿAbbās Jālālu ’d-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 Māzī (مظی), 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 Nuqtawīyya belief, he was known as one of the sect, and was accordingly killed. So also Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Kāshān, whom Ābās killed with his own sword. Among his papers treatises were found on the Nuqtā doctrine, and also a letter addressed to him by Abū ’l-Fażl in Akbar’s name. Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī, 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 Maṣāṣīr remarks that it involves an anachronism, for Mīr Sharīf was in India in 984, when Akbar was at Dīpālpūr in Mālwa; and besides, Sharīf-i Āmulī was mentioned in no Taẓkīra as a poet.

167. Hasan Beg Khān-i Badakhshi Shaykh ʿUmarī.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 Pakhali,1 which is 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies west of Kashmir. In Pakhali, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān-i Pakhaliwāl (No. 301) paid his respects. This Zamīndār belonged to the descendants of the Qārluqūs (تاریخ) whom Timūr on his return from India to Tūrān had left in Pakhali as garrison. After following Akbar’s Court for a few days, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān withdrew without leave, and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pakhali (Akbarnāma III, 591, 598). He speedily subdued the district. In the 35th year, during Hasan Beg’s temporary absence at Court, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khān again rebelled, assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir2 ‘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 2 (in the Panjab) as jagīr.

In the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was called from Kābul to Court. On his way, at Mathurā (Muttra), Hasan Beg met Prince Khusraw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday, the 8th Zi Ḫījah, 1014.3 From

1 Badakhshi is the adjective formed from Badakhshān, as Kāshān from Kāshān. The words Shaykh ʿUmarī are to be taken as an adjective formed like Akbarshāhī, 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 Bābarīyān or “ nobles of Bābar’s Court ”.

Hasan Beg is often wrongly called Husayn Beg. Thus in the Tuzuk, p. 25 ff.; Pādi-shāhān I, p. 306; Akbarn. III, 598.

2 Generally spelt رودهاس. The fort in Bihār is spelt without ʿeṣāf, though both are identical.

3 So the Tuzuk. The Maṣāṣīr has the 20th, instead of the 8th. MSS. continually confound ʿeṣāf and ʿeṣāf. But Jahāngīr on his pursuit reached Hōdāl on the 10th Zi Ḫījah and the Tuzuk is correct.
distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kābul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshīs", 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 ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm, Diwān of Lāhor. After the defeat near Bhairōwāl 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 ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm, were taken before Jahāngir in the Bāgh-i Mīrzā Kāmrān, a villa near Lāhor, Khusraw himself, according to Chingiz's law (batorah 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 ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm 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 ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm 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 Mīrzā 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 Isfandiyār Khān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500. He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shāhjahān's reign (Pādīshāḥī. I, 476; II, b. 304). The Šārīf Beg-i Shaykh Ṣūmārī mentioned in the Pādīshāḥī. (I, b. 319) appears to be a relation of his.

168. Sheroya Khān, son of Sher Afkān Khān.

Sher Afkān Khān was the son of Qūch Beg. Qūch Beg served under Humāyūn, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several

1 Vide p. 456 note. There is another Bhairōwāl between Wazīrābād and Siyālkot, south of the Chanāb.

2 In Zū ʿl-Hijjah, 1018, he got an appointment as a Yūzbāshī, or commander of 100 and was sent to Kashmir (Tuzuk, p. 79). In the Tuzuk, he is called ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm Khār, ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥīm "the Ass".
grandees to save Maryam Makání, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausá (vide No. 96, p. 450). When Humáyún fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mirzã Kámrãm in Kábul; but he joined the emperor on his return from Irán, and was made governor of Qalã. Later he received Zaĥák-Bámiyán as jãgîr, but went again over to Kámrãm. Humáyún's, soon after, captured and killed him.

Sheroya Khán served at first under Mun'ím (No. 11) in Bengal and Orísá. In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murád to Kábul. In the 28th year, he served under ‘Abdú ’r-Raḥîm (No. 29) in Gujrát, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (Akbarnáma III, 408, 422). In the 30th year, he served under Matláb Khán (No. 83) against Jalâl-Târikî (p. 441). In the 39th year, he was made a Khán, and was appointed to Ajmír. According to the Tabaqáh he was a Hazárí in 1001.

169. Nazar Be Uzbak.

The Akbarnáma (III, p. 500) says, "On the same day Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shádî Be (No. 367), and Báqí Be (No. 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor."

Shádî Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Matláb Khán (No. 83) against the Târikís. He may be the Shádî Khán Shádî Beg, mentioned in the Pádisháhnáma (I, b. 308) as a commander of One Thousand. Be is the abbreviation of Beg. Nazar Be is not to be confused with Nazar (?) Beg (No. 247).

170. Jalâl Khán, son of Muḥammad Khán, son of Sultân Ādam, the Gakkhar.

171. Mubârak Khán, son of Kamãl Khán, the Gakkhar.

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the Maţâşir, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus. At the time of Zaynú ’l-Ábidín, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznín noble of the name of Malik Kid (क) or Kid), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kâbul, took away

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1 When the news was brought to Akbar that Mân Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists, and the death of Bîr Bar in the Khaybar Pass, had defeated the Târikís at Sali Masjid (end of the 30th year, or beginning of Rabî’s 1, 994).

2 Mr. J. G. Delmerick informs me that the Gakkhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindi and Jehlum districts from Khânpur on the borders of the Hazára district along the lower range of hills skirting the Tabús of Rawul Pindi, Kuhúta, and Gújar Khán, as far as Domel in the Jehlum district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwâla, Sultânpur, and Dângali. They declare that they are descended from the Kāíanan kings of Irán. 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 Sháh, fled to Afghánistán, where he died. His son, Gakkhar Sháh, came to the Panjáb with Mahmûd of Ghazní, and was made lord of the Sind Ságâr Du’âb. Malik Bîr is said to have been the grandfather of Tapâr, whose father was Malik Pilâ. Vide Mr. Delmerick’s History of the Gakkhars, Journal A.S.B., 1871. Vide p. 621.
these districts from the Kashmūris, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilāb (Indus) and the Sawālikās and the frontier of modern Kashmīr. 1 Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalān, and Malik Kalān by Malik Bir. After Bir, the head of the tribe was Sultān Tatār, who rendered Bābar valuable service, especially in the war with Rānā Sānkā. Sultān Tatār had two sons, Sultān Sārang and Sultān Ādam. Sārang fought a great deal with Sher Shāh and Salīm Shāh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghāns. The Fort Rohtās was commenced by Sher Shāh with the special object of keeping the Gakkhar's in check. Sher Shāh in the end captured Sultān Sārang and killed him, and confined his son Kamāl Khan in Gwāliyār, without, however, subjugating the tribe. Sultān Ādam was now looked upon as the head of the clan. He continued to oppose the Afghāns. Once Salīm Shāh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwāliyār Fort, where the state prisoners were kept. Kamāl Khan, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned. Kamāl went to his kinsfolk; but as Sultān Ādam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Saṣid Khan, avoiding conflict with his uncle. Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamāl paid his respects to the emperor at Jālindhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū and during the siege of Mānkoṭ. In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyāna Afghāns, who had revolted near Saronj (Mālwa) and was made on his return jāgirdār of Karah and Fathpūr Huswah. In the 6th year, he served under Khān Zamān (No. 13) against the Afghāns under the son of Mubāriz Khān 6ʿAdlī (p. 320). In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamāl Khan begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakkhar district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle. Akbar ordered the Khān-i Kalān (No. 16) and other Panjābī grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamāl Khan; if Sultān Ādam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultān Ādam. The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultān Ādam. The Panjāb,

1 The Maṣūgīr says, he subjected the tribes called mirgāl, jārīzā, ṣadān, jāwād, 'kōghā (vide p. 487) Mr. Delamerick says, the Khataras inhabit the western parts of the Rawal Pindi district. The second tribe is that of the Janja, as who inhabit the Salt Range. The third, Aūsā (_extensions) are found in the southern parts of the Rawal Pindi and the ʃēlām districts; their tract is called Awānsāhri to this day. The fourth, he says, may be the Jadra, a great clan about Pindi Ghāb. The fifth, he believes, is intended for the Khokara (シアク), a tribe of some importance in Pindi Dādān Khan. The sixth and the eighth are the Chībā (シアク) and Mangarā (シアク), large tribes in Jammu. The seventh he supposes to be a mistake for safarīya or hill tribes, which were the Dhūnds (シアク) and Sattās (シアク). Vide Additional Notes at end to p. 507.
army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the “Qaṣba of Hilā”.  

1 Sultān Ādam and his son Lashkari were handed over to Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district. Kamāl Khān killed Lashkari, and put Sultān 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.  

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān served in the 30th year under Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Bhagwān Dās, and Shāh Qulī Māḥram, 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 Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḩākim, king of Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar’s service. He received a jagīr in the Panjāb. According to the Akbarnāma (III, 489), he went with Bīr Bār (No. 85) to Sawād and Bijor, and distinguished himself under ʿAbdu ʿl-Maṭlaḥ (No. 83) against the Tārikīs (III, 541).

In the 40th year, he operated against the ʿĪsā Khayl Afgāns, though with little success. Two years later, he served under Āṣaf Khān (No 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of Tāj Khān. When Rāja Bāṣū 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 ʿUmār (No. 167), Aḥmad Beg-i Kābuli (No. 191), and Tāj Khān. Without waiting for the others, T. Kh. moved to Pāṭhān. Whilst pitching his tents, Jamil Beg, T. Kh.’s son, received news of Bāṣū’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 Thathah, where he died in the ninth year (1023).

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1 Not Hailā (هنین), south of Chilānwalā between the Jhelam and the Chanāb; but Hilā, or Hil, which, Mr. Delmerick says, is a ferry on the Jhelam near Dāngalī, Sultān Ādam’s stronghold.

2 So in my MSS. of the Tabaqāt. The author of the Maʿdāʾīsī 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 ʿism Allāhumma sallī al-Mubārak. He was certainly alive in the middle of 972. (Akbarnāma, I, p. 302.)
173. Shaykh ʿAbdullāh, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaws [of Gwāliyār].

Shaykh ʿAbdullāh 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 Ziyāʾu’llāh lived as a Fāqīr, and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wajihu ’d-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 Maʾāṣir, Badāʾoni (III, p. 4), and the Khaṣṣīnāt ʿl-Aṣfyāʾ (p. 969). He was disliked by Bayrām Khān, Shaykh Gadāʾī, and Shaykh Mubārak, Abuʾl-Fāżl's father. Vide also Maʾāṣir-i ʿAlamgīrī, p. 166.

174. Rājā Rājsingh, son of Rājā Askaran, the Kachhwāha.

Rājā Askaran is a brother of Rājā Bihārī Mal (No. 23). He served in the 22nd year with Šādiq Khān (No. 43) against Rājā Madhukar of Ģūcha,1 and in the 25th year under Toḍar Māl in Bihār. In the 30th year, he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) in the Dakhin. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers to each sūba, Askaran and Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No. 82) were appointed to Āgra. In the 33rd year, he served a second time against Rājā Madhukar under Shihāb Khān (No. 26), and died soon after.

Abū ʿl-Fāżl has not given his name in this list of grandees. The Tabaqāt says he was a Commander of Three Thousand.

Rāj Sing, his son, received the title of Rājā 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 Āsīr. In the 47th year, he pursued, together with Rāy Rāyān Patr Dās (No. 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela, who at Jahāngīr's instigation had murdered Abū ʿl-Fāżl. 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).

1 Ūtcha is generally spelt on our maps Oorcha. It lies near Jhānsi on the left bank of the Betwa. The name of the river "Dasthārā" mentioned on p. 382, is differently spelled in the MSS. In one place the Maʾāṣir has Satdahārā.
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 Muḥammadan in the 6th year of Shāhjahan’s reign, and received the name of ʿIbādatmand.¹

175. Rāy Bhoj, son of Rāy Surjān Hādā (No. 96).

When Pāndī, 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 Ṭīrā, and under Shaykh Abū ʿl-Faẓl in the Dakhin (Akbarnā, 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 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 Rabi‘ I, 1017, (Tuzuk, pp. 68, 69).

It is said that Rāthor and Kachhwāha princesses entered the imperial Harem; but no Hādā princess was ever married to a Timuride.

XIV. Commanders of Eight Hundred.

176. Sher Khwāja.

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itāwa (سادات انتاری). His mother was a Nagshbandī (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 Chaghtāʾi (No. 25) against the Yāsufzāís, and afterwards under Sulṭān Murād in the Dakhin. In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Paṭān, where he distinguished himself against Ikhlās Khān. He continued to serve in the Dakhin under Abū ʿl-Faẓl. 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 (Gcdāvari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū ʿl-Faẓl arrived and raised the siege. Abū ʿl-Faẓl proposed to leave his own son ʿAbd aʿr-Raḥmān 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 Muḥammadan History “.
Sh. Kh. remained in favour during the reign of Jahāngīr. He was with the emperor when Mahābat Khān near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahāngīr’s person. After Jahāngīr’s death, he served with Āsaf Khān against Shahryār 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 Khwāja Bāqī Khān. He was also appointed governor of Thathah, vice Mirzā ʻĪsā Tarkhān (p. 392). He died on his way to his province in 1037. Pādīshāhnī, I, 181, 200.

His son Khwāja Hāshim was made a commander of 500 (Pādīshāhnāma, I, b. 327). Another son, Asad ʻllāh, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (Pādīshāhnī, II, 738).

177. Mirzā Khurram, son of Khān-i Aṣgam Mirzā ʻAzīz Koka (No. 21).

He has been mentioned above, p. 346.

XV. Commanders of Seven Hundred.

178. Quraysh Sulṭān, son of Abdu ‘r-Rashīd Khān, king of Kāshghar.
182. Sulṭān ‘Abdu ʻl-lāh, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sulṭān.

310. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Quraysh Sulṭān.

Quraysh Sulṭān is a descendant of Chingiz Khān.1 His genealogical tree is given in the Akbarname (III, 584) and the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, as on following page.

After the death of ‘Abdu ‘r-Rashīd Khān (16), ‘Abdu ʻl-Karīm Khān, elder brother of Quraysh Sulṭān, succeeded to the throne of Kāshghar. He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father’s wish, partly from natural benevolence. But Khudābānd, son of Quraysh Sulṭān, quarrelled with Muḥammad Khān, his uncle, and Khudābānd occupied the town of Tarfān. ‘Abdu ʻl-lāh, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sulṭān to go to Makkah. Q. went first with his family to Badakhshān and Balkh, and lastly, with the permission of ‘Abdu ʻl-lāh Khān of Tūrān, to Hindūstān. He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shihāb ʻd-Din-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 Ḥajjīpūr.

179. Qarā Bahādur, son of Mirzā Mahmūd, who is the paternal uncle of Mirzā Ḥaydar [Gurgānī].

1 Chingiz Khān in the histories is often called Qā’ān-i Buzurg.
1. Chingiz Khân.
2. Chaghtâ'î Khân.
3. Mawâtkân (second son of Chaghtâ'î Khân).
4. یزی (the MSS. give various readings).
5. Yaraq Khân (called after his conversion Sultân Ghiyas-u'd-Din).
6. Dawâ Khân.²
7. Alsânâqâ, or Alsânâqâ, Khân.
8. Tughluq Timûr Khân.
10. (a) Muḥammad Khân . . . (b) Shamâc Jahân Khân . . . (c) Naqsh Jahân Khân.
11. (a) Sher Muḥammad Khân. (b) Sher Ṣâli Ughlân.
12. Uwâis Khân, son of Sher Ṣâli Ughlân.
14. Sultân Ahmad Khân, known as Alâncha Khân.
15. Sultân Abû Sa'îd Khân.
16. Ṣâli 'r-Rashîd Khân.
17. (1) Ṣâli 'l-Karîm Khân. (2) Quraysh Sultân (No. 168). (3) Sultân Ṣâli 'l-lah (No. 178).
     (1) Shâh Muḥammad (No. 310). (2) Khudâbanda.

Like the preceding, Qârâ Bâhâdur belonged to the royal family of Kâshghar. Mîrzâ Ḥaydar's father, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, was the son of Bâbar's maternal aunt.

Mîrzâ Ḥaydar,⁴ during his stay in Kâshghar, had accompanied the

1 Burâq, Vamcbery, p. 153.—Bj.
² Dawâ invaded India during the reign of Ṣâli 'u'd-Din; vide Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1869, p. 194, and 1870, p. 44.
³ His daughter is called Tukul Khânum. It is said that Timûr after the marriage received the title of Gurgân, the Mughel term for the Persian dâmâd, a son-in-law. Hence Timurides are often called Gurgânis.
⁴ Mirzâ Ḥaydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the Târikh-i Ṣâli 'r-Rashîd, in honour of Ṣâli 'r-Rashîd, king of Kâshghar. The villa known as Bâgh-i Ṣafâ was erected by him. Akbarnâma, III, 585.

The MS. of the Târikh-i Rashîd 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.

The Târikh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timûr, who was converted to Islâm by Mawlânâ Arshad 'u'd-Din, and goes down to the reign of Ṣâli 'r-Rashîd. The second daftar contains the Memoirs of Mirzâ Ḥaydar. The style is elegant.
son of Sultan Abu Sa'id 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 Lahore, where Mirza Karmran made him his nazib during his absence on an expedition to Qandahar, which the Shah of Persia had taken from Khwaja Ka'ian Beg. M. Haydar afterwards accompanied Karmran to Agra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humayun to take possession of Kashmir. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shah retreated to Lahore, he gave M. Haydar 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 Humayun's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris.

The father of Qara Bahadar was Mirza Mahmud; hence Q. B. was M. Haydar'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 Rajor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghazi Khan, who had usurped the throne of Kashmir. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Malwa, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandu. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qara Bahadar, vide No. 183.

180. Muzaffar Husayn Mirza, son of Ibrahirn Husayn Mirza [son of Muhammad Sultan Mirza].

Muzaffar Husayn Mirza is a Timuride. His tree is as follows:

\[\text{Umar Shaykh Mirza (second son of Timur).}\]

\[\text{Mirza Bâyqrâ.}\]

\[\text{Mirza Mansur.}\]

\[\text{M. Bâyqrâ.}^1\]

\[\text{Wais Mirza.}\]

\[\text{Muhammad Sultan Mirza.}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{(1) Ulugh Mirza.}
\text{(2) Shah Mirza.}
\text{(3) Ibrahirn Husayn Mirza.}
\text{(4) Muhammad Husayn M.}
\text{(5) Mas'ud Husayn M.}
\text{(6) Aqil Husayn M.}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{(1) Sikandar Mirza,}
\text{\textit{see} Ulugh Mirza.}
\text{(2) Mahmud Sultan M.,}
\text{\textit{see} Shah Mirza.}
\end{array}\]

\[\text{Muzaffar Husayn Mirza (No. 180).}\]

^1 His brother is Abu 'l-Ghazi Sultan Husayn Mirza.—B.]
The mother of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā was the daughter of the renowned Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān, at whose Court Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā held a place of distinction. After Sulṭān Ḥusayn's death, Muḥammad Sulṭān 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 Maḥmūd Sulṭān Mīrzā; but Humāyūn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulugh Mīrzā, and Maḥmūd Sulṭān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā.

As Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (taklīf-i bār), and gave him the pargana of Aẓampūr in Sambhal as a pension. He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulugh and Shāh Mīrzā. At Aẓampūr in his old age, Muḥammad Sulṭān M. had four other sons born to him—1. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, 3. Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and 4. ʿĀqil 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 Jaunpūr; but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihli, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās (No. 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muḥammad Sulṭān 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 Chītor, he made Shihāb Khān (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 Khān fled to Chingiz Khān (p. 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrāt. Chingiz Khān was at war with Iṣṭimād Khān (No. 67) of Aḥmadābād; and as the Mīrzās had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahrōch as jāgīr. But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz Khān 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 Khān (No. 74), Sādiq Khān
No. 43), and others, who besieged Rantanbhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadā, where many soldiers of the Mīrzās perished in crossing. In the meantime Chingiz Khān had been murdered by Jhuihār 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 Aḥmadābād. Dissensions having broken out among the Mīrzās, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn 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 Ḥusayn M. Hearing of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn’s arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhūn 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, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. was defeated. He fled towards Agra, whilst his wife, Gulrukh Begam, a daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin.

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M. ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21) with a garrison in Aḥmadābād, ordering at the same time Quṭbū ʿd-Dīn (No. 28) to join ʿAzīz with the Mālwa contingent. Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. and Shāh M. thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khān Fūládī, a Gujratī noble, and besieged Paṭan. 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 Mīrzās, made peace with the Rāja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Masʿūd. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn fled towards Multān, 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 Agra, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrat, and took possession of several towns. He was defeated at Kambhājī by Nawrang Khān (p. 354) and joined the party of Ikhtiyāru’l-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūládī. They then marched against Aḥmadābād and besieged M. ʿAzīz Koka. To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Agra to Paṭan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumādā I, 981 (p. 458), with about 1,000 horse,
at a place 3 kos from Ahmadabad. Leaving Ikhtiyar 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 Bari, 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.” Ikhtiyar, 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. Ikhtiyar got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhrab Turkman 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.

Shah Mirza had fled in the beginning of the battle.

In the 22nd year, Muzaффar Husayn Mirza, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhin, entered Gujrat and created disturbances. He was defeated by Raja Toja Mal and Vazir Khan (p. 379) and fled to Junagadh. When the Raja had gone, Muzaффar besieged Vazir in Ahmadabad. 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 Mihr Ali Kolabi, who had led the young Muzaффar into rebellion. This so affected Muzaффar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazrbar. Soon after, he was captured by Raja Ali of Khandes, 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 Sultan Khanim. He also gave him the Sarkar of Qanawja at tuyul. Muzaффar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the tuyul, and again imprisoned him. But he soon after set him at liberty. In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Asir, he sent Muzaффar to besiege Fort Lalang. But he quarrelled with Khwaja Fatnu ilah, and one day, he decamped for Gujrat. His companions deserted him; and dressing himself in the garb of a faqir, he wandered about between Surat and Bagliana, when he was caught by Khwaja Waisi 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‘u ’n-Nisaa, was married to Prince Salim (vide No. 225, note). Gulrukh Begam, Muzaффar’s mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick-bed by Jahangir at Ajmir.
181. Qunduq Khan, brother of the well-known Bayram Ogla.
The Akbarnama (I, 411) mentions a Qunduq Sulthan, who accompanied Humayun on his march to India.
For Qunduq, some MSS. read Qunduz. A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Munim, and died at Gaur (p. 407).

182. Sulthan Abd Illah, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sulthan (No. 178).

183. Mirza Abd r-Rahman, son of Mirza Haydar’s brother (vide No. 179).

184. Qiyah Khan, son of Sahlib Khan.
In the Tabaqat and the Akbarnama he is generally called Qiyah, which may mean “Qiyah, the beautiful”, or “Qiyah, son of Sahlib Hasan”. Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izafat. It looks as if the reading of the in MSS. was a mistake. The words are intended to distinguish him from Qiyah Gung (No. 33).

Qiyah served under Shams’ d-Din Atga against Bayram (p. 332). He was also present in the battle of Sarangpur (vide No. 120).

185. Darbar Khan, Inayat [ullah], son of Takaltu Khan, the Reader.
Darbar’s father was Shahl Tahmasp’s reader. Inayat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbar Khan. He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Malwa, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khan Zamun. He accompanied the emperor to Rantambhor, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Musin-i Chishti in Ajmir, Darbar Khan took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Agra.

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the Ma’sir—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. Abd r-Rahman, son of Musayyid Duldai.
The name Duldai had been explained above on p. 388. Abd r-Rahman’s great-grandfather, Mir Shahl Malik, had served under Timur. Abd r-Rahman was killed in a fight with the Bihar rebel Dalpat. Vide under his son Barkhurdar, No. 328, and under No. 146. Another son is mentioned below, No. 349.

1 Thus you say, the accursed Hulagu.
When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No. 13), Qāsim ʿAli Khān held Ghāzi-pūr. 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 Munṣim. For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujāʿat Khān (No. 51) a prisoner to Munṣim, whom he had slandered. In the 22nd year, he served under Śādīq (No. 43) against Madhukar 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 Hājī Begam, daughter of the brother of Humāyūn’s mother (tagḥā-i zāda-yi wālīda-yi Jannat-āstānī), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humāyūn’s tomb in Dihlī, where she died. In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each Śūba, 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 jagīr. “Nothing also is known of him.”1 Maṣāṣir. For his brother, vide No. 390.

188. Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharīf Khān (No. 63).
Vide above, p. 415.

189. Sayyid ʿAbdū ʿIlāh, son of Mīr Khwānanda.
Some MSS. have “Khwānd” instead of “Khwānanda.” Sayyid 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 Kalān (No. 16) in the first Gujrat war. Later, he served under Munṣim in Bengal, and was with Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) in the battle of Takaroī (p. 406). In 984, he brought the news of Daṣūd’s defeat and death at Āgmaḥal (p. 350) to Akbar. During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mīrzā ʿAzīz (No. 21) and under Shāh-bāz Khān (No. 80), chiefly against Maṣṣūm-i Farakhrūdī (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. Dhrāṣ, son of Rāja Todar Mal (No. 39).
Vide above, p. 378.

191. Ahmad Beg-i Kābuli.
Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mīr Ghiyāṣu’l-Dīn Tarkhān, a Chaghtā-i noble who served under Timūr. Like Shāh Beg (No. 57), Tāj Khān

1 Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk mentions a Qāsim ʿAli on p. 58, l. 2 from below; but according to the Maṣāṣir, we have there to read Qāsim Beg for Qāsim ʿAli.
(No. 172), Abū 'l-Qāsim (No. 199), Maššūm Khān (p. 476, note 1), and Takhta Beg (No. 195). A. B. entered, after M. Muhammad Ḥakīm's death, Akbar's service. He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yūsuf Khān-i Rażawī (No. 35), a jāgir 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 Āḥmad Beg in the first year of Jahāngīr was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshāwar as jāgir. 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 Qulij Khān (No. 42), he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantānbhūr (Tuzuk, p. 136). In the following year, he was released (l.c., p. 146) and sent to Kashmir (l.c., p. 149).

Āḥmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers. They are:--

1. Muḥammad Mas'ūd (eldest son). He was killed in the war with the Tārikīs. His son, Ardsher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Shāhj.'s reign.

2. Sa'id 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 Šafār, 1062. Of his twenty-two sons, the two eldest, Khānāzād Khān and Lutfu 'llāh, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'id also was severely wounded. Two other sons, Ābdū 'llāh and Fatḥu 'llāh, rose to high commands.

3. Mukhlīs 'llāh Khān Iftikhar Khān. He rose under Shāhjahān to a command of 2,000, one thousand horse, and was Fawjdār of Jammū (Pādiskhāhn., 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 Sa'id, under whom he served. He was thānādār of Lower Bangash. In the 15th year, after the Qandahār expedition, he got the title of Iftikhar 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. Ḥakīm ʿAli, of Gilān.

ʿAli came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate

enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (mulāzim) 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, Āli correctly distinguished the different kinds. In 988, he was sent as ambassador to Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, and was well received; but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, Ādil Shāh suddenly died.1

In the 39th year, Ḥakim Āli constructed the wonderful reservoir (hauz), 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, Āli was a commander of 700, and had the title of Jālinūs'z-Zamānī, "the Galenus of the age." His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court.

He treated Akbar immediately before his death. It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhoea, which no remedies could stop. Āli 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 Khusraw at an elephant fight. Salīm (Jahāṅgr) had an elephant of the name of Girānbaṛ, 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 Khusraw's elephants. Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship, which was done. According to custom, a third elephant, Rantahman, was selected as ṭabāncha, 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 Khusraw were on horseback in the arena. Girānbaṛ completely worsted Ābrūp, and as he mauled

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1 Ādil 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 Barid of Bedar, and was stabbed by the elder of the two at the first attempt of satisfying his inordinate desires. Mawlānā Razā of Mashhad, poetically styled Razāī, found the tariqā of his death in the words Shāh-i jāhān shud shahād (988), "The king of the world became a martyr."
him too severely, the ṭabāncha elephant was sent off to Ābrūp’s assistance. But Jahāṅgīr’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. Salīm said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain. Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by 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 Khursaw 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 Khursaw’s bad behaviour had made him ill.

In the end of 1017, Jahāṅgīr 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. Jahāṅgīr says of him (Tuzuk, 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 Jahāṅgīr 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.¹

He had a son, known as Ḥakīm ʿAbd-ʿl-Wahhāb. He held a mansāb. In the 15th year of Jahāṅgīr’s reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Rs., which, he said, his father had lent them. He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāṣī 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. Jahāṅgīr ordered Ḍāf Khān (No. 98) to investigate the case. ʿAbd-ʿl-Wahhāb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise. This looked suspicious, and Ḍāf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false. He therefore reported ʿAbd-ʿl-Wahhāb, and the Emperor deprived him of his mansāb and jāgīr. He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the Pādishān-nāma (I, 6, 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse.

¹ Baḍā,oni (III, 166) says that ʿAli was the son of the sister of Ḥakīmu-ʿl-Mulk of Gīlān, and learned medicine and science under Shāh Fathsīʾlāh of Shīrāz. He was a rabid Shiʿah, and a bad doctor who often killed his patients. Thus he killed Fathsīʾlāh by prescribing harīsa (vide p. 34, note). [Harīsa is said to be some concoction of meat and wheat.—P.]
193. Güjar Khān, son of Quṭbū ’d-Dīn Khān Atga (No. 28). He was mentioned above under No. 28.

194. Sadr Jahān Muftī.

Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān was born in Pihānī, a village near Qanawj. Through the influence of Shaykh Ābdū ’n-Nabī he was made Muftī. When Ābdū ’l-Ḥān Uzbak, king of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islām, Mīrān Ṣadr and Ḥakīm (No. 205) were selected as ambassadors. The answer which they took to Ābdū ’l-Ḥān contained a few Arabic verses which Ābdū ’l-Ḥān could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy—

قِيلَ آنَ اللّهَ ذُو ولد قِيلَ آنَ الرسول قَدُ كَيْنَا
مَا جِئَ الله والرسول معاً من لسان الوري فكيف أنا

“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 Ṣadr (vide p. 284). In the 35th year, at the feast of Ābānmāh, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle. The Ṣadr and Ābdū ’l-Ḥāy (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 Ḥāfiz:

در دور بادشاه خدايخ خمش جرم بوش حافظ جرابه كش شد ومغتی بيالهنوس

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 manshāb of 2,000 (vide p. 217-18).

During the reign of Jahāṅgīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of 4,000, and received Qanawj as tuyoğ. As Ṣadr under Jahāṅgīr 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 Ḑadā, onī, he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit of the Muḥammadan law.

He had two sons:

1. Mīr Badr-i Ālam. He lived a retired life.

2. Sayyid Nizām Khān. His mother was a Brāhman woman, of

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1 So Badā, onī. The Maṣāqir says, Pihānī lies near Lakhnau.
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 Shāhjahān’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 Dakhin. His tuyūl was the Pargana of Dalamau, where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances. He was also Fawjdār of Lakhnau. In the 24th year of Shāhj.’s reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms per annum out of the revenue of Pihāṇī, which was one kror. He enjoyed his pension for a long time.

His sons died before him. On his death, his grandsons, Ābdū’l-Muqtadir and Ābdū’l-lāh were appointed to mansābs, and received as tuyūl the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihāṇī. Ābdū’l-Muqtadir rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Fawjdār of Khayrbād.

195. Takhta Beg-i Kābūli [Sardār Khān].

He was at first in the service of M. Muḥammad 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 Yūsfuzāis. As Thānahdār of Peshāwar he punished on several occasions the Tārikīs. In the 49th year, he was made a Khān.

After Jahāngīr’s accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and received the title of Sardār Khān. He was sent with Mirzā Ghāzī 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 Peshāwar, called the Bāgh-i Sardār Khān. His two sons, Ḥayāt Khān and Hidāyat’l-lāh got low mansābs.

196. Ray Patr Dās [Rāja Bikramājī], a Khatri.

Patr Dās was in the beginning of Akbar’s reign accountant (mushrif) 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 diwān of Bihār. 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 diwān 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 Bīr Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court. Patr defeated Bīr Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Īrich. When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bīr Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels. Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P. to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Rāja Bikramājīt.

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 (Tuzuk, p. 10).

When the sons of Muẓaffar of Gujrāt created disturbances, and Yatīm Bahādur had been killed, Patr was sent to Aḥmadābād 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." Maʿāṣir.

The Rāy Mohan Dās mentioned occasionally in the Akbarnāma and the Tuzuk (p. 50) appears to be his son.

197. Shaykh ʿAbdū-r-Raḥīm, of Lakhnau.

He belongs to the Shaykhzādas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700. He was a great friend of Jamāl Bakhtyār (No. 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking. In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane. In the 50th year, when Akbar was in the Panjāb, ʿAbdū-r-Raḥīm wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyālkoṭ in Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Fath’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 panjhaẓārī to a common soldier, according to his position in life.

ʿAbdū-r-Raḥīm was mentioned above on p. 359–60.

198. Medī Rāy Chauhān.

From the Akbarnāma we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrāt. Niẓām u ʿd-Dīn Aḥmad, who was with him in Gujrāt, says in the Ṭabqāt—"Medī 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 Namakīn [Qāsim Khān].**

The MSS. have almost invariably *Tamkīn (تمکین)* instead of *Namakīn*. He is not to be confounded with Nos. 240 and 250.

Mir Abū 'l-Qasim was a Sayyid of Hirāt. He was at first in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, 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 Namaksār, or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (*namak-ḥalāli*), with a plate and a cup made of salt (*namakīn*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of *Namakīn*.

Abū 'l-Qasim served in the war with Dā'ūd of Bengal. In the 26th year, he was in Kābul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismā'īl Qulī Khān (No. 46) on his expedition against the Balūchīs. In the 32nd year, the Afghān chiefs of Sawād and Bajīr, and Terāh waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abū 'l-Qasim Krōrī and Fawjdar 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 Sukhār, 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 ʿAbdu 'l-Hay (No. 230), the Qāżī of the imperial camp (*urdū*). But Abū 'l-Qasim, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars. To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaykh Ma'rūf, Sadr 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 ʿAbdu 'l-Hay tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties. This case led to the order that Qāżīs should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor.

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1 The *namaksār*, or salt-range, says the *Maʾasār*, is a district 20 *kos* long, and belongs to the Sind Sāgar Duʿāb, between the Bahat 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 ½ and the latter ¼ of the amount realized. Merchants buy the salt at a price varying from half a dām to two dāms (one rupee = 40 dāms) per *mam*, and export it. The Government takes 1 Rupee for every 17 *mans*. The salt is also often made into ornaments.
Abū 'l-Qāsim was, soon after, made a Khān, got a higher mansāb, and received Gujrāt in the Panjāb as tuyūl. 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 Tamkīn is to be altered to Namakīn). For his services he was again appointed to Bkakkar 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 Kahārmātrī (کھارمتری), he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name of Sufta-yi Safā (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 Ma'āqir 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 Ma'āqir:

Mir Abū 'l-Qāsim Namakīn (settled at Bhakkar in 1015).


Mīr Abū 'l-Baqā Amīr Khān rose to a command of 2,500, fifteen hundred horse. Through the influence of Yamīnā 'd-Dawla he was made governor of Multān, and in the 2nd year of Shāhjahān, he was 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 Tuyūldār of Bir in the Dakūn, and was sent, in the 14th year, to Siwistān vice Qaraq 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 Mīr Khān. Shāhjahān 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
Shāhnawaz Khān-i Ṣafawi. 1 Amīr Khān had a large family. His eldest son, Mīr ʿAbduʾr-Razzāq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Shāhjahān’s reign. His second son, Ziyāʾu ʿd-Dīn Yūsuf, was made a Khān, and held under Shāhjahān a manṣab of 1,000, six hundred horse. Ziyāʾ’s grandson, Abū ʿl-Wafā, was in the end of Awrangzīb’s reign in charge of his majesty’s prayer room (dārogāh-yi jā-namāz). Amīr Khān’s youngest son, Mīr ʿAbduʾl-Karīm, was a personal friend of Awrangzīb. He received in succession the titles of Multāfit Khān, Khānāzād Khān (45th year of Awrangzīb), Mīr Khānāzād Khān, and Amīr Khān (48th year), and held a command of 3,000. After Awrangzīb’s death, he was with Muḥammad Aṣzam Shāh; but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (bungāh) at Gwāliyār. After the death of Muḥammad Aṣzam in the battle of Sarāy Jāju, 2 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 Bārha brothers made Amīr Khān ṣadr of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abū ʿl-Khayr, was made a Khān by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no manṣabs, but lived on their zamindāris.

2. Mīrzā Kashmīrī was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (siyāsat-i ghayrmukarrar, Tusuk, p. 32) Jahāngīr ordered his penis to be cut off.

3. Mīrzā Husān ʿd-Dīn. He held a manṣab, but died young.

4. Mīrzā Zāʾid ʿl-lāh. He was in the service of Khān Jahān Lodī.

200. Wazīr Beg Jamīl. 3

Wazīr Jamīl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar’s reign against ʿAbduʾl-lāh Khān Uzbak, 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 jāgīr in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Orīsā under Munṣim Khān. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qāqshāls; but when they separated from Maṣṣūm-i

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1 Shahnawaz Khān-i Ṣafawi is the title of Mīrzā Bāduʾz-Zamān, alias Mīrzā Dakhīnī, son of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dilras Bānu Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Awrangzīb. Another was married, in 1652, to Prince Murād Bahsh. Elphinstone (History of India, 5th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawaz Khān by mistake the brother of Shāyista Khān; but Shāyista is the son of Yāmīn ʿd-Dawla Aṣaf Khān, elder brother of Nūr Jahān.

2 Sarāy Jāju, near Dholpur. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabīʿ I, 1119, and Muhammad Aṣzam was killed with his two sons, Bedar Bahāt and Wālā-jāh.

3 Jamīl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindūstān.
Kābulī (p. 476, note) and tendered their submission, W. J. also was pardoned. In the 29th year, he came to Court, and served in the following year under Jagnāth (No. 69) against the Rānā. He seems to have lived a long time. Jahāngīr, on his accession, made him a commander of 3,000 (Tuzuk, p. 8).

He is not to be confounded with the Jamīl Beg mentioned under No. 172.


The Tabaqat says that Tāhir was the son of Shāh Muḥammad Sayfū 'l-Mulūk.¹ His father was governor of Gharjistān in Khurāsān, and was killed by Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia. Tāhir went to India, was made an Amīr at Akbar’s Court, and served in Bengal, where he was when the author of the Tabaqat wrote (1001).

He is also mentioned in Dowson’s Edition of Elliot’s Historians, I, pp. 241, 242.


Regarding the name “Mankli”, vide p. 400, note 1. The Tabaqat says that Bābū Mankli was an Afghān, and a commander of 1,000.

He was at first in Dā‘ūd’s service, and occupied Ghōrāghāt at the time when Mūnīm Khān had invaded Orīsā (p. 400). Soon after, he entered Akbar’s service, but continued to be employed in Bengal. In the 30th year, he suppressed disturbances at Ghōrāghāt (Akbarn. III, 470), and took part, in the 35th year, in the operations against Qutlū Khān. Two years later he accompanied Mān Singh’s expedition to Orīsā.

He may have lived under Jahāngīr; for the Mankli Khān mentioned in the Tuzuk (pp. 70, 138) can only refer to him. The Tuzuk (p. 12) mentions a son of his, Ḥātim. Another son, Maḥmūd, appears to have been a commander of 500, three hundred horse, under Shāhjahān (Pādishāhn., I, b., p. 323) though the text edition of the Bibl. Indica calls him son of Yābū Maikalī (پابو مینکلی for بابو مینکلی).

XVI. Commanders of Six Hundred.

203. Muḥammad Qūlī Khān Turkmān [Afshār, p. 452].

He served at first in Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt, he took the side of the rebels, but left them, and was pardoned by Akbar. In the 30th year, he marched with Mān Singh to Kābul, where he greatly distinguished himself. In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No. 42) was

¹ Vide No. 401.—B.]
appointed to Kābul, Muḥammad Quli Khān, his brother Hamza Beg (perhaps No. 277), and others, were sent to Kashmir, vice Yūsuf Khān (No. 35, and p. 452). In the 45th year, a party of Kasmīris tried to set up Ambā Chak ¹ as king; but they were defeated by 'Alī Quli, son of M. Q. Kh. In the 47th year, M. Q. Kh. was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse; and Hamza Beg, one of 700, three hundred and fifty horse. New disturbances broke out when in the following year 'Alī Rāy, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmir. He retreated on M. Q. Kh.'s arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Sayfū 'llāh (No. 262) from Lāhor. In the 49th year, Ambā again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains.

In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr’s reign, M. Q. Kh. was removed from Kashmir. Hamza Beg was, in the 49th year of Akbar’s reign, a commander of 1,000.

204. Bakhtyār Beg Gurd-i Shāh Mansūr.

The Iṣfat most likely means that he was the son of Shāh Mansūr, in which case the word gurd (athlete) would be Bakhtyār’s epithet. Two MSS. have the word pisar (son) instead of gurd.

The Ṭabaqāt says: “Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān is an Amīr, and governs at present (1001) Siwistān.” In the 32nd year, he served against the Tārikīs.

205. Hakīm Humām,² son of Mir ʿAbdu ‘r-Razzāq of Gilān.

Regarding his family connection, vide No. 112, p. 468. Humām’s real name is Humāyūn. When he came to Akbar’s Court, he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Quli, or “slave of Humāyūn”; but soon afterwards Akbar gave him the name of Humām. He held the office of Bakīwāl Beg (p. 59), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at Court. In the 31st year he was sent with Šadr Jahān (No. 194) to Tūrān as ambassador. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humām’s absence. He returned to India about a month after his brother’s death. He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabi‘ I, 1004. Badaʿoni (II, p. 406) says, the day after Humām’s death, Kamālā (p. 264) also died, and their property was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, so that they were destitute of a decent shroud.

¹ The MSS. have ʿAlī. The Tuzuk mentions “a Kashmiri of royal blood ”, of the name of ʿAlī. He was killed by Sher Afkan (vide No. 394) at Bardwān, on the 3rd Ṣafar, 1016.
² Humām, not Hammām, is the Indian pronunciation.
Humām had two sons:

1. Hakim Ḥāziq (حاتّة). He was born at Fatḥpur 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 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. Hakim Khushchāl. He grew up with Prince Khurram. Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000. He was for some time Bakhshi of the Dakhin.

206. Mīrzā Anwar, son of Khān-i Aṣ̱am Mīrzā Koka (No. 21). He was mentioned above on page 346.

XVII. Commanders of Five Hundred.

207. Baltū Khān of Turkistān.
He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H.'s restoration.

208. Mīrak Bahādur Arghūn.
The Tabqāt 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 Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn (No. 17).

209. Laʾl Khān Kolābī.
He is also called Laʾl Khān Badakhshī (vide p. 484), and served under Humāyūn in the war of the restoration (Akbarn. I, 411). He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū. Later, he served under Munṣim 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 Fatḥpur Sikri. He served at Court with Shaykh Ibrāhim (No. 82), and died in the 22nd year (985).³

¹ The Maʿāṣir says that the author of the Mīršāt 'l-ʿĀlam mentions 1080 as the year of his death; but my MS. of the Mīršāt (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humāyūn to Awrangzīb) mentions no year.
² Died in 975. He was blown up before Chitor; Sauwāniḥ, p. 201.—B.]
³ Sauwāniḥ, p. 370.—B.]
211. Iskandar Beg-i Badakhshi.

He is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (II, 251) as having served in the pursuit of Abūl 'l-Maṣāli (end of the 8th year).

212. Beg Nurin Khān Qūchīn.

He served under Muṣizz 'l-Mulk (No. 61) in the battle of Khayrābād. In the 32nd and 33rd years, he served under ʿAbdū 'l-Maṭlab (No. 83) and Ṣadīq Khān (No. 43) against the Tārikīs.

The Tabaqāt says he was a commander of 1,000, and was dead in 1001.

213. Jalāl Khān Qūrchi.

Akbar was much attached to him. In the 7th year, he was sent to Rām Chand Bhagela (No. 89) with the request to allow Tānsīn to go to Court. In the 11th year, it came to the Emperor's ears that J. was passionately attached to a beautiful boy. Akbar had the boy removed; but J. managed to get him again, and fled with him from Court. M. Yūsuf Razawī pursued and captured them. After some time, J. was restored to favour. Later, he took a part in the expedition to Siwāna 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 Mirtha, 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, Akbarn., III, 140).

It was Jalāl who introduced the historian Badā, onī at Court.

214. Parmānand, the Khatri.

He is mentioned in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I, p. 244.

215. Timūr Khān Yakka.

He served under Munṣim (No. 11) in Kābul, and, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (Akbarn., II, 236, 326).

The Timūr-i Badakhshi 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 (اًللت) clan. According to the Akbarnāma (I, 379), Mawlānā Sānī, "who is now called Sānī
Khān”, was in the service of Mīrzā Hindāl; but after the Mīrzā’s death (21st Zīqa’dā, 958) he was taken on by Humāyūn. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān.

Badā,oni (III, 206) says that his real name was ʿAlī 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 Nuqtawi doctrines (p. 502). Hence he must have been alive in 990.

217. Sayyid Jamāl ʿd-Dīn, son of Sayyid Aḥmad 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 Gujrat war after Akbar’s forced march to Patan and Aḥmadābād (p. 458 note).

219. Husayn Beg, brother of Ḥusayn Khān Buzurg.

220. Hasan Khān Betani.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 Munṣīm and Khān Zamān (No. 13) at Baksar (Buxar). Akbarn., II, 325.

Ḥasan was killed with Bir Bār in the Khaybar Pass; vide p. 214. MSS. often call him wrongly Husayn instead of Hasan.

221. Sayyid Chhajhū,² of Bārha.

The Tabaqāt says that S. Chhajhū was a brother of S. Māhmūd (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 Majhera, and according to the inscription he died in 967.

222. Munṣīf Khān, Sulṭān Muḥammad of Hirāt.

223. Qāẓi Khān Bakhshī.

Some MSS. have Badakhshī instead of Bakhshī. Vide No. 144.

224. Ḥāji 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 Qanawī. In the 17th year, he operated under Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58) against M. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, 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 Betani is the name of an Afghān tribe, N.W. of Derā Ismāʿīl Khān.
² The spelling “Chhajhū” is preferable to “Jhajhū”.
225. Râwul Bhîm, of Jaisalmîr.

The *Tuzuk* says (p. 159):—"On the 9th Khurdâd (middle of 1025), Kalyân of Jaisalmîr was introduced at Court by Râjâ Kishn Dâs, whom I had sent to him. Kalyân’s elder brother was Râwul Bhîm, a man of rank and influence. When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long. Bhîm’s daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of *Malika-yi Jahân*. This alliance was made, because her family had always been faithful to our house. I now called Bhîm’s brother to Court, invested him with the *fikâ*, and made him Râwul."

For Kalyân, *vide* under No. 226. In the 12th year of Jahângîr’s reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 163).

226. Hâshim Beg, son of Qâsîm Khân (No. 59).

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulij Khân (No. 42), the new governor of Kâbul, Hâshim returned to Court. In the 41st year, he served under M. Rustam (No. 9) against Bâsû and other rebellious zamîndârs in the north-eastern part of the Panjáb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau. In the 44th year, he served under Farîd-i Bukhârî (No. 99) before Āsîr. Later, he went with Saqâdat Khân to Nâsîk. After the conquest of Tirânbak, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500.

In the first year of Jahângîr’s reign, he was made a commander of 2,000, fifteen hundred horse. In the 2nd year, his mansâb was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Orîsâ. In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwâjâgî Muḥammad

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1 The list of Jahângîr’s wives on p. 323 may be increased by ten other princesses. (1) Malika-yi Jahân, daughter of Râwul Bhîm of Jaisalmîr. (2) The beautiful daughter of Zayn Koka, mentioned on p. 369. There is a curious discrepancy between *Tuzuk*, p. 8, and *Abkarnâma*, III, 594: Jahângîr says that Parwiz was his son by Zayn Koka’s daughter, and Abû’l-Fazl says that Parwiz’s mother was the daughter of Khwâjâ Hasan, Zayn Khân’s uncle (*vide* also p. 367); but there is no doubt that Parwiz was born in the 34th year, on the 19th Abān, 997, whilst Jahângîr, only in the 41st year, fell in love with Zayn Khân’s daughter (p. 369). It is therefore evident, assuming that Sayyid Ahmad’s text of *Tuzuk*, p. 8, be correct, that Jahângîr had forgotten who among his many wives was mother to his second son. (3) Nûrûn-Nisâ Begum (married in Jumâdâh, II, 1000), sister of Mirzâ Muḥaffîr Husayn, p. 464. (4) A daughter of the King of Khandesh. This princess died in the 41st year of Akbar’s reign. (5) Sâliha Banû, daughter of Qâsim Khan, p. 401. (6) A daughter of Khwâja Jahân-i Kâbulî (*Dost Muḥammad*). (7) A daughter of Saqâdat Khân Gakkhar. Her daughter, Qâ Citizenship, is mentioned, *Abkarnâma*, III, 561. (8) The mother of Dawlat Nisâ, Abkarn., III, 597. The MSS. do not clearly give the name of the father of this princess. (9) A daughter of Mirzâ Sanjar, son of Khâr Khan Hazâra; Abkarn., III, 607. (10) A daughter of Ram Chand Bundela (No. 248) married in 1018; *Tuzuk*, p. 77.

2 This Saqâdat Khân had first been in the service of the Dâkhin kings as commander of the Forts of Gâlîna and Tirânbak; 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 Bhīm (No. 225).

Ḥāshim’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. Dārogha of the Topkhāna and Koṭwāl of the camp. He distinguished himself in Balkh, Andkhūd, received the title of Muṣṭamīd Khān,¹ and was made, in the 21st year, a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse, and Akhṭa 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 Qandahār, 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 sihaspa-duaspas, received a present of a lac of rupees, and was appointed governor of Aḥmadābād (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 via Bāsawāra; 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 Samogar,² Qāsim commanded the left wing. Soon after, he made his submission, and received Sambhal and Murābādād as tuyūl, as Rustam 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 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 Farīdūn, son of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas (No. 31).

He has been mentioned above, p. 364. His death took place at Udaipur in 1023 (Tuzuk, p. 131).

228. Yūsuf Khān [Chak], king of Kashmir.

Yūsuf’s father was ʿAlī 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-yi zīn). On his death, Yūsuf was raised to the throne (Akbarnāma, 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 mâyān of Srinagar, where the ṣīd 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 Pinjar, 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, Šāliḥ Diwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaykh Yaṣqūb-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 Yaṣqūb 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 Yaṣqūb, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Ḥakīm ʿAlī (No. 192) and Bahāʾu’d-Dīn Kamīn 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 Shāhrukh Mirzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmir. The Imperial army marched over Pakhli, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (Akbarn., III, 492).¹ Shāhrukh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmirīs raised Awlād Ḥusayn, and, soon after, Yaṣqūb, 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 khitbā was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar’s name. The cultivation of zaṣfarān (p. 89)² and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the

¹ The Akbarnāma (III, 492) calls the pass near Bārah Mūlah, where Yūsuf surrendered, "Bārah Mūlāh". The Ma’ānīs has "Bārah Mūlah". It is evidently the same pass which the Tuzuk (p. 292) calls "Bārah Mūlah". The Tuzuk says that Bārah Mūlah means "place of the boar (bāra), which is one of the avatārs".

² Regarding the cultivation of zaṣfarān (saffron) vide also Tuzuk, p. 45.
army returned with Yusuf Khan, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Todar Mal was made responsible for Yusuf's person.

As Yasqub 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. Yasqub was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yusuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jagir in Bihār (Akbarn., III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal. In the 37th year, he accompanied Mān Singh to Orīsā, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jhārkand and Kokra (Chutiya Nāgpūr) to Mednipūr (Akbarn., III, 641).

Yasqub 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 Altūn Qulij.

Altūn or āltūn is Turkish, and means "gold".

Nur Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khan (No. 42). He served under him in the expedition to İdar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmir to Gogunda. In the fight with the zamāndār of İdar, N. Q. was wounded. In the 26th year, he served under Sulṭān Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. 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.


The Ṭabqāt calls him Khwāja ʿAbduʾl-Ḥay, and says that he was an Amīr. He had been mentioned above on pp. 468, 471.

231. Shāh Quli Khān Naranjī.

Abūʾl-Fażl says that Shāh Quli was a Kurd from near Baghdād. He

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1 Kokra was mentioned above on p. 438. It is the old name of Chutiya Nāgpūr, 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 Vth Report (Madras edition, vol. I, p. 503; old edition, p. 417).

The Rāja of Kokra, who, in the 30th year, succumbed to Shāhbāz Khān (p. 438) is called Mādhū. In the 37th year, Mādhū and Lakhnī Rāy of Kokra, served in Yusuf Khān's detachment, to which the contingents also of Sangrām Singh Shāhā of Kharakpūr (p. 446 and Proceedings A.S. Bengal, for May, 1871), and Purān Mal of Gidhors belonged (Akbarnāma III, 641).

Kokra is again mentioned in the Tuzuk-i ʿAhangirī (pp. 154, 155), where it is defined as a hilly district between south Bihār and the Dakhin. It was run over in the beginning of 1025, by Ibrāhīm Khān Pāth-jang, governor of Bihār, who was dissatisfied with the few diamonds and elephants which the Rājas sent him as tribute. The then Rāja is called Durjun Sāl. He was captured with several of his relations in a cave, and the district was annexed to Bihār.

The Tūzuk 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 Gadh, when Mahdi Qasim Khan (No. 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah.

The Tabaqat calls him a commander of 1,000.

His son, Padishah Quli, was a poet, and wrote under the name of Jazbi. 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 384. According to the Tabaqat, he served, in 1001, in Bengal.

233. Shadman, son of Khan-i As'lam Koka (No. 21).

Vide above, p. 346.

234. Hakim 'Aynu'l-Mulk, of Shiraz.

He is not to be confounded with Hakimu'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 Muhaqqiq-i Dawwani. The historian Badonii 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 Is'timad Khan (No. 67) and Mir Abu Turab 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 Khan of Bijapur, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (Badonii II, 250). He was then made Fawjdar of Sambhal. In the 26th year, when Arab Bahadur 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 Sadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bakhshe of the Saba of Agra. He was then attached to the Dakhin corps of Aziz Koka (No. 21), and received Handia, as jagir. When Aziz, for some reason, cancelled his jagir, 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 Zil Hijja, 1003 (Badonii II, 403).

The Mirza-i Masjid, also called Padishahi Masjid, in Old Bareli, Mirza-i Mahalla, was built by him. The inscription on it bears the date 987 (24th year), when the Hakim was Fawjdar of Sambhal.

He was also a poet, and wrote under the takhallus of Dawai.

235. Janish Bahadur.

Janish Bahadur was mentioned on p. 368. He was at first in the
service of Mirza Muhammed Hakim king of Kabul. 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 Yusufzai's, and saved Zayn's life in the Khaybar catastrophe. In the 35th year, he served under the Khankhanan in Thathah, and returned with him, in the 38th year, to Court. Later, he served in the Dakhin. He died in the 46th year (1009). He was an excellent soldier.

His son, Shujat Khan Shadi Beg. He was made, in the 7th year of Shajahan's reign, a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shad Khan. In the 12th year, he was sent as ambassador to Nazr Muhammad Khan of Balkh. On his return, in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1,500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, vide Shah Quli Khan. Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrat Khan, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000. In the 19th year he was with Prince Murad Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshan. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kabul, vice Siwai Ram, and held, in the following year, an important command under Awrangzib in the Qandahar 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 Qandahar, and was made, on Shajahan's arrival in Kabul, a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse, with the title of Shujat Khan. In the 26th year, he served under Darah Shikoh before Qandahar, and with Rustam Khan Bahadur at Bust. He died soon after. He had a son of the name of Muhammad Sahid.

236. Mir Tahir-i Musawi.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 94, 111, and 201. According to the Tabaqat, Mir Tahir is "the brother of Mirza Yusuf Pajaw (No. 37), and was distinguished for his bravery". It would thus appear that Abu 'l-Fazl makes no difference between the terms Razaui and Musawi (vide p. 414, under No. 61).


He is mentioned in the Akbarnama among the grandees who accompanied Munsim to Bengal and Orissa, 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 Zakki, 'Abdi Kor, Shihab-i Badakhshi, and Kujak Yasawul, to go over to the rebels. The plot, however, was discovered; they were all imprisoned, but Mir Zakki alone was executed. Akbarnama, III, 262.

His epithet 'Alamshahi is not clear to me.
He must not be confounded with the more illustrious
[Mīrzā ʿAlī Beg-i Akbarshāhī].

He was born in Badakhshān, and is said to have been a highly educated
man. When he came to India he received the title of Akbarshāhī. In
the 30th year, he commanded the Ḍhaḍīs on Shāhrukhī’s expedition to
Kashmir (p. 535).

Later, he served under Prince Murād in the Dakhin. When the prince,
after making peace, returned from Aḥmadnagar, Šādiq Khān
(No. 43) occupied Mahkar. But new disturbances broke out under the
Dakhin leaders, Azhdar Khān and ʿĀyn Khān, against whom Šādiq sent
a corps under M. ʿAlī 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, Khudāwand Khān and other Amīrs of the
Nizāmshāh marched against the Imperialists with 10,000 horse, but
Šādiq and M. A. B. defeated them. In the 43rd year, M. A. B. took
Fort Rāhūtara (ریاض ازور) near Dawlatābād, after a siege of one month,
occupied, in the same year, Paṭan on the Dodāvari, and took Fort
Lohgādh. “Both forts,” says the author of the Maʿāṣir, “have, from
want of water, become uninhabitable (mismār shūda), and are so to this
day.” Later, M. A. B. served under Abū ʿl-Faḍl, and distinguished himself
in the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. 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 Jahāngīr’s reign, he was made a commander of
4,000, jāgīrdār of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmir. He served in the
pursuit of Khusraw (Tuzuk, p. 30). Later, he received a tuyūl in Audh.
When Jahāngīr went to Ajmīr, he went to Court. One day, he paid a
visit to the tomb of Muṣīnū ’d-Dīn-i Chishti. On seeing the tomb of
Shāh bāz Khān (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 Rabīʾ I, 1025).

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them
well. In his habits he was an epicurean. He was looked upon as a great
patron of the learned. He died childless, at the age of seventy-five
(Tuzuk, p. 163).

238. Rām Dās, the Kachwāhā.

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (اوردت), and lived at
Lūnī (or Baūlī, 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.

1 The Tuzuk (p. 11) says he belonged to the ulās-i Dihlī, a very doubtful term, as
he belonged to Badakhshān. Perhaps we have to read ulās-i dulday (p. 422).
His faithfulness was almost proverbial. In the 17th year, when Tōdār Mal was ordered to assist Mūnṣīm in Bihār, he was made his nāzīb 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 Hātiyāpul, he lived in the guard house, “always watching with his 200 Rājpurūs, 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. Jahāṅgīr, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him, in the 6th year, with Ābdū ʿIlāh Khān to Gujrat and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Rājā and a flag, Rantanbhūr being assigned to him as jāgīr (Tuzuk, p. 98). It seems that he received the title of Rājā Karan. After the defeat of the Imperialists, Jahāṅgīr wished to make an example of the Amīrs 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 Amīr right royally. Looking at Rām Dās’s portrait, he said: “Now, when thou wert in Ray Sāl’s service, thou hadst a tanka per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amīr. Do not Rājpurūs think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas! thy title, Rājā 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 Jahāṅgīr 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 Khān’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, Dalap Dās, had the same character as his father; but he died young.

In the Tuzuk (p. 312) a villa near a spring called Inch (☪), between Bānpūr and Kākāpūr in Kashmir, is mentioned, which Akbar had given Rām Dās. Vide also Tuzuk, p. 39, 1. 3.

299. Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī.

Abūʿl-Faqīl ranks him among the commanders of 500. Under Jahāṅgīr he rose to a command of 2,000. Like Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafawī and Abū
'l-Hasan Turbatî, he refused a title; for he said that his name was Muḥammad, than which no better name existed.

He served under Shāhbāz Khān (No. 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra. It is said that Shāhbāz 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 Mīrzā Jānī Beg (No. 47) near Lakhi, 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 Kharki, a famous battlefield (vide note to No. 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shāhjahān.

He died in 1037. The tārīkh of his death is محمد خان أوليا بودر، “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 Qurʾān, 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 (khawārīq) 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 Maṣādir, “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 (kas-ī na-mānd ki rushd-ī dāshta bāshad).”

2 “The Emperor Jahāngīr gave the Āshī, Amner, Paunār, and Tāligāw (Barār) parganas in jāgīr to Muhammad Khān Niyāzī. He restored Āshī, and brought the country round under cultivation. A handsome mausoleum was built over his grave in Mughul style. Muhammad Khān was succeeded by Ahmad Khān, who died in 1061. A similar mausoleum was erected over his tomb, but smaller and of inferior workmanship. The two stand side by side within an enclosure, and are the sights of 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 Niyāzīs gradually declined; in time Āshī itself passed from their hands into the possession of the Marhatta officials, and now nothing remains to them save a few rent-free fields, sufficient merely for their subsistence. The tombs of their ancestors were already falling into disrepair, owing to the poverty of the family, when they were taken in hand by the district authorities as worthy objects of local interest, and restored from municipal funds. Lately, in consideration of the past history of the family, and the local respect which it commands, the Government conferred on Nawāb Wāhid Khān, one of its representatives in Āshī, the powers of an honorary magistrate.”

“Karanja. A small octroi town in the Ārvī tahsil of the Warda district. It was founded some 200 years by Nawāb Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī 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 Ashtī. People often pray at his tomb.

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyāzī 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, Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī, was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign a commander of 2,500 (Pādischāhnāma, II, 386, 725).

240. Abū 'l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān (No. 74).

From the Akbarnāma (III, 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderī and Narwar, and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihār rebels (III, 273). In the 28th year he served in Gujrat (III, 423), and Badā, 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 Munṣīm (No. 11) from Kābul to India. When dissensions broke out between Gānī Khān, Munṣīm's son, and Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Akhtabegī (No. 66), whom Munṣīm had left as his nāzīb in Kābul, Ḥaydar was called to Court, and Abū 'l-Fath,1 son of Munṣīm's brother, was sent there to assist Gānī. Muḥammad Husayn accompanied Abū 'l-Fath. 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 Mīr Bakawal (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.

242. ʾAbū 'l-Qāsim, brother of ʾAbū 'l-Qādir Akhūnd.

He is not to be confounded with Nos. 199 and 251. Badā, oni (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 Mīr ʾAbdū 'l-Latīf of Qazwin (No. 161).

He served under Munṣīm (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-Fath, who on p. 333, has erroneously been called ʾAbdū 'l-Fath, was the son of Faṣīl Beg, Munṣīm's brother. Bašā, oni, II, 56, has Faṣīl Beg, but the Akbarnāma and the Maṣāʾir have Faṣīl.
in Gujrat (Akbar., III, 190) and in the 24th year under Todar Mal in Bihär. In the 25th year he took part in the battle near Sultanpur Bilhari (p. 400, and Akbar., III, 305).

His son, Kawkab, fell into disgrace under Jahangir for some fault. He was flogged and imprisoned. Regarding his restoration to favour, vide Tuzuk, p. 219.

244. Arjum Singh, 245. Sabal Singh, sons of Raja Man Singh (No. 30).
246. Sakat Singh,

Some MSS. have Durjan instead of Arjun. The name of Sakat Singh, moreover, recurs again at No. 342. There is little doubt that at the latter place we should read Himmat Singh, though all MSS. have Sakat.

Nor is it clear why Abu 'l-Fazl has not entered the name of Bahoor 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 Kabul. 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 Bahoor and Sabal mentioned by Brooke. Vide, "A Chapter from Muhammadan History," in the Calcutta Review, April, 1871.

246. Mustafa Ghilzi.

A Sayyid Mustafa is mentioned in the Akbarnama (III, 416). He served in the 28th year in Gujrát, and was present in the battle near Maisana, 18 kos S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khan Fuladi was defeated.

247. Nazar Khan, son of Sa'id Khan, the Gakhkar.

A brother of his is mentioned below, No. 232. Vide Nos. 170, 171.

[1 Or Bilahri.—B.]
[2 The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnama (III, 642) has also Durjan, and (by mistake) Sil for Sabal Singh. The Subhan Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Man Singh.
The Ṭabaqāt calls him Nazar Beg, son of Saʿid Khān, and says that in 1001 he was a Hazārī.

Mughul historians give the following tree of the Gakkhar chiefs:—

Sultān Tatār, the Gakkhar.

1. Sultān Sārang.

2. Sultān Ādam.

1. Kamāl Khān.

2. Saʿid Khān.

Mubārak Khān
(No. 171).

1. Nazar Khān
(No. 247).

2. Shāh Muḥammad
(No. 332).

1. Lashkarī.

2. Muḥammad Khān.

Jalāl Khān (No. 170).

Akbar Quli Sultān.

Murād Quli Sultān.

Allah Quli.

Jalāl Khān was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash, and his son Akbar Quli, who then served at Kāṅgra, was made a commander of 1,000, and sent to Bangash (Tuzuk, pp. 307, 308).

Jahāṅgīr, after the suppression of Khusraw's revolt, passed on his way to Kābul through the Gakkhar district (Tuzuk, pp. 47, 48). He left the Bahāt (1st Mubarram, 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 Hindūstāni money, or 120,000 Persian ṭūmāns, or 1 īrb, 2,175,000 silver Hālīs of Turānī money." After a march of 4\textsuperscript{1/2} kos, he came to Ṯīla, ṯīla in the Gakkhar dialect meaning "a hill". He then came to Dīh Bhakrālā, bhakrā meaning "forest". The way from Ṯīla to Bhakrā passes along the bed of the Kāhan river, the banks of which are full of kanīr\textsuperscript{1} flowers. He then came to Hatyā, which was built by a Gakkhar of the name Hāthī (mentioned in Mr. Delmerick's History of the Gakkhrs, Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1871). The district from Mārgala to Hatyā is called Pothwār; and from Rohtās to Hatyā dwell the Bhūgiyāls, a tribe related to the Gakkhrs. From Hatyā, he marched 4\textsuperscript{1/2} kos and reached Pakka, so called because it has a "pucca" sarāī. Four and a half kos further on, he came to Kuṛār, which means in the Gakkhar dialect "rugged". He then went to Rāwalpindi, which is said to have been built by a Hindū of the name Rāwal, pindī meaning "a village", and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place. From Rāwalpindi he went to Khabbūza, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (khabbūza). The Gakkhrs used

\textsuperscript{1} Kanīr, probably kaner m. "a species of oleander."—P.
formerly to collect tolls there. He then came to the Kālāpānī, and to the Mārgala pass, mār meaning "killing" and gāla "a carawan". "Here ends the country of the Gakkhars. They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other. I asked them to live in peace; but they will not." 1

The Pādīshāh-nāma (II, 240, 264, 266, 722, 733, 740) mentions several Gakkhar chiefs:—

1. Akbar Quli Sultān, a commander of 1,500, 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His son Murād Quli Sultān, was under Shāhjahān, a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse (Pādīshāh-nāma, II, 410, 435, 512, 523, 565, 595, 655, 730).
2. Jabbār Quli (brother of Jalāl Khān), 2 1,000, 800 horse.
3. Khizr Sultān (son of Nagar Khān), 2 800, 500 horse, died in the 12th year Shahj.'s reign.

The Pādīshāh-nāma (I, p. 432) mentions these Gakkhars' mules as famous.

The Maʿāṣir-i ʿAlamgīrī (p. 155) also mentions Murād Quli and his son Allah Quli. Allah Quli's daughter was married to Prince Mūhammad 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 Sādīq 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 ʿAbdu' llāh Khān, who moved his jāgīr from Kālpī to Udchā. On the 27th Zī Qaḍā, 1015, Rām Chand was brought fettered to court; but Jahāngīr had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Rājā Bāṣū of Dhameri. "He never thought that he would be treated so kindly" (Tuzuk, p. 42). But Udchā was handed over to Bīr Singh Deo as a reward for the murder of Abū 'l-Faḍl.

1 For the geographical details of this passage, I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Delmerick. The Tuzuk has Pīta of Tila; Bhakrā for Bhakrāla, and the Persian word Khāna for Kāhan (کان). The name of the river near Bhakrāla—a most extraordinary mistake; kār for Kūlar or Ghūrā, a village near Manikya; Ponkūhār for Poθhār. Mr. Delmerick also says that the river near Hātiyā or Ḥāṭiyā, is called Kāsī, and that near Rawalpīnī is the Lāhī, which forces a passage through low hills where there is a very deep pool, just before its junction with the Sohan. Sārā-i Khārbūzā is also called Sārā-i Madhū.

On the same page of Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the Tuzuk, we have to read Khattār and Dila-zāk for Khar and Dila-zāk. The Khattars occupy the district called Khātar, and the Dila-zāks are found in the Chhach valley of the Indus. [Vide No. 373.—B.]

Poθhār is the country between the Jhelam and the Sohan; but Jahāngīr extends it to the Mārgala pass from Hātyā (30 miles from the Jhelam).

2 So according to Mr. Delmerick.
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 Üdchcha Bundelas:—

Rāja Partā, founds Üdchcha in A.D 1531.

1. Bhārat Chand (died childless).
   2. Madhukar Singh (died 1000).

1. Rām Chand (died 1021).
   3. Bir Singh De,o, the murderer of Abū ’l-Fażl (died 1036).

A son.
Bhārat.
   2. Pahār Singh.
   3. Chandr Man.
   5. Bhagwān Dās.

Debi Singh.
   Bikramājit.
   Subhān Singh.
   Prithī Singh.
   Śīwal Singh.

The Maṣūṣīr 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 Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425; II, 731, 734.

The Maṣūṣīr-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 De,o, the murderer of Abū ’l-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. (Maṣūṣīr-i ʿĀlamgīrī, p. 95.)

1 The Dutch traveller De Laët has an interesting passage regarding Abū ’l-Fażl’s death (De Imperio Magni Mogulis, Leyden, 1631, p. 209). He calls Bir Singh Radzia Bertzingh Bondela.
249. Rāja Mukatman, the Bhadauriya.

Bhadāwar is the name of a district S.E. of Ágra ; its chief town is Hatkānțh (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, Mukaṭman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a manṣab of 1,000. In 992, he served in Gujrat (Akbarnāma, III, 423, 438). Under Jahāngīr, we find a chief of the name of Rāja Bikramājīt, who served under ʿAbd u-ʾllāh against the Rānā, and later in the Dakhin. He died in the 11th year of Jahāngīr and was succeeded by his son Bhoj. Sayyid Aḥmad'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 Shāhjāhān, 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 Jahān Lodī and the Nizām u-ʾl-Mulk, who had afforded Khān Jahān protection. In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Dawlatābād. Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khān Zamān against Sāhū Bhōnsla. He died in the 17th year (1053).

In the Palishāhnāma (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 Badar Singh,1 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 khilfāt, and remitted 50,000 Rs. out of the 2 lacs which was the assessment of the Bhadāwar 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 manṣab 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 Palishāhnāma, II, 732. The Maʿānī calls him Bad Singh or Bud Singh.
the Bundela rebels. In the 10th year he served under Kāmil Khān against the Yūsufzāis. He died in the 26th year.

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (vide Ma‘āsir-i ‘Alamgūrī, p. 226 and p. 228, where the Bibl. Ind. edition has wrongly Rūdar Singh for Odat S.). He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dakhin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chītor (l.c., 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 Khurda (South Orīsā) was conquered and annexed to the Dihlī empire by Mukarram Khān (vide No. 260), in the 12th year of Jahāngīr’s reign (Tuzuk, p. 215).


He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihār, and in the battle of Sultānpūr Bilhari; also, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzāis.

The Tarīkh 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 Mīr ‘Adl, viz. his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazān, 983, and his death there, 8th Sha‘bān, 984 (October, 1576). He was succeeded by his son Abū ‘l-Faḍl, who is not mentioned in the Āṣīn. On the 9th Zi ‘l-ḥijjah, 985 (Feb., 1578), Īstimād (No. 119) arrived at Bhakkar.

252. Dalpat, 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 ‘l-Fayz. Fayzī is his takhallus. Towards the end of his life in imitation of the form of the takhallus of his brother ‘Allāmī, 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
Khaṭīb Abū 'l-Faẓl of Kāzārūn and Mowlānā 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 Naqshbandi, 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-Faẓl, 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 ʿMaḥbūb al-ʿaṣīrīn', and another work of the title of ʿJawāmī‘ al-kalām. Towards the end of his life, he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Zi Qa’dā, 1001, at the age of 90 years. The tārīkh 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 ʿAbdu 'n-Nabi, 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 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 Mughals 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 Abdū 'n-Nabi.

In the 30th year he planned a khamsa, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsa of Nizāmi. The first, Markiz ʿl-adwār, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a jawāb (imitation) of Nizāmi's Makhzan ʿl-ʿasrār; the Sulaymān o Bilqis and the Nal Daman were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be jawābs of the Khusrav o Shīrīn and Laylā o 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 ʿsh-Shuṣarā,  

1 Badāʾoni (III, 74) calls it ʿMaḥbūb al-ʿaṣīrīn, nafī ish ʿl-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 Nal 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 tahríkh of his death is Fayyaz-i 'Ajam. It is said that he composed 101 books. The best known, besides his poetical works, are the Sawatiu 'l-Ikhám, and the Mawaridu 'l-Kalám, 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 princes; sometimes he also acted as ambassador. Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badà,oni, who had been in temporary disgrace at court.

Vide also pp. 112, 113, 192, 194, 267, 216, 218; and Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, pp. 137, 142.

254. Hakim Misri.

According to Badà,oni (III, 165) Hakim Misri was a very learned man and a clever doctor. He also composed poems. A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwaja Shamsu 'd-Din Khwafi (No. 159). He died in Burhanpur and was buried there.

Misri is mentioned in the Akbarnama, III, p. 629, and p. 843. In the latter passage, Abu 'l-Fa兹l mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed. It is impossible to reconcile Abu 'l-Fa兹l's date with Badà,oni's statement; for Badà,oni died in 1004 (Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1869, p. 143). But both Abu 'l-Fa兹l and Badà,oni speak of the Hakim as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character.

255. Irj, son of Mirza Khankhana (No. 29).

He was mentioned on p. 339. During the reign of Jahangir he was made Shubadar of Barar and Ahamd nagar. He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik 'Ambar, especially as Kharki,1

1 Lachmí Nará, in Shafiq, the author of the Haqiqat-i Hindustán, says that it was called Kharki from the Dakhin word كرك, which means "a stony place". It lies 5 kos S.E. of Davlatabad (the old Dharragarh and De,ogir of Galáku 'd-Din Khilji). Kharki under Jahangir was called Fathabad. In 1024 a canal was dug from Kharki to Davlatabad. Its name was Chaharnahri, and the tahríkh of its completion is khagri jari (pr. a running benefit). Later Awrangzib changed the name of Kharki to Awrangabaud, under which name it is now known. Kharki was the seat of Malik 'Ambar.
for which victories he was made a commander of 5,000. In the 12th year he served under Prince Shâhjahân 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 Ramazân, 1026) to Prince Shâhjahân. The offspring of this marriage, Prince Jahân-afroz, was born at Agra on the 12th Rajab, 1028, and died at Burhânpûr, at the age of 1 year 9 months (Padishâhnâma).

According to Grant's Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (2nd edition, p. 128), Ūrij's tomb is at Burhânpûr. "The tomb was built during his lifetime, and is really a handsome structure." The statement of the Gazetteer that Ūrij, towards the end of his life, "lived as a recluse" at Burhânpûr, 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 mansâb of 400, which Ābû 'l-Fażl assigns him, must therefore have been conferred upon him when he was a mere child.

256. Sakat Singh, son of Râja Mân Singh (No. 30).

Vide above, under No. 244.

257. ʿAbdu 'llâh [Sarfarâz Khân] son of Khân-i Aţzam Mîrzâ Koka [No. 21].

Vide p. 316.

It was stated (p. 316) on the authority of the Maʿâṣir that he received the title of Sardâr Khân, which had become vacant by the death of Takhta Beg (No. 195). But the Tuzuk (p. 71) gives him the title of Sarfarâz Khân. This is evidently a mistake of the author of the Maʿâṣir; for the title of Sardâr Khân was in the 8th year (1022) conferred on Khwâja Yâdgâr, brother of ʿAbdu 'llâh Khân Firûz-jang (Tuzuk, p. 116) when ʿAbdu 'llâh Sarfarâz Khân was still alive.

The Maʿâṣir also says that ʿAbdu 'llâh accompanied his father to Gwâlyâr (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. ʿAlî Muḥammad Asp.

Badâ,oni says (II, p. 57) that "ʿAlî Muḥammad Asp, who is now in the service of the emperor, at the instigation of Jûjak Begum, killed Ābû 'l-Fâți Beg (p. 333)." In the 9th year he was in the service of Mîrzâ Muḥammad Ḥâkim, king of Kâbul. Afterwards, he came to India. In the 26th year (989) he served under Prince Murâd against his former

[¹ Chuckuk, Turk.—B.]
master (Akbarnāma, III, 345); in the 30th year (993) he served in Kābul (III, 487, 490). In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under ʿAbduʾl-Maṭlīb (No. 83) against the Tārikīs (III, p. 541).

In the Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma he is wrongly called ʿAli Muḥammad Alīf.

259. Mīrzā Muḥammad.
A. Mīrzā Muḥammad was mentioned on p. 399.

260. Shaykh Bāyāzīd [Muṣāzzam Khān], grandson of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sikrī.
Bāyāzīd's mother nursed Prince Salīm (Jahāṅgīr) on the day he was born (Tuzuk, p. 13). In the 40th year of Akbar's reign B. was a com-
mander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000. After Jahāṅgīr's
accession he received a mansāb of 3,000 and the title of Muṣāzzam Khān.
Soon after he was made Şūbahdār of Dihlī (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 Sikrī (l.c., p. 262).

His son Mukarram Khān was son-in-law to Islām Khān Shaykh ʿAlāʾu ʿd-Dīn (another grandson of Shaykh Salīm), under whom he served
in Bengal. He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kūch Hājū,
and brought the zamīndār Parīchhīt before the governor. At the death
of his father-in-law, Muḥtashīm Khān Shaykh Qāsim, brother of Islām
Khān, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khān continued
for one year in his office as governor of Kūch Hājū; but as he could not
agree with Qāsim he went to court.

Later, he was made governor of Orīsā, 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 Orīsā 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 Şūbahdār
of Dīhīlī and Fawjdār of Mewāt (l.c., p. 352).

1 Islām Khān was married to a sister of Abū ʿl-Faḍl, by whom he had a son called Hoshang. Islām Khān died as governor of Bengal on the 5th Rajab, 1022 (Tuzuk, p. 126).
2 The Pādīshāhānāma (II, 64) where Mukarram Khān's expedition is related, dis-
tinguishes between Kūch Hājū and Kūch Bihār. The former was in the beginning
of Jahāṅgīr's reign under Parīchhīt, the latter under Lachmī Narān. Hājū is the name of
a famous leader of the Kūch people, who in ethnological works is said to have expelled
the Kachārīs and founded a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. His descend-
ants still exercise jura regalia in Kūch Bihār Proper. Materials for a history of Kūch Bihār
will be found in the Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 208, annals of the 41st year);
in the Tuzuk-i Jahāṅgīrī (pp. 147, 220, 221, 223); in the Pādīshāhānāma, I, 496; II, 64
to 79, 87, 88, 94; and in the Fath-i ʿAḥām; vide also Journal Asiatic Society Bengāl,
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 Khānazād Khān. 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. Ghaznīn Khān, of Jālor.

Ghaznīn Khān was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400. He is mentioned in the Pādishāhnāma (I, 167) as having served during the reign of Jahāngīr against the Rānā.

Bird, in his History of Gujrat (pp. 124, 405), calls him Ghaznavī Khān and Ghaznī Khān, and says he was the son of Malik Khānji Jālorī. Ghaznīn Khān seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sultān Muẓaffar. The Khāńskhānān, on the 9th Muḥarram, 998, sent a detachment against Jālor; but perceiving that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznīn went submissively to court. The emperor took compassion on him, and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions.

His son Pahār was executed by Jahāngīr. "When I came to Dih Qāziyān, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahār. This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jālor, his ancestral home. He is a young man, and was often checked by his mother for his bad behaviour. Annoyed at this, he entered with some of his companions her apartments, and killed her. I investigated the case, found him guilty, and had him executed." (Ṣafar, 1026; Tuzuk, p. 174).

Another son of Ghaznīn Khān is Nizām who died in the 6th year of Shāhjahān's reign. He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (Pādishāhn., I, b., 313).

Ghāznīn's brother Firūz was a commander of 600, 400 horse, and died in the 4th year (Pādishāhn., I, b., 319).

The Pādishāhnāma (II, 739) mentions also a Mujāhid of Jālor, who in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign was a commander of 800, 300 horse.

262. Kijak Khwāja, son of Khwāja ʻAbdu ʻIlāh.

The first volume of the Akbarnāma (p. 411) mentions a Kijak Khwāja among the grandees who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The third

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1 Wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pādishāhnāma (I, 167), Ghazali Khān.
Ghaznīn's jāgīr, before Akbar's conquest of Gujrat, as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nāgor and Mirtha, and fixes the revenue at nearly 15 lacs of rupees, with 7,000 horse. This can only have been nominal. Abū ʻl-Fāzl, in his description of Sūba jmir, II1rd book, mentions 32 lacs of rupees, with 2,000 horse, as the jama of Jālor and Sānchhor (S.W. of Jālor).
volume of the same work (p. 470) mentions a Kijak Khwāja, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohānī in Bengal. Vide No. 109.

263. Sher Khān Mughul.

264. Fathu’llāh, son of Muhammad Wafā.

He appears to be the Fathu’llāh 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 Shaykhāwat branch of the Kachhwāhas. He served, in the 21st year, under Mān Singh, against the Rānā, and went in the same year with Rāja Bīr Bār to Dongarpūr,1 the zamindār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar’s harem. In the 24th year he served under Toḍar 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 Mol Manoharnagar.2 In the 45th year he was appointed with Rāy Durgā Lāl (No. 103) to pursue Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (p. 516), who was caught by Khwāja Waissī.

In the 1st year of Jahāṅgīr’s reign he served under Prince Parwiz 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 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 ʿAbd-ʾṣ-Samād, Shīrīn-qalam (sweet-pen).

He is not to be confounded with No. 353.

Khwāja ʿAbd-ʾṣ-Samād was a Shīrāzī. His father Khwāja Niẓāmu

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1 The word dongar, which occurs in the names of places from Scratth to Mālwa and Central India, is a Gond word meaning a forest. There are many Dongarpūrs, Dongargāws, Dongartās, Dongaras, etc. Similarly, the word bir in Mundāri signifies a jungle, whence Birbhūm (Western Bengal). Thus also Jhārkhand, or jungle region, the general name of Chutya Nāgpūr. The above-mentioned Dongarpur lies on the N.W. frontier of Gujrat (Akbar, III, 169, 170, 477).

2 The maps give a Manoharpūr north of Amber, about Lat. 27° 20'.
'l-Mulk was Vazîr to Shâh Shujâ' of Shîrâz. Before Humâyûn left Írân he went to Tabrîz, where ‘Abdu’r-Šamad paid his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. Humâyûn invited him to come to him, and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kâbul.

Under Akbar ‘A. was a commander of 400; but low as his manşab was, he had great influence at court. In the 22nd year he was in charge of the mint at Fâṭhpûr Sîkri (Akbarnâma, III, 195); and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several şubas, he was appointed Diwân of Mîltân.

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the Sûrat ‘I-lîkhās (Qur’an, Sur. CXII) on a poppy seed (dânah-y khashkhâsh). Vide p. 114.

For his son, vide No. 351.
267. Silhâdî, son of Râja Bihârî Mal (No. 23).
268. Râm Chand Kachhwâha.
Vide p. 422.

[Râm Chand Chauhân.] The Ma‘âzhîr says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500. In the 17th year he served under M. ‘Azîz Koka (No. 21) in Gujrat, and in the 26th year under Sulťân Murûd against M. Mûhanmad Ḥakîm, king of Kâbul. In the 28th year he was under M. Shâhrûkh in the Dakbin. In the fight, in which Râja ‘Ali 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. Bahâdur Khân Qûrdâr.

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrat (Akbarnâma, III, 25), in the 26th in Kâbul (l.c., 333) and in the siege of Asîr (1008).

The Pâdishâhnâma (I, b., pp. 311, 315) mentions Abâbakr and ‘Usmân, sons of Bahâdur Khân Qûrbegî, who seems to be the same officer. They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shâhjahân.

270. Bânkâ, the Kachhwâha.

He served in the 26th year in Kâbul (Akbarn., III, 333). His son Haridî Râm was under Shâhjahân a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and died in the 9th of his reign.

**XIX. Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty.**

271. Mirzâ Abû Sa‘îd | sons of Sulţân Ḥusayn Mirzâ.
272. Mirzâ Sanjâr
They were mentioned above on p. 326. Mīrzā Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mīrzā Sankar mentioned on p. 533, note 1.

273. ʿAli Mardān Bahādūr.

The Tabaqat mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulij Khān (No. 42) at Īdar, who was to go to Gujrāt to see the ships off which under Sultān Khwāja (No. 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah. Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind,¹ 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 Gilānī, 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 ʿl-Fazl made peace, and ʿAli Mardān was set at liberty. In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mīrzā Īrij (No. 255) against Malik ʿAmbar.

In the 7th year of Jahāngīr’s reign he was attached to the corps commanded by ʿAbdū ʿllāh Khān Firūz-jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrāt army over Nāsik into the Dakhin, in order to cooperate with the second army corps under Khān Jahān Lodi. ʿAbdū ʿllāh entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrāt, now pursued by the enemies. In one of the fights which ensued, ʿA. M. was wounded and captured. He was taken before Malik ʿAmbar, 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 Karamu ʿllāh 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 Odgīr, and died in the 21st year of Shāhj.’s reign.

274. Raṣā Qulī, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).
Vide above, p. 351.


His father was a Shaykhzāda of Badā, on, and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salīm. Khūbū was a foster-brother of Jahāngīr.² When the prince was at Ilāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Qūṭbū ʿd-Dīn Khān, and made him Şūbadār of Bihār.

¹ Vide Dowson, Elliot’s Historians, I, p. 248.
² Jahāngīr says that Khūbū’s mother was dearer to him than his own mother.
On his accession he made him Şübâdâr of Bengal, vice Mân Singh (9th Jumâda I, 1015; Tuzuk, p. 37).

At that time, Sher Afkan ʿAlî Qulî İstajlı (vide No. 394) was tuyûldâr of Bardwân, and as his wife Mihrâ ʿn-Nisâ [Nûr Jahân] was coveted by the emperor, Quṭb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however, refused to go. Quṭb, therefore, went to Bardwân, sending Ghiyâsâ, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him. When Quṭb 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. 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 Khân, a Kashmîrî 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. Quṭbu ʿd-Dîn was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyâsâ to bring his effects and his family to Bardwân. He then was removed in a pâjlî. He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpûr Sîkrî and buried.

In 1013 he built the Jâmî mosque of Badã.on.

His son, Shaykh Ibrâhîm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of Kishwar Khân. He was for some time governor of Rohtâs, and served in the beginning of 1021 against ʿUsmân.

İlahdiya, son of Kishwar Khân, is mentioned in the Pâdishâhnâma (I, b., 100, 177, 307; II, 344, 379, 411, 484).

276. Ziyâzu ʿl-Mulk, of Kâshân.

The Akbarnâma (III, 490, 628) and the Tuzuk (p. 11) mention a Ziyâzu ʿd-Dîn.

The Hakîm Ziyâzu ʿd-Dîn of Kâshân, who under Shâhjahân held the title of Raḥmat Khân, can scarcely be the same.

277. Hamza Beg Ghatrâghali.

He may be the brother of No. 203. The Akbarnâma (III, 255) mentions also a Ḥusayn Beg Ghatrâghali.

278. Mukhtar Beg, son of Āghâ Mullâ.

Mukhtâr Beg served under Aġâm Khân Koka (No. 21) in Bihâr,
Gāḍha-Rājīsīn (Akbarn. III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultān Murād in Mālwa.

Naṣīr ʿIlāh, son of Mukhtār Beg, was under Shāhjāhān a commander of 700, 150 horse and died in the 10th year.

Fatīḥ ʿIlāh, son of Naṣīr ʿIlāh, was under Shāhjāhān a commander of 500, 50 horse (Pūdishāhn., I, b., 318; II, 752).

Abū ʿl-Faḍl calls Mukhtār Beg the son of Āghā Mūllā. This would seem to be the Āghā Mūllā Dawātdār, mentioned on p. 398. If so, Mukhtār Beg would be the brother of Ghiyāṣ ʿd-Dīn ʿAbd-Allāh (No. 126), The Āghā Mūllā mentioned below (No. 376), to judge from the Tuzuk (p. 27), is the brother of Aṣaf Khān III (No. 98), and had a son of the name of Bādīs ʿz-Zamān, who under Shāhjāhān was a commander of 500, 100 horse (Pūdād., I, b., 327; II, 751). In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild.

279. Ḥaydar ʿAlī ʿArab.

He served, in the 32nd year, in Afgānīstān (Akbarn., III, 540, 548).

280. Peshraw Khān [Mihtār Ṣalādat].

Mihtār Ṣalādat had been brought up in Tabrīz, and was in the service of Shāh Ṭahmasp, 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 Gajpatī, the great zamīndār (p. 437, note 2). When Jagdaspūr, the stronghold of the Rājā, was conquered, Gajpatī 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 Rājā, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P. on his elephant. The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P. fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner that the other elephants ran away frightened. Although P.'s hands were tied, he managed to get to the 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 Gajpatī¹ (Akbarn., III, 163). In the 25th year he served in Bengal (I.c., p. 289). Later he

¹ Gajpatī's brother, Bāri Sāl, had been killed (Akbarn., III, 162).
was sent to Nizam u’l-Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahādūr Khān, son of Rāja Ṭāli Khān of Khāndesh. His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Āsīr. P. distinguished himself in the siege of Māligādh.

Jahāṅgīr made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the Farrāsh-khāna (Quartermaster).

P. died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017. Jahāṅgīr 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 Ṭāli is unfit for anything; but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the Farrāsh-khāna.

281. Qāzī Ḥasan Qazwīnī.

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrat (Akbarn., III, 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qāzī Ḫusayn), 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.

Juwayn is the Arabic form of the Persian Gujān, the name of a small town,1 in Khurāsān, on the road between Bistām and Nishāpūr. It lies, according to the Ma‘āṣīr in the district of Bayhaq, of which Sabzwār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets.

Mir Murād belongs to the Sayyids of Juwayn. 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, Ḍūsīm 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 ṣūba. Later, he married Manija Begum, sister of Nūr Jahān, and thus became a friend of Jahāṅgīr. An example of a happy repartee is given. Once Jahāṅgīr 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):

کاسه نازک بود آب آرام نتوانست کرد

The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—

1 Vide Wüstefeld’s Yacut, II, 164
when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied:—

ديد حالم را و جمشش ضبط اشک خود تکرر

It saw my love-grief, and could not suppress its tears.

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Şūbadār 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 Dahrā (Āgra), 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 Fidā'i Khān.

As Shāhjahān when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portugese in Bengal, who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Sha'bān, 1041, or February, A.D. 1632 (Pādishāhn., I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son 'Ināyāt ūlāh and Allah Yār Khān to Hūgli. The Portugese 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 Portugese 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 Musulmāns died as martyrs for their religion.1

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (l.c., p. 444). The Jāmi' Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Āgrah was built by him.

283. Mir Qāsin Badakhshi.

He served in the Dakhin (Akbarn., III, 830).


Maydānī is the name of an Afghan clan; vide No. 317. Banda ʿAlī served in the 9th year with Muḥammad Ḥakīm 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 Qurbegī.


He was mentioned above on pp. 386, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mīrzā ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). Akbarn., III, 473.

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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 Haldīpūr, mentioned in the Pādishāhnāmā as having for some time been the headquarters of the Mughul army, is called on our maps Holōdīpūr, and lies N.W. of Hūgli. The Portuguese church of Bandel (a corruption of bandar ?) bears the year 1599 on its keystone.
286. Zähid
288. Yâr [Muhammad]

They have been mentioned above on p. 384. Zähid, in the end of 1025, served against Dalpat (No. 252).

Regarding Zähid, vide also a passage from the Tārikh-i Maṣūmī, translated Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, I, 246.

289. 'Izzatulla ilāh Ghujdwānī.
Ghujduwān is a small town in Buhārā.
The Akbrānāma (III, 548) mentions a Qâzī 'Izzatullah ilāh, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghanīstān.

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 Akbrānāma (III, 554) as having served in Baglāna with Bharji, the Rāja who was hard pressed in Fort Moiher by his relations. Bharji died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year).

292. Sayfulla [Qulijullāh] sons of Qulij Khān (No. 42).
293. Chīn Qulij

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish qulij, a sword. Sayfulla ilāh was mentioned under No. 203. In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Şâdiq Khan (No. 43) in Afghanīstān.

Regarding Mirzâ Chīn Qulij, the Maṣūr says that he was an educated, liberal man, well versed in government matters. He had learned under Mullâ Muṣṭafā of Jaunpūr, and was for a long time Pawjdar of Jaunpūr and Banāras.

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mirzâ Lāhaurī, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chīn Qulij in Jaunpūr. 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 Ajmīr, he summoned Mullâ Muṣṭafā, who had been the Mirzâ's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm.
While at court he got acquainted with Mullâ Muḥammad of Thathah, a teacher in the employ of Āṣafjâh (or Āṣaf Khân IV; vide p. 398), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf. Muṣṭafâ 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 (yaumīyya). He had a house in Āgra, near the Jamna, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons. He led a miserable life.

The Ma‘âṣir 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 Hindû 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 Šûbadâr of Lâhor.

The other sons of Qulij Khân, as Quliju 'l-lâh, Chîn, Qulij, Bâljû Q., Bayràm Q., and Jân Q., held mostly respectable mansâbs.

The Tuzuk-i Jahângîrî relates the story differently. Both M. Chîn Qulij and M. Lâhaurî are described as wicked men. Chîn Q., after the death of his father, came with his brothers and relations to court (Ṣafar, 1023; Tuzuk, p. 127) and received Jaunpûr as jâgîr. As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M. Lâhaurî, from whom no man was safe, he sent an Aḥadi to Jaunpûr to bring him to court, when Chîn Qulij fled with him to several zamîndârs. The men of Janângîr Quli 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 Quli 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 Atâlîq.
295. Sayyid Bâyazîd of Bârba.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrât (Akbarn., III, 553). In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahângîr's reign (1031) he received the title of Muṣṭafâ 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 Pâdishâh mâna.
296. Balbhadr, the Rāṭhor.
297. Abū 'l-Maṣṭalī, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl (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 (Akbar., III, 267, 641).
299. Bāyazīd Beg Turkmān.
He was at first in Munṣim's service (Akbar., II, 238, 253). The Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 328) mentions Mahmūd Beg, son of Bāyazīd Beg. Vide No. 335.
300. Shaykh Dawlat Baḥātyār.
301. Ḥusayn, the Pakhliwāl.
The story of the origin of his family from the Qārālūqs under Timūr (vide p. 504) is given in the Tuzuk (p. 290). Jahāṅgīr adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief. At present they are common Panjābis (Lāhaurī-yī maḥāz) and speak Panjābī. This is also the case with Dhatūr" (vide No. 392).
Sultān Ḥusayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sultān Mahmūd. His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above on p. 504. When Jahāṅgīr in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Ḥusayn was about seventy years old, but still active. He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahāṅgīr promoted him to a mansāb of 600, 350 horse.
Ḥusayn died in the 18th year (end of 1032; Tuzuk, p. 367). His command and the district of Pakhli were given to his son Shādūmān.
Shādūmān served under Dārā Shikoh in Qandahār (beginning of 1052) and was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse. Pādishāhnāma, II, 293, 733.
The Tuzuk (p. 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhli, 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 Jait Mal, instead of Jai Mal. The Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 310) mentions a Rāja Girdhar, son of Kesū Dās, grandson of Jat Mal of Mirtha. The Tuzuk frequently mentions a Kesū Dās Mārū (Tuzuk, pp. 9, 37, 203).
303. Mirza Khān of Nishāpūr. One MS. has Jān for Khān.
304. Muẓaffar, brother of Khān ʿĀlam (No. 58).
My text edition has wrongly Khān-i ʿAshārī for Khān ʿĀlam.
305. Tulsi Dās Jādon.
He served in 992 against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujrat (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 ʿĀlī.
Masnad-i ʿĀlī is an Afghan title, as Majlis-i Majālis, Majlis-i Ikhtiyār, 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 Husayn Qulī Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (Badās′oni, II, 161). The Tabaqāt makes him a commander of 2,000. He seems to be the same Fath Khān whom Sulaymān Kararānī had put in charge of Rohtās in Bihār (Bad., II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (Akbar., 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 Yūsufzāʾis, and in 996 under Şādiq Khān, against the Ārikīs (Akbar., III, 490, 552).

The Tuzuk (p. 159) mentions a Yār Beg, son of A. Q.’s brother.

308. Bahādur Gohlot.

309. Dawlat Khān Lodī.
He was a Lodī Afghan of the Shāhū-khayl clan, and was at first in the service of ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). When ʿAbdu ’r-Rahīm (No. 29) married the daughter of ʿAzīz, Dawlat Khān was transferred to ʿAbdu ’r-Rahīm’s service, and ʿAzīz, 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 Maṣāṣīr, we have to read Dawlat Khān), in Thatha and the Dakhin. His courage was proverbial. In his master’s contingent he heid 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 (Sha’bān, 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 Maṣāṣīr 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 Khan Jahān 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 Ma’āṣir here calls Muḥammad Khan, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh. Muḥammad Khan died when young.

Like his father, P. Kh. was in the service of Sulṭān Dānyāl, who treated him like a friend, and called him “son”. On the death of the Prince, Pir, then twenty years old, joined Jahāngīr’s service, was made in the second year a commander of 3,000, and received the title of Ṣalābat Khan (Tuzuk, p. 42). He gradually rose to a manṣab of 5,000, and received the title of Khan Jahān, which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khan Khānān. Although Jahāngīr treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khan Jahān never got his position and formed no ambitious plans.

When Prince Parwiz, 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 Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12,000 troopers to their assistance. At the review, Jahāngīr came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh. J.’s head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting. Without delaying in Burhānpūr, Kh. J. moved to Bāлагhāt, where the imperial army was. At Mulkāpūr, a great fight took place with Malik ʿAmbar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinis, lost heavily. The Khan Khānān met him with every respect, and took him to Bāлагhāt. According to the original plan, Kh. J. was to lead the Dakhin corps, and ʿAbdul ʿllāḥ Khan the Gujrāt army, upon Daulatābād (under No. 273). Malik ʿAmbar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khan Khānān, who managed to detain Kh. J. in Zafarnagar; and ʿAbdul ʿllāḥ, 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 Khan Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bijāpur in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power. This Jahāngīr agreed to, and the Khan-i Aṣʿam (No. 21) and Khan ʿĀlam (No. 328) were sent to his assistance. But though the Khan Khānān had been removed, the duplicity of the Amīrs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve. The command
was therefore given to the Khân-i Aṅāzam and Kh. J. received Thālner as jagîr, and was ordered to remain at Ilichpūr. After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before.

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Kh. J. was made governor of Multān. Two years later, in the 17th year, Shāh ʿAbbās took Qandahār after a siege of forty days. Kh. J. was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Shāh 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 Afghān 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 Iṣfahān, and promised to be responsible for the supplies. But Kh. J. refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahāngīr would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Afghāns to him.

In the meantime matters changed. Shāhjahān 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 Khân 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 Āgra, and was put in charge of the treasures.

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khân-i Aṅāzam, he was made governor of Gujrat, and when Mahābat Khân was sent to Bengal, he was appointed atātīq to Prince Parwiz, whom he joined at Burhānpūr.

In 1035, the 21st year, Parwiz died, and the Dakhin was placed under Kh. J. He moved against Fath Khân, son of Malik ʿAmbar, to Bālāghāt. His conduct was now more than suspicious: he accepted proposals made by Hamīd Khân Iḥāshī, the minister of the Niẓām Shāh, to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of hūns though the revenue was 55 krors of dāms (Pādishehān., I, 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdārs and Thānahdārs to give up their places to the agents of the Niẓām Shāh and repair to Burhānpūr. Only Sipahdār Khân, who stood in Aḥmadnagar, refused to do so without express orders from the emperor.

Soon after, Mahābat Khân joined Shāhjahān at Junîr, and was honoured with the title of Sipahsālār. On the death of Jahāngīr, 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 Sûbadâr 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 Rohilla and Fâzîl Khân, the Diwân of the Dakhin; Dâwar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryâr had proclaimed himself in Lâbor, whilst Shâhj. had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsâlâr 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 Ma’mûrî. 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 Aşaf 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 Mâlwhah.

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhâr Singh, Kh. J. came to court and was treated by the emperor with cold politeness. Their mutual distrust soon showed itself. Shâhj. remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Ágra, and several parganas of his jagirs were transferred to others. One evening, at a darbâr, Mirzâ Lashkâri, son of Mukhîlîs 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 Islam Khân to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain for him an amânnâma, 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 Aşaf 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 Shâfar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Ágra. When passing the Hatyâpûl 1 Darwâza, he humbly threw the reigns of his horse over

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1 The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Awrangzib in Rajab, 1079, because the Muhammedan law forbids sculpture. Ma’âṣir-i Sâlamgârî, 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, Aṣaf 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 Panjāb. He entered Mālwah, pursued by ʿAbduʿllāh Khān and Muẓaffar Khān Bārha. After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājah. But Jagrāj Bikramājīt, son of Jhujhār Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumāda, II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryā Khān (a commander of 4,000) and his son, Kh. J.’s best officers (Pādishāhn., I, 339; I, b., 296). On arriving in Bhānder,1 Kh. J. met Sayyid Muẓaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men. During the fight Maḥmūd 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, Ḥasān Khān, was captured. Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Seḥdā, where he resolved to die. He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless. On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by ʿAbduʿllāh Khān and S. Muẓaffar, and was mortally wounded by Mādhū Singh with a spear. Before Muẓaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son ʿAzīz to pieces (Pādishāhn., I, 351). Their heads were sent to Shāhjahān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh. J.’s father.

Kh. J. had been a commander of 7,000 (Pādishāhn., I, b., 293). Several of Kh. J.’s sons, as Ḥusayn ʿAzīmat, Maḥmūd, and Ḥasān, had perished during the rebellion of their father. Another, Aṣālat Khān, a commander of 3,000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muẓaffar had left his father and gone to court. Farid and Jān Jahān

1 So the Maḥāsir. The Bibl. Ind. Edition of the Pādishāhnāma, I, 348, has Bāndhū. So likewise for Sākhānī (Pād., I, 290), the Maḥāsir has Lānji (Gondwānah), where Kh. J., after the fight near Dhulpūr and his march through the Bundela State, for the first time rested.

Bhānder lies N.E. of Jhānsī. Seḥdā lies N. of Kālinjar, on the Ken.
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 Makhtan-i Afghānī, or some editions of it, contain a chapter in praise of Khān Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called Tārikh-i Khān Jahān Lodī.

310. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Quraysh Sultān (No. 178).

311. Ḥasan Khān Miyāna.

He was at first a servant of Šādiq Khān (No. 43), but later he received a mansāb. He died in the Dakhin wars.

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (Tuzuk, p. 200). The second is Buhūl Khān. He rose to a mansāb of 1,500 under Jahangīr (l.c., pp. 184, 200), and received the title of Sarbulund 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 jāgirdār of Bālāpur. He joined Khān Jahān Lodī 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 Buhūl, Abū 'l-Muḥammad, came in the 12th year of Awarangzib's reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān (Mā'ūs. Ālamgīrī, p. 81).

For other Miyāna Afghāns, vide Pādishāhīn, I, 241; Mā'ūs. 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 (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 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 Chiyāšu '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 Ismā'īl Ṣafawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrat, where he arrived during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd
Bigara.\(^1\) He settled with his son Kamālu 'd-Dīn (Abū Turāb’s father) in Champānīr-Maḥmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (darsīya kitāb). Kamālu 'd-Dīn also was a man renowned for his learning.

The family has for a long time been attached to the Siṣ silica-yi Maqhrīḥīyya, or Maqhrībī (Western) Sect, the “lamp” of which was the saintly Shaykh Ḥaḍī-ḵ̣ī Khaṭṭū. The name “Ṣalāmī Sayyids” is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary salām, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting.

Abū Turāb 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 Ištīmād Khān (No. 67) from joining, after Akbar’s departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Ikhtiyārū l-Mulk. Later, Akbār sent him to Makkah as Mīr 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 (qadam-i sharif, or qadam-i mubārak); vide p. 207. The “tarīkh” of his return is khayrā 'l-aqdām (a.H. 987), or “the best of footprints”. The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalāl-i Bukhārī at the time of Sultān Firūz had brought to Dihlī. Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great éclat, Abū Turāb was graciously allowed to keep it in his house.

When Ištīmād was made governor of Gujrat, Abū Turāb followed him as Mīn of the Šūba, accompanied by his sons Mīr Muḥībū l-Lāh and Mīr Sharfū 'd-Dīn.

Abū Turāb died in 1005, and was buried at Aḥmadābād.

His third son Mīr Gādāī, though he held a manṣab, adopted the saintly

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\(^1\)しく, This word is generally pronounced ṣuḵū, and is said to mean having conquered two forts (gaḥ), because Maḥmūd’s army conquered on one day the forts of Champānīr and Jūnāḡarh. But Jāhāṅgīr in his “Memoirs”, says that šuḵū means būrī-i bargastā, “having a turned up, or twisted, moustache,” which Sultān Maḥmūd is said to have had (Tuzuk, p. 212).

Champānīr, according to Bird, is also called Maḥmūdābād. The Maʿāṣir hasa Champānīr-Maḥmūdābād.

\(^2\) Born a.H. 738, died at the age of 111 (lunar) years, on the 10th Shawwāl, 849. Shaykh Ahmad lies buried at Sarkhej near Aḥmadābād. The biographical works on Saints give many particulars regarding this personage, and the share which he had, as one of the four Gujrātī Ahmadis, in the foundation of Aḥmadābād (founded 7th Zī Qaḍā, 813). Khāṣaḫū ʾl-ʾAṣīfī (Lāhūr), p. 957.

Khaṭṭū, where Shaykh Ahmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Is-hāq-i Maqhrībī (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 ʿAbduʾl-Bārī. Vide No. 320.

In MSS. he is often wrongly called Yād ʿAlī.

The word nādī is an Arabic Imperative, meaning "call". It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets.

\begin{align*}
Nādī ʿAlīyīn mażhara ʿl-ṣalāt ib, \\
Tajid-ḥū ʿaṣwān fī kullī ʿl-maṣā줌 ib. \\
Kullī hammin wa ghammin so-yanjālī \\
Bi-mubuwati-kā yā Muḥammad, bi-wilāyiiti-kā yā ʿAlī. \\
Yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī.
\end{align*}

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 26th year Nādī ʿAlī served against Muḥammad Ḥākim, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kābul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No. 34) against the Tārikīs.

In the 6th year of Jahāṅgīr’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 Bīzān (or Bīzān) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash, and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (l.c., pp. 307, 309).

The Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 322) mentions a Muḥammad Zamān, son of Nādī ʿAlī Arlūt, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahān was a commander of 500, 350 horse.

Nādī ʿAlī is not to be confounded with the Ḥāfīz Nādī ʿAlī, who served under Jahāṅgīr as Court Ḥāfīz (Tuzuk, p. 155, and its Dībāja, p. 19), nor with the Nādī ʿAlī who served under Shāhjahān (Pādishāhn., II, 749) as a commander of 500, 200 horse.


319. Ghīyās Beg of Tīhrān [Iṣtimāḍuʾ ʿd-Dawla].
His real name is Mirzâ Ghiyâšu \textsuperscript{1} d-Dîn Muḥammad. In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayâs, a corruption of \textit{Ghiyâš}, not of Ayâz (آیاس). Ghiyâś Beg’s father was Khwâja Muḥammad Sharif, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of \textit{Hijrî}. He was Vazîr to Tâtâr Sulṭân, son of Muḥammad Khân Shârâfu \textsuperscript{2} d-Dîn Ugli Taklû, who held the office of Beglar Begî of Khurâsân. After Tâtâr Sulṭân’s death, the Khwâja was continued in office by his son Qazâq Khân, and on Qazâq’s death, he was made by Shâh Taâmâsp Vazîr of Yazd.\textsuperscript{1}

Khwâja Muḥammad Sharif is said to have died in A.H. 984. He had two brothers, Khwâja Mirzâ Aḥmad, and Khwâjâgî Khwâja. The son of Kh. Mirzâ Aḥmad was the well-known Khwâja Amin Râzî (رضا), i.e., of the town of Ray of which he was kalânâr, or magistrate), who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled \textit{Haft Iqîmâ}, A.H. 1002. Khwâjâgî Khwâja had a son of the name of Khwâja Shâpûr, who was likewise a literary man.

Ghiyâś Beg was married to the daughter of Mirzâ ʿAlâ\textsuperscript{2}u d-Dawlah, son of ʿAghâ 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 Mihr\textsuperscript{3}u-n-Nisâ (‘the Sun of Women’), a name which her future title of Nûr Jahân has almost brought into oblivion.\textsuperscript{3} In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Masûd, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar. We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiyâś Beg to India. After his introduction at Court in Fâṭhpûr Sikrî,\textsuperscript{4} Gh. rose, up to the 40th year, to a command of 300. In the same year he was made Diwân of Kâbul, and was in course of time promoted to a mansâb of 1,600, and appointed Diwân-i Buyûtât.

\textsuperscript{1} The \textit{Dibâja} (preface) of the \textit{Tuzuk} (p. 29) and the \textit{Iqâblânâma} (p. 54) agree \textit{verbatim} in Ghiyâś Beg’s history. They do not mention Qazâq Khân. For Yazd of the \textit{Maṣūṣir}, Sayyid Aḥmad’s text of the \textit{Tuzuk} has \textit{Marzu}; and the Bibl. Indica edition of the \textit{Iqâblânâma} has \textit{zâye} ‘he made him his own Vazîr’.

\textsuperscript{2} The words \textit{son of} are not in the \textit{Maṣūṣir}, but in the \textit{Tuzuk} and the \textit{Iqâblânâma}. Two ʿAghâ Mullâs have been mentioned on p. 398, and under Nos. 278, 319, and 376.

\textsuperscript{3} It is said that Nûr Jahân at her death in 1055 was in her seventy-second year. She would thus have been born in A.H. 984; hence Ghiyâś Beg’s flight from Persia must have taken place immediately after the death of his father.

It is well to bear this in mind; for when Nûr Jahân was married by Jahângîr (in 1020), she must have been as old as 34 (solar) years, an age at which women in the East are looked upon as old women.

\textsuperscript{4} Where he had some distant relations, as Jâšfâr Beg (No. 98).
Regarding Mihrũ ‘n-Nisā’s marriage with ʿAli Quṭb, vide No. 394.

In the beginning of Jahāṅgīr’s reign, Ghiyās Beg received the title of Iṣṭimādũ ʿd-Dawla. In the second year, his eldest son, Muḥammad Sharīf, joined a conspiracy to set Khursaw at liberty and murder the emperor; but the plot being discovered, Sharīf was executed, and Iṣṭimād himself was imprisoned. After some time he was let off on payment of a fine of two lac of rupees. At the death of Sher Afkan (under 275) Mihrũ ‘n-Nisā was sent to court as a prisoner “for the murder of Quṭbu ʿd-Dīn”, and was handed over to Ruqayya Sulṭān Begum, with whom she lived “unnoticed (ba-nākāmī) 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.

Ghiyās, in consequence of the marriage, was made Vakīl-i kūl, 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 Kashmīr, Ghiyās 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 Anwārī:

آنکه ناپتایی ماد رزد اگر حاکم بود در جنبين عالم آرا پس به بيد ميمت

“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 (Rabiʾ I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken-hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mihr, 1030, i.e., 13th Zī Qaṣda, 1030.

Ghiyās 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. Jahāṅgīr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand mufarrīḥ-i yāqūts. He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry. “Chains,
the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house." He protected the
wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death. He never was
idle, but wrote a great deal; his official accounts were always in the
greatest order. But he liked bribes, and showed much boldness in
demanding them.1

His mausoleum near Agra has often been described.

Nūr Jahān’s power over Jahāṅgīr 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 govern-
ment 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 ḵutba (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 zamīndāris lay near Rāmsir, S.E. of Ajmīr (Tuzuk,
p. 169). She provided for all her relations; even her nurse, Dā,i Dilārām,
enjoyed much influence, and held the post of ʿṢadr of the Women" (ṣadr-i anās), and when she conferred lands as suyūrgāls, 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 outfits to is estimated at five hundred. She gave
the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the ʿṣatr-i jahāṅgīrī (a
peculiar kind of rosewater). She possessed much taste in adorning apart-
ments and arranging feasts. For many gold ornaments she laid down new
patterns and elegant designs, and her dūdamī for peshvāz (gowns),
hers pāchtoliya for orhnīs (veils), her bādla (brocade), kinnārī (lace), and
farsh-i chandānī,2 are often mentioned.

Her influence ceased with Jahāṅgīr’s death and the capture of Shahryār,
fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher
Afkan) Lāḍlī Begum, in marriage. She had no children by Jahāṅgīr.
Shāhjahān allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum.3

She died at Lāhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwal, 1055, and
lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built
(Pādishāhī, II, 475).4 She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

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1 So the Tuzuk and the Iqṭābnāma.
2 Dūdamī, weighing two dāmas; pāchtoliya, weighing five tolas. The latter was
3 Elphinestone has by mistake 2 lacs per annum. The highest allowance of Begams
on record is that of Mumtāz Mahālī, viz 10 lacs per annum. Vide Pādishāhī, I, 96.
4 In the Pādishāhnāma, Nūr Jahān is again called Nūr Mahālī.
like Salima Sultan Begum and Zebu 'n-Nisā Begum wrote under the assumed name of Makhsī.

Ghiyās Beg's sons. The fate of his eldest son Muhammad Sharif has been alluded to. His second son, Mirza Abū 'l-Hasan Āṣaf Khan (IV), also called Āṣaf-jāh or Āṣaf-jāhi, is the father of Muntāz Mahal (Tāj Bībi), the favourite wife of Shāhjahān whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II. He received from Shāhjahān the title of Yāmīn 'd-Dawla and Khān Khānān Sipahsālār, and was a commander of 9,000. He died on the 17th Shabān, 1051, and was buried at Lāhor, north of Jāhāngīr's tomb. As commander of 9,000 du-aspa and sī-aspa troopers, his salary was 16 kārs, 20 lacs of dāms, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jāgīrs yielding a revenue of five millions of rupees. His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of rupees in gold mohurs, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, 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 Mirza Ghiyās 'd-Dīn 'Ali Āṣaf Khān II (p. 398).

His eldest son is the renowned Mirza Abū Tālib 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 Irij Shāhnawāz Khān (No. 255), son of Abū 'r-Rahīm Khān Khānān, by whom he had, however, no children. He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzib's reign. His eldest son, Abū Tālib, had died before him. His second son was Abū 'l-Fath Khān. One of his daughters was married to Ruḥu 'llāh (I), and another to Zū 'l-Faqār Khān Āsrāt-jang.

Āṣaf Khān's second son, Bahmanyār, was in the 20th year of Shāhj. a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (Pādishāhn., II, 728).

Ghiyās Beg's third son is Ibrāhīm Khān Fath-jang, who was the governor of Bihār (vide note to Kokra under No. 323) and Bengal. He was killed near his son's tomb during Shāhjahān's rebellion. His son had died young and was buried near Rājmāhāll, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). Ibrāhīm Khān was married to Ĥājī Ĥūr Parwar Khānum, Nūr Jahān's maternal aunt (khāla). She lived up to the middle of Awrangzib's reign, and held Kol Jalālī as altamghā.

1 Also called Muḥammad Tālib. Vide Pādishāhn., II, 248.
An Ahmad Beg Khan is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nür Jahān's brother. He was with Ibrāhīm Fath-jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhākā, where he handed over to Shāhjahān 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). On Shāhj.'s accession he received a high mansāb, was made governor of Thathah and Siwistān, and later of Multān. He then returned to court, and received as jā gir the Parganas of Jāis and Amethī, where he died. In the 20th year of Shāhj. he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 horse (Pādishāhn., II, 727).

A sister of Nūr Jahān Manīja Begum was mentioned under No. 282. A fourth sister, Khaḍīja Begum, was married to Hākīm Beg, a nobleman of Jahāngīr's court.

The following tree will be found serviceable:

1. Khwāja Muhammad Sharif (d. 984).
   1. Ágha Muhammad Tahir, Beg Ichtimādu 'd-Dawla (d. 1031).
2. Mirzā Ghyas Ḥasan Abū 'l-Maṣūm (d. 1051).
   3.4. Two daughters Manija and Khaḍīja.
5. Ibrāhīm Khan Fath-jang (left no children).

321. Sharaf Beg, of Shīrāz.
322. Ibrāhīm Quli, son of Ismā'īl Quli Khan (No. 46).

XXI. Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty.
323. Abū 'l-Fath, son of Muzaffar, the Mughul.
324. Beg Muhammad Toqātī.

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrāt and was present in the fight near Maisāna, S.E. of Patan, in which Sher Khan Fūlādī was defeated, and also against Muzaffar of Gujrāt (Akbarn., III, 423).

1 It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharif.
Regarding *Toqbal*, vide No. 129.

325. **Imām Quli Shīghālī**.

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) mentions an Imām Quli, who, in the 37th year served under Sultan Murād in Mālwa.

The meaning of *Shīghālī* is unclear to me. A Muḥammad Quli Shīghālī played a part in Badakhshān history (*Akbarn.,* III, 132, 249).

326. **Ṣafdar Beg**, son of Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (No. 66).

A Ṣafdar 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.


Mīrzā Barkhudār 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 *peshkash*, he was allowed to return to his home. But B. wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace that he gave orders to hand over B. to Dalpat; but at the intercession of several countries, B. was imprisoned.

As Jahāṅgīr 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 *Akbarnāma*, *Ujjainiya*, for which the MSS. have various readings, as *Ajībbih*, *Ujjainiya*, etc. Under Shāhjahān, Dalpat's successor was Rāja Pratāb, who in the 1st year received a mansab of 1,500, 1,000 horse (*Pādishāhn.,* I, 221). From the same work we see that the residence of the Ujjainiya Rājas was Bhojpūr, west of Arā and north of Bhārām (*Sassera*), a pargana in Sarkār, Rohtā, Bihār. Pratāb rebelled in the 10th year of Shāhjahān's reign, when ʿAbd al-Ḥamīm Khān Firuzjang besieged and conquered Bhojpūr (5th Zī-Ḥajja, 1046). Pratāb surrendered, and was at Shāhjān's order executed. His wife was forcibly converted, and married to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīh's grandson. The particulars of this conquest will be found in the *Pādishāhnāma* (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 *Ujjainiyas*, because they claim descent from the ancient Rājas of Ujjain in Mālwa.

In the 17th year of Shāhjahān, Dharmidhar Ujjainiya is mentioned to have several in the second expedition against Palāmau; *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1871, No. II, p. 123.

2 If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma*, 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).

[Grand Falconer or superintendent of the *qūsh-khāna* or mews.—P.]
year (beginning of 1018), B. received the title of Khān ʿAlam (Tuzuk, p. 74). Two years later, in 1020, Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia sent Yādgār ʿAlī Sultan ʿĀli Tālish 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 ʿĀlamārā-i Sikandārī, 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 Shāh in Āzarbājān on an expedition against the Turks, nearly one-half of the suite were sent back. In 1027 the Shāh returned to Qazwīn and received the numerous presents, chiefly elephants and other animals, which B. had brought from India. The embassy returned in 1029 (end of the 14th year), and B. met the emperor at Kalānūr on his way to Kashmir. Jahāngīr was so pleased that he kept B. for two days in his sleeping apartment, and made him a commander of 5,000, 3,000 horse.

The author of the Pādishāhnāma (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 Shāhjahān’s accession, B. was made a commander of 6,000, 5,000 horse, received a flag and a drum, and was appointed governor of Bihār, vide M. Rustam Ṣafawī. 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 Shāhj. returned from Burhānpūr to Āgra, B. was pensioned off, as he was old and given to opium and received an annual pension of one lac of rupees (Pādishāhn., I, 426). He died a natural death at Āgra. He had no children.

B. is not to be confounded with Khwāja Barkhurdār, a brother of ʿAbdu Ḥilār Khān Fīrūz-jang.

B.’s brother Mirzā ʿAbdu ’s-Subhān (No. 349) was Fawjdār of Iltābād. He was then sent to Kābul, where he was killed, in 1025, in a fight with the Afritūs (Tuzuk, beginning of the 11th year, p. 158).

ʿAbdu’-s-Subhān’s son, Sherzād Khān Bahādur, was killed in the last fight with Khān Jahān Lodī at Sehōdah (vide under No. 309). Pādishāhn., I, 349.

329. Mīr Maṣūm of Bhakkar.

Mīr Maṣūm belongs to a family of Tirmizī Sayyids, who two or three generations before him had left Tirmiz in Bukhārā, and settled at Qandahār, where his ancestors were mutavallīs (trustees) of the shrine of Bābā Sher Qalandar.

His father, Mīr Sayyid Ṣafā’ī, settled in Bhakkar, and received favours from Sulṭān Maḥmūd (vide under No. 47). He was related by marriage to
the Sayyids of Sīwistān. Mīr Maṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar.

After the death of his father, M. M. studied under Mullā Muḥammad of Kīngrī, S.W. of Bhakkar, and soon distinguished himself by his learning. But poverty compelled him to leave for Gujrat, where Shaykh Isḥāq-i Fārūqī of Bhakkar introduced him to Khwāja Nizām ū d-Dīn Aḥmad, 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 manṣab. In the 40th year he was a commander of 250. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1012 as ambassador to 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 Ākbarnāma (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 Muṣaffar 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 Maṣdanū ‘l-afkār in the metre of Nizāmī’s Makbzan, the Tārikh-i Sindh, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called Mufridāt-i Maṣṣūmī. The author of the Riyāzū ‘sh-Shu’arā says that he composed a Khamsa, and the Tažkira by Taqi (vide under No. 352) says the same, viz., one maṣnawi corresponding to the Makbzan, the Husn o Nāz to the Yūsuf Zulaykhā, the Parī Šūrat to the Laili Majnūn, and two others in imitation of the Haft Paikar and Sikandarnāma. Badā’oni (died 1004) only alludes to the Husn o Nāz, though he gives no title (III, 366).

M. M. was also skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions, and the Riyāzū ‘sh-Shu’arā says that on his travels he was always accompanied by sculptors. From India to Iṣfahān and Tabrīz, where he was presented to Shāh ‘Abbās, there are numerous mosques and public buildings which he adorned with metrical inscriptions. Thus the inscriptions over the gate of the Fort of Agra, on the Jāmi Mosque of Fathpur Sīkri, in Fort Māndū (vide under No. 52 and Tuzuk, p. 189) are all by him. Sayyid Aḥmad in his edition of the Tuzuk (Dībāja, p. 4, note) gives in full the inscription which he wrote on the
side of the entrance to Salīm-i Chishti’s shrine at Fathpur Sīkri, the last words of which are:—“Said and written by Muhammad Maṣūm poetically styled Nāmī, son of Sayyid Šafāʾī of Tīrmiz, born at Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who was born at Sabzvār and settled at Qandahār.” Dowson, in his edition of Elliot’s Historians, mentions Kirmān as the residence of Sayyid Šafāʾī, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Tārīkh-i Sindh, regarding the saint Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, who lived under Mīrzā Shāhrūkh, son of Timūr. The town of Ḥasan Abdāl in the Panjāb, east of Aṭāk, is called after him.

M. M. built also several public edifices, especially in Sakkar 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 Satyāsur (ستیسرا). “It is one of the wonders of the world, and its Tārīkh is contained in the words گنبذ دریائی,” 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 (mutaaggī). It is especially mentioned of him that on his jāgīr lands he laid out forests for hunting.

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Tārīkh-i Sindh, was Mīr 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. Jahāṅgīr 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 Chaukīnawīs, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off.

On the death of his father, Jahāṅgīr is said to have left Mīr Buzurg in possession of his father’s property. He was for a long time Bakhshī of Qandahār, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Šubahdārs. He spent the 30 or 40 laces 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 jāgīr 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 Multān.


His title of Mīr Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p. 232).

332. Shāh Muḥammad, son of Sāʾīd Khān, the Gakkhar.
For his relations, vide under No. 247.
333. Raḥīm Quli, son of Khān Jahān (No. 24).
334. Sher Beg, Yasāwulbāshī.
Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the Akbarnāma (III, 623).

XXII. Commanders of Two Hundred.

335. Iftikhar Beg, son of Bāyazīd 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 Qazwini. Vide No. 281.
338. Yādgār 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 Yādgār 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 Pādishāhnāma, I, b., p. 323, l. 2 from below.
He is not to be confounded with Khwāja Yādgār, a brother of ʿAbdu ʾllāh Khān Firūz-jang.

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat and Kachh against Fath Khān, the younger son of Amin Khān Ghorī and Mużaffar, and in the 36th year against Mużaffar and the Jām. Akbarn., III, 553, 621.

340. Muḥammad Khān Turkmān.
341. Nizām ʿd-Dīn Āḥmad, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān (No. 95).
He is not to be confounded with the author of the Tabaqāt.
342. Sakat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh (No. 30).
Vide No. 256.
343. ʿImād ʿl-Mulk.
The Akbarnāma mentions a Qāzī ʿImād ʿl-Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah.

344. Sharīf-i Sarmādī.
He was a poet. Vide below, among the poets of Akbar's reign.

345. Qarā Bahr, son of Qaratāq.
Qaratāq, whose name in the Akbarnāma is spelled Qaratāq, was killed by Gajpatī in the same fight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farḥat Khān (No. 145), was slain (No. 145).
346. **Tātar Beg**, son of ʿAlī Muḥammad Asp. (No. 258).

347. **Khwāja Muḥibb ʿAli** of Khawāf.

*Vide* No. 159, note.


Ardistan is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh ʿAlamāsp, 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. *Badaʾonī* (III, 169) and the *Tuzak* (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 Mīrzā 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 Ilahābād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar. The news of the Ḥakīm's death reached J. on the 22nd Jumādā I, 1016. For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from *qarḥa*-yi *shush*, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (*yakḍawrī*) 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. **ʿAbdū ʿs-Subḥān**, son of ʿAbdu ʿr-Raḥmān, Dulday (No. 186). He was mentioned under No. 328.

350. **Qāsim Beg** of Tabriz.

He served in the 36th year under Sultan Murād in Mālwa, and died on the 23rd Ābān (end of) 1007; *vide Akbar.*, III, 628, 803. *Vide* below under the learned men of Akbar's reign.

351. **Sharīf** (Amīrū ʿl-Umarā), son of Khwāja ʿAbdu ʿs-Ṣamad (No. 266).

Muḥammad Sharīf was the school companion of Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him. When the prince had occupied Ilahābād 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,

\[^{1} Qarḥa,~ ulceration~?~—P.\]
and Jahāngīr, true to his promise, made him Amīrā 'l-Umāra, Vakil, entrusted him with the great seal (āzuk) and allowed him to select his jāgīr 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 Amīrā 'l-Umāra and a commander of 5,000. My father never did more.”

Sharif seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghāns from India; but the Khān-i Aṣzam (No. 21) warned Jahāngīr against so unwise a step. Though Sh.’s position at court was higher than that of Mīrzā Saʿūd, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh. recommended the emperor to kill Saʿūd for the part he had played in Khusrāw’s rebellion. But Saʿūd was pardoned, and advised to make it up with Sharif, and invite him to his house. The Khān-i Aṣzam did so, and invited him and the other Amīrs. 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 Abuʾṣ-Samad, the Mullā, 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, Āṣaf 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 Dīwān. His takhalluṣ is Fārisī (Badāsūnī, III, 310).

Sh.’s eldest son, Shāhbaẓ Khāb, died when young. A Sarāqī near Lakhnau, about a kos from the town, bears his name.

His two younger sons, Mīrzā Gul and Mīrzā Jārū ʿl-lāh used to play with Jahāngīr at chess and nard; but this ceased at the death of their father. M. Jārū ʿl-lāh was married to Miṣrī Begam, a daughter of Āṣaf Khān (No. 98); but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated. At Āṣaf’s death, Jahāngīr made him divorce his wife,
and married her to Mirzā Lashkari (No. 375), son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khan (under No. 35).

Both brothers followed Mahābat Khan to Kabul, where they died.

352. Taqiyā of Shustar.

Taqiyā is the Irānī from for Taqi. The Tabaqāt calls him Taqi Muḥammad. Badāʾonī (III, 206) has Taqiyyu ʿd-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 Shāhnāma. 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 Muʿarrīkh Khān (Tuzuk, p. 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad’s edition we have to read Shushtari for the meaningless Shamsheerī).

Taqiyā is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyā of Balbān (a village near Isfahān), who, according to the Mirz̲-āt̲ ʿl-Ṣalām, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign to India. He is the author of the rare Tazkira, or Lives of Poets, entitled ʿArṭāt ʿr ʿArṣāt, and of the Dictionaary entitled Surma-ī Sulaymānī, which the lexicographer Muḥammad Ḥusayn used for his Burhān-ī Qāṭī.


354. Ḥakīm Luṭfī ʿullāh, son of Mullā ʿAbduʾr-Razzāq of Gīlān.

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 ʿllāh ʿllāh sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

356. Amān ʿllāh sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No. 38).

Amān ʿllāh 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 Ismāʾīl Quli Khān (No. 46).

358. Khalīl Quli sons of Ismāʾīl Quli Khān (No. 46).

359. Wali Beg, son of Pāyanda Khān (No. 68).

He served under Qāsim Khān (No. 59) in the conquest of Kashmir.

360. Beg Muḥammad Uīghūr.

361. Mir Khān Yassāwul.

When Akbar during the first Gujrāti war (p. 480, note 2) had left Patan for Chotāna (Rajab, 980) it was reported that Muṣaffar of Gujrāt had fled from Sher Khān Fūlādī and was concealed in the neighbourhood; vide under No. 67. Akbar therefore sent Mir Khān the Yassāwul and Farīd the Qarāwul, 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 Muzaffar had dropped, and
soon after captured Muzaffar 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 Mīr ḍAdl
(No. 140).
364. Sayyid ʿAbdū ’l-Wāhid, son of the Mīr ḍAdl’s brother.
366. Sakrā, brother of Rānā Pratāb.

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udai Singh, son of Rānā Sāṅkā (died A.H. 934).
When his brother Pratāb, also called Rānā Kikā, was attacked by
Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200.

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr’s reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees,
and joined the expedition led by Prince Parwīz 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 manshāb of 3,000,
2,000 horse.

The Akbarnāma 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 Khān Zamān 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 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 Uzbek, sons of Nazar Be (No. 169).
368. Bāqī Be Uzbek

They have been mentioned above. From the Akbarnāma (III, 623)
we see that Nazar Be received a jāgīr in Handia, where he rebelled
and perished (36th year).

369. Yūnān Beg, brother of Murād Khān (No. 54).
Some MSS. have Mirzā Khān for Murād Khān.
370. Shaykh Kabīr ʿr Chishtī [Shujāʿat Khān, Rustam-i Zamān].

1 He is not to be confounded with another Shaykh Kabīr, who in the 25th year served
in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt; in the 26th year, in Kābul; and in the
32nd year, against the Tārīsīs under Matlab Khān (No. 83). He died in the 36th year,
in the war with the Jām and Muzaffar of Gujrat (Akbarnāma, III, 283, 408, 541, 621, where
the Lucknow edition calls him the son of Mukammal Khān).
2 Khāfī Khān calls him wrongly (I, 273) Shujāʿ Khān and Rustam Khān.
The Ma'āqir calls him "an inhabitant of Mau". He was a relation of Islâm Khân-i Chishti, and received the title of Shujấat Khân from Prince Salim, who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (Tuzuk, p. 12). He served under Khân Jahân (vide under No. 309) in the Dakhin as harâval, an office which the Sayyids of Bârhâ claimed as hereditary in their clan. Afterwards he went to Bengal, and commanded the imperialists in the last war with Ĥusmân. During the fight he wounded Ĥâ’s elephant, when the Afghân chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle. The day being lost, Walî Khân, Ĥusmân’s brother, and Mamrez Khân, Ĥusmân’s son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kabîr, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection. The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh. K. to Islâm Khân in Jahnâgirangar (Dhâkâ), 6th Șafar, 1021 (Tuzuk, p. 104).

Jahângîr gave him for his bravery the title of Rustâm-i Zamân. The Ma’âqir says that Islâm Khân did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh. K. had given the Afghâns, and sent them prisoners to court. On the road they were executed by Ĥâbû ʾllâh Khân 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 Bihâr. 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 Islâm Khân appointed Sh. K. to Orîsâ, and that on his way to that province the accident took place. Nothing is said about Ĥusmân’s relations.

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Note on the death of Ĥusmân Lohâni.

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of Ĥusmân. Khwâja Ĥusmân, according to the Makhzan-i Afghânî, was the second son of Miyân Ĥîsâ Khân Lohâni, who after the death of Qutlû Khân was the leader of the Afghâns in Orîsâ and Southern Bengal. Qutlû left three sons—Naṣîb Shâh, Lodî Khân, Jamâl Khân. Ĥîsâ Khân left five sons, Khwâja, Sulaymân, Ĥusmân, Walî, Ibrâhim. Stewart makes Ĥusmân a son of Qutlû (History of Bengal, p. 133). Sulaymân "reigned" for a short time. He killed in a fight with the imperialists, Himmat Singh, son of Râja Mân Singh (vide No. 244) held lands near the Brâhmputra, and subjected the Râjas of the adjacent countries. Ĥusmân succeeded him, and received from Mân Singh lands in Orîsâ and Sâtgâw, 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 ?), the vilāyat-i Dhākā, or District of Dhākā, and Dhākā itself. The fight with Ṣūmān 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 Ujyāl.\(^2\) Stewart (p. 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrīkhā 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, Ḩūmā Khān was in Dhākā when the fight took place, and Wali Khān submitted to Shujāʿat, who had been strengthened by a corps under ʿAbdullāʾ-ʿs-Salām, son of Muʿazzam Khān (No. 260); but the Makhzan says that Ḩūmā besieged Wali in the Maḥalls where Ṣūmān 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 Ṣūmān, received a title of jāgīr, and was made a commander of 1,000, after which he lived comfortably. According to the Māʿāṣir, 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 Ḥoshang, Ḩūmā 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 Afghan prisoners.

The Makhzan also says that Ṣūmān, 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 Ṣūmān’s corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court.

Ṣūmān is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant. At his death he was forty-two years of age.

The Dutch traveller De Laët (p. 488, note) has the following interesting passage: Rex (Jahāṅgīr) eodem tempore misit Tseziad ghanum Chiech zaden (Shujāʿat Khān Shaykhzāda) ad Tzalanghanum (Ḥūmā Khān) qui Bengalae praeerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae (Orīsā) mitteret. Sed Osmanchanus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daeck (between Orīsā and Dhākā, i.e., the Sunderban) interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu adventit, Daeck oppugnaturus. Tzalanchanus autem praemisit adversus ipsum

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\(^1\) According to Prinsep’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 Mahmüdabad (Bosnāh) and Sarkār Bāzūhā (Mymensing-Bogra).
(Ummān) Tzesiad chanum, una cum Mirza Ifttager et Ethaman chano (Iftikhār Khān and Ihtimām Khān 1) et aliiis multis Omerauvvis, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervalllo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsideo esset. Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftager et Mierick Zilaier (Mirak Jalāir—not in the Tuzuk) tam acrem impressionem decerunt, ut hostes loco moverent; sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regii vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efftager caederetur; Tzesiad gavnum autem et ipse elephanto insidies, ut impetum ferocientis belluae, declinaret, se e suo dejecit, et crus prefregit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, et regii passim fugam capescerent; actumque fuisset de regiiis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisset; miles quidem sauciis humi jacens, casu Osmano, qui elephanto vehebatur, oculum globo trajecit, et quo vulnera paulo post exspiravit, cujus morte milites illius ita fuerunt consternati ut statim de fuga cogitation. Regii vero ordinibus sensim restituitis, eventum proelii Tzalanachano perscripte: qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzedsiatagano e vulnera defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem (Wali Khān) et biduam atque liberos Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daeeck Bengalae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno . . . (the year is left out).

De Laët says that Shujāʾ at Khān died from a fall from his elephant during the battle; but the accident took place some time later. The Maʾāṣir says that he was on horseback when Ummān’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 Makhrzān says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants.

372. Mirzā Sharif, son of Mirzā ʿAlāʾu ʾd-Dīn.
373. Shukr ʿllāh [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.

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1 The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions Kishwar Khān (p. 497). Iftikhār Khān, Sayyid Ādam Bārḥā, Shaykh Ache, brother’s son of Muqarrab Khān, Muṣṭamid Khān, and Ihtimām Khān, as under Shujāʾat’s command. Sayyid Ādam (the Tuzuk, p. 132, l. 4 from below, has wrongly Sayyid Aṣṣam), Iftikhār, and Shaykh Ache were killed. Later, ʿAbd ʿa-Salām, son of Muṣṣagam Khān (No. 260) joined and pursued Ummān.
As his sister was married to Jahāṅgīr (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‘ Ahroṣī,1 near Fort Aṭāk, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khatar (p. 506, note 2) and Dilahzāk (note to No. 247). Zafar was appointed to Aṭāk, 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 Jahāṅgīr’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.” Maṣāʿir.

From the Tuzuk (p. 343) we see that Zafar Khān died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāṅgīr made his son Saʿādat a commander of 800, 400 horse.

Saʿādat Khān, his son. He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahāṅgīr’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 Badakhshān, 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 Awrangzīb’s reign, he was killed by his son Sherullāh. Mahābat Khān, Šūbahdār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer.

374. Mir ʿAbdū ʿl-Mūmīn, son of Mir Samarqandī.
Mir Samarqandī was a learned man who came during Bayrām’s regency of Āgra. Badāʾonī, III, 149.
375. Lashkārī, son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No. 35).
Vide above, p. 405, and for his wife under No. 351.
376. Ḍāgha Mullā Qazwīnī. Vide No. 278.

1 The Maṣāʿir has امروهى I cannot find it on the maps. It is described as a green flat spot. The Khatars and Dilahzāks 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 Pūr Bahā and the renowned ʿAbdūr'-Rahmān Jāmī.

378. Mathurā Dās, the Khatrī.
379. Sathurā Dās, his son.
The latter served in the 26th year (989) under Sultān Murād in Kābul. Akbarn., III, 333.

381. Kallā, the Kachhāwāhā.
He served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul.

382. Sayyid Darwish, son of Shams-i Bukhārī.
A Shaykh Junayd served under Shihāb Khān (No. 26) in Gujrat. He was killed in the Khaibar catastrophe (Akbarn., III, 190, 498).

384. Sayyid Abū Is-hāq, son of Mīrzā Rafīṣu ’d-Dīn-i Ṣafawī.
He was mentioned under No. 149. In the 36th year he served against the Jām and Muẓaffar of Gujrat.

His father Rafīṣu ’d-Dīn was a learned man of saintly habits, and died at Āgra in 954 or 957. One of his ancestors was Muṣinu ’d-Dīn, author of a commentary to the Qurʾān entitled Tafsīr-i Maṣānī.

385. Fath Khān, superintendent of the leopards.
In 985, Akbar cured his sore eyes by blood letting, which Abū ’l-Faḍl 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 Khān of Akbar’s reign. First, there is Fattū Khān Afghān. Fattū is the same as Fath. His title is Masnad-i ʿAlī, and his son was mentioned above, No. 306. Secondly, Fath Khān Fīlbān, who when young was Akbar’s elephant driver (fīlbān). He was subsequently made Amīr, and according to my two MSS. of the Tabaqāt, died in 990. But Badāʾonī (II, 352) mentions Fath Khān Fīlbān as alive in 994, when he accompanied Qāsim Khān (No. 59) on his march to Kashmir; but the Akbarnāma, in the corresponding passage (III, 512) calls him Fath Khān Masnad-i ʿAlī. Dowson’s edition of Elliot’s Historians (I, 244, 250) mentions a Fath Khān Bahādur. A Fath Khān Taghluq was mentioned under No. 187.

386. Muqīm Khān, son of Shujāʾat Khān (No. 51).
He served in the siege of Āsīr, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin. Akbarn., III, 825, 865.

387. Lāla, son of Rāja Bīr Bār (No. 85).
The Akbarnāma (III, 865) calls him the eldest son of Rāja Bir Bar. Vide under 85.

389. Hābī Yasāwul.
Hābī is an abbreviation of Hābīb.
390. Haydar Dost, brother of Qāsim ʿAlī Khān (No. 187).
391. Dost Muḥammad, son of Bābā Dost.
392. Shāhrukh Dantūrī.

Dantūr, Dhantūr or Dhantāwar, is a district near the Kashmiri frontier. The Tuzuk (pp. 287, 291) says that Dhantūr, during Akbar’s reign, was ruled over by Shāhrukh, but now (in 1029, 14th year of Jahāngir’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. Akbarn., III, 472.

A Sher Muḥammad Diwānī was mentioned on p. 332. He had at first been in the service of Khwāja Muṣẓam, brother of Akbar’s mother. When Akbar, in the 10th year, was at Jaunpūr, engaged with the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Sher Muḥammad Diwānī plundered several places in Pargana Samāna, the fawjdār of which was Mullā Nūr’u ’d-Din Tarkānī. The Mullā had left his vakil Mir Dost Muḥammad in Samāna. 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 Samāna. 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. ʿAlī Qulī [Beg, Istajlū, Sher Afkan Khān].
He was the safārčī, or table-attendant of Ismā‘īl II, king of Persia. After his death he went over Qandahār to India, and met at Mūltān, the Khān Khānān (No. 29), who was on his march to Thatha. At his recommendation, he received a mansūb. During the war he rendered distinguished services. Soon after his arrival at court, Akbar married him to Mihrū ’n-Nisā (the future Nūr Jahān), daughter of Mirzā Ghiyāṣ Tahrānī (No. 319). Ghiyāṣ’s wife had accession 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 Qulī.

1 Vide Cunningham’s Geography of Ancient India p. 131. It lies on the Dor River, near Nawshahra.
[2 Sufra-chī.—P.]
Ali Quli accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rana, and received from him the title of Sher Afkan Khan. On his accession, he received Bardwan as tuyul. His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khubu (No. 275) was related on p. 551. The Ma'asir says that when he went to meet the Subahdar, 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 Mihrwan Nisah, was later married to Prince Shahryar, Jahangir's fifth son.

Jahangir, in the Tuzuk, expresses his joy at A. Q.'s death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell." Khafi Khan (I, p. 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nur Jahans mother. According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Qutb-d-Din'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 Mihrwan Nisah 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 Saqqah (vide below among the poets); the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwan.

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nur Jahans killed with a musket. The tigers had been caught (Tuzuk, p. 186) and Nur Jahans requested Jahangir to let her shoot them. She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing, for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafis. One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment:

"Though Nur Jahans 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).


396. Sanwaldas Jadon.

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad (p. 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murad in Kabul. In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhatti. 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 ʿl-Faḍl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor. Akbarn., III, 24, 333, 435.

397. Khwāja Zahiru ’d-Dīn, son of Shaykh Khalilu ʿllāh. 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 ʿShāh Khalilu ʿllāh. He served in the 10th year against Khān Zamān, and under Munṣim 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 Mīr Khalilu ʿllāh of Yazd and his son Mīr Zahiru ’d-Dīn, who in the 2nd year of Jahāṅgīr came as fugitives from Persia to Lāhor. The history of this noble family is given in the Maʿāṣir.

398. Mīr Abū ʿl-Qāsim of Nīshāpūr.

399. Ḥāji Muḥammad Ardistānī.

400. Muḥammad Khān, son of Tarson Khān’s sister (No. 32).

401. Khwāja Muqīm, son of Khwāja Mīrakī.

He served under ʿAẓīz 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 Sayfā ’l-Mulāk (No. 201) in Fort Ghorāghāt 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 Mīrzā Shāhrukh (No. 7).

He served in the 36th year in Gujrāt. Akbarn., III, 621.

403. Firūza, a slave of the emperor Humāyūn.

Bādāʾonî (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 Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother. He played several musical instruments and composed poems. He came to India with Ghāzī Khān-i Badakhshī (No. 144).

Bādāʾonî also says that he was a Langā.


405. Zaynu ’d-Dīn ʿAlī.

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

406. Mīr Sharīf of Kolāb.

407. Pahār Khān, the Balūch.

He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjan Hādā (No. 96),
and afterwards in Bengal. In 989, the 26th year, he was tuyūldār of Ghāzipūr, and hunted down Ma'sūm Khān Farankhūdī, after the latter had plundered Muḥammadābād (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. Akbarn., 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. Keshū Dās, the Rāṭhor.

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.


Mašīn (منج) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rājpūts, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Duṣāb. “The only famous man which this tribe has produced is ʿIsā Khān Mašīn. He served under Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh.” Mašīr.

411 Sāṅga, the Pūwar.

412 Qābil, son of Āṭīq.

413 Adwand Zamindārs of Orīṣā.

414 Sundar.

415 Nūram, foster-brother of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.

He served in the 31st year against the Afghāns on Mount Terāh, and in 1000, under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīṣā. Akbarn., 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 ........................................ 53
Do. 120 .................................................. 1
Do. 100, or Yūzbāshīs .................................... 250
Do. 80 ................................................... 91
Do. 60 ................................................... 204
Do. 50 ................................................... 16
Do. 40 ................................................... 260
Do. 30, or Tarkashbands ............................... 39
Do. 20 ................................................... 250
Do. 10 ................................................... 224

[Total, 1,388 Maṃṣabdārs below the rank of a Commander of 200.]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to maṃṣabs 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 Vākīls, or prime-ministers ¹:

Bayrām Khān (No. 10); Munṣim Khān (No. 11); Atga Khān (No. 15); Bahādur Khān (No. 22); Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khān Khānān Mirzā Khān (No. 29); Khān-i Aṣgam Mirzā ʿKoka (No. 21).

The following have been Vāzīrs or ministers of finances:

Mīr ʿAzīzuʿllāh Turbātī; Khwāja Jalāluʿʾd-Dīn Maḥmūd ² of Khurāsān (No. 65); Khwāja Muṣʿīnuʿʾd-Dīn Farankhūdī (No. 128); Khwāja ʿAbdul-Majīd ʿĀṣaf Khān (No. 49); Vazīr Khān (No. 41); Muẓaffār Khān (No. 37); Rājī Tōdār, Mal (No. 39); Khwāja Shāh Maṃṣūr of Shīrāz (No. 122); Qulī Khān (No. 42); Khwāja Shamsuʿʾd-Dīn Khwāfī (No. 159).

The following have been Bakhshīs:

Khwāja Jahān (No. 110); Khwāja Tāhir of Sijistān (No. 111); Mawlānā Ḥābī Bihzādī,³ Mawlānā Darwīsh Muḥammad of Mashhad;

¹ Abū ʿl-Faḍl’s list is neither complete, nor chronologically arranged
² The MSS. and my text have wrong Muṣʿīd for Maḥmūd.
³ Some MSS. have Hai instead of Habī (an abbreviation for Habīb).
Mawlānā ʿIshqī, 1 Muqīm of Khurāsān (No. 410); Sultān Mahmūd of Bādakhsbān; Lashkar Khān (No. 90); Shāhbaż Khān (No. 80); Rāy Purukhotam; Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī (No. 99); Qāzī ʿAlī of Baghād; Jaʿfar Beg ʿĀṣaf Khān (No. 98); Khwāja Nizāmūʾ d-Dīn Aḥmad; 2 Khwājagī Fathʿū ʿIlāh (No. 258).

The following have been Sādars 3:

Mr Fathʿū ʿIlāh; Shaykh Gadāʾī, son of Shaykh Jamāl-i Kambū; Khwājagī Muḥammad ʿĀli, descendant in the third generation from Khwāja ʿAbdu ʿIlāh Marwārid; Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Bāqī; Shaykh ʿAbdu ʿn-Nabī; Sultān Khwāja (No. 108); Sadr Jahān (No. 194).

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Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar’s Mansabdārs.

The principal facts which Abū ʿl-Faẓīl’s list of Grandees discloses are,

first, that there were very few Hindūstānī Musulmāns 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 Amūrs, as among the 415 Mansabdārs there are 51 Hindūs.

The Mansabdārs who had fallen into disgrace, or had rebelled, have mostly been excluded. Thus we miss the names of Mr Shāh Abū ʿl-Maṣālī; Khwāja Maṭazzam, brother of Akbar’s mother; Bābā Khān Qāqshāl; Maṣūm-i Kābuli (p. 476, note); ʿArab Bahādur; Jabārī, etc. But there are also several left out, as Khizr Khwāja (p. 394, note 2), Sultān Ḥusayn Jālāʾīr (vide under No. 64), Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar (vide p. 507), Mr Gesū (p. 464), Nawrang Khān, son of Quṭbūʾ d-Dīn Khān (No. 28), Mirzā Quli (p. 418), Rāja Ḵākār (under No. 174), and others, for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons.

Comparing Abū ʿl-Faẓīl’s list with that in the Ṭabāqāt, or the careful lists of Shāhjāhān’s grandees in the Pādishāhnāma, we observe that Abū ʿl-Faẓīl has only given the mansūb, but not the actual commands, which would have shown the strength of the contingents (ṭābīnān). In other words, Abū ʿl-Faẓīl has merely given the ṣāḥī rank (p. 251). This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nīzāmū ʿd-Dīn in the Ṭabāqāt; which may advantageously be given here. Nīzām gives only mansabdārs of higher rank, viz.:

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1 Regarding him vide Akbarnāma, III, 210. He was of Ghazni.
2 The Historian.
3 Vide pp. 280 to 285. Regarding Mawlānā ʿAbdu ʿl-Bāqī, who was Sadr in the fifth year, vide Akbarnāma, II, 143.
### In the Tabaqat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mansab</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Khān Khānān Bayrām Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mirzā Shāhrukh</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tārī Beg Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td>12; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mirzā Rustam</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>9; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mirzā Khān Khānān</td>
<td></td>
<td>29; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>‘Alī Qulī Khān Zamān</td>
<td></td>
<td>13; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Adham Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td>19; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Shamsu ‘d-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td>15; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Muḥammad ‘Azīz Kokultāsh, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>21; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Bahādur Khān</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās</td>
<td></td>
<td>31; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Khān Jahān</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>24; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Shīhābū ‘d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>26; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Sa‘īd Khān</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>25; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Pīr Muḥammad Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td>20; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>27; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Mān Singh</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>30; do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Khwāja ‘Abdu ‘l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān, maintained 20,000 horse</td>
<td>49; 3,000.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Sikandar Khān Uzbek</td>
<td></td>
<td>48; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>‘Abdu ‘l-Īlāh Khān Uzbek</td>
<td></td>
<td>14; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Qiyā Khān Gung</td>
<td></td>
<td>33; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>18; 5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Zayn Khān Koka, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>34; 4,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Shujā‘āt Khān, 5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>51; 3,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 ‘l-Faḍl shared, of the names “Muḥammad”, “Aḥmad”.

2 Mentioned in the Tabaqat as belonging to the Ṭabarān; the great Amīrs,” i.e., probably, the commanders of 5,000.
### In the Tabaqāt.

| 30.          | Shāh Budāgh Khān          | No.  | 52 ; 3,000. |
| 31.          | Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, 4,000 | "    | 64 ; 2,500. |
| 32.          | Tarsō Muḥammad Khān, 5,000| "    | 32 ; 5,000. |
| 33.          | Vazir Khān, 5,000         | "    | 41 ; 4,000. |
| 34.          | Muḥammad Murād Khān ¹     | "    | 54 ; 3,000. |
| 35.          | Ashraf Khān ¹              | "    | 74 ; 2,000. |
| 36.          | Mahdī Qāsim Khān ³         | "    | 36 ; 4,000. |
| 37.          | Muḥammad Qāsim Khān        | "    | 40 ; 4,000. |
| 38.          | Khwāja Sultān ʿAli        | "    | 56 ; 3,000. |
| 39.          | Rāja Todar Mal, 4,000     | "    | 39 ; 4,000. |
| 40.          | Mīrza Yūsuf Khān Razawī, 4,000 | "  | 35 ; 4,500. |
| 41.          | Mīrzā Quli Khān ¹          | "    | not in the Āʾīn ; vide p. 418. |
| 42.          | Muṣtafīr Khān              | No.  | 37 ; 4,000. |
| 43.          | Ḥaydar Muḥammad Khān, 2,000| "    | 66 ; 2,500. |
| 44.          | Shāhām Khān Jalāʿir, 2,000| "    | 97 ; 2,000. |
| 45.          | Ismāʿil Sultān Duldai      | "    | 72 ; 2,000. |
| 46.          | Muḥammad Khān Jalāʿir ²    | "    | not in the Āʾīn. |
| 47.          | Khān-i Ālām, 3,000        | No.  | 58 ; 3,000. |
| 48.          | Qutbuddin Muḥammad Khān,   | "    | 28 ; 5,000. |
|              | maintained 5,000 horse      |      |             |
| 49.          | Muḥibb ʿAli Khān, 4,000   | "    | 107 ; 1,000.|
| 50.          | Qulī Khān, 4,000          | "    | 42 ; 4,000. |
| 51.          | Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān, 4,000| "    | 43 ; 4,000. |
| 52.          | Mīrzā Jānī Beg, 3,000     | "    | 47 ; 3,000. |
| 53.          | Ismāʿil Quli Khān, 3,000³  | "    | 46 ; 3,500. |
| 54.          | Iṣṭimād Khān Gujrāṭī, 4,000| "  | 67 ; 2,500. |
| 55.          | Rāja Rāy Singh, of Bikānīr and Nagor, 4,000 | "    | 44 ; 4,000. |
| 56.          | Sharīf Muḥammad Khān, 3,000| "    | 63 ; 3,000. |
| 57.          | Shāh Fakhruddin Dīn, Naqābāt Khān, 1,000 | "  | 88 ; 2,000. |
| 58.          | Ḥabīb ʿAlī Khān            | "    | 133 ; 1,000.|
| 59.          | Shāh Quli Mahruṣ, 1,000    | "    | 45 ; 3,500. |

¹ Mentioned in the Tabaqāt as belonging to the Umarāʾ-i kibār, "the great Amirs," i.e., probably the commanders of 5,000.
² He got insane. Tabaqāt.
³ MS., 1,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name (Title)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn; vide p. 466.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Muṣʿinʿa ʿd-Dīn Āḥmad</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 128; 1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Iʿtimād Khān Khwājasarā</td>
<td>119;</td>
<td>1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Dastam Khān</td>
<td>79;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn; vide p. 507,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and under No. 247.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Ṭāhir Khān Mīr Farāghat</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 94; 2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Sayyid Hāmid of Bukhārā</td>
<td>78;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sayyid Māhmūd Khān, Bārrha</td>
<td>75;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sayyid Āḥmad Khān, Bārrha</td>
<td>91;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Qarā Bahādur Khān</td>
<td>179;</td>
<td>700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Bāqī Muḥammad Khān Koka</td>
<td>60;</td>
<td>3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr ʿAdl</td>
<td>140;</td>
<td>1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Maṣʿūm Khān Farangkūdī</td>
<td>157;</td>
<td>1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Nawrang Khān</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn; vide p. 354.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Shāh Muḥammad Khān Atga, younger brother of Shams ʿd-Dīn Atgah</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Maṭlāb Khān</td>
<td>83;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Shaykh Ibrāhīm</td>
<td>82;</td>
<td>2,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>ʿAlī Quṭr Khān</td>
<td>124;</td>
<td>1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tolak Khān Qūchīn</td>
<td>158;</td>
<td>1,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Shāh Beg Khān Kābulī</td>
<td>57;</td>
<td>3,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fattū Khān Afghān</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn; vide No. 385.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Fatḥ Khān Fīlbān</td>
<td></td>
<td>not in the Āʾīn; vide under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Samānjī Khān Mughul</td>
<td>100;</td>
<td>1,500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Bābū Mankli</td>
<td>202;</td>
<td>700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Darwish Muḥammad Uzbak</td>
<td>81;</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>Shāhībāz Khān Kambū</td>
<td>80;</td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Khwāja Jahān Khurāsānī</td>
<td>110;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 The MSS. of the Tabaqāt also have wrongly Rustam Khān.
2 MS. Bahādur Khān.
3 This is probably a mistake of the author of the Tabaqāt.
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Horses</th>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl</td>
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<td>Rāja Aṣkaran</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>Rāy Lonkaran</td>
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<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Mādhū Singh, &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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1 The same as No. 37 on p. 598?
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<td>Shāh Quli Khān Nāranji</td>
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<td>Lāl Khān Badakhshī</td>
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<td>Sānī Khān Arlāt</td>
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<table>
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<th>Quantity</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 MS., 1,000.
2 He died in the explosion of a mine before Chitor.
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 Masmawi by him, dar bāb-i akhārā, on the subject of dancing girls." Ṭabaqāt. Vide Aḵbārnāma, II, 82.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Mirzā Ḥusayn Khan</td>
<td>No. 149; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Jagat Singh, 1,500</td>
<td>&quot;; 160; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Mirzā Najāt Khan</td>
<td>&quot;; 142; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>ʿAli Dost Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Sultān Ḥusayn Khan</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shirāzī</td>
<td>No. 122; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Salim Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 132; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Sayyid Chhajhū Bārha</td>
<td>&quot;; 221; 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Darbār Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 185; 700.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Ḥāǧī Muḥammad Sistānī, 1,000 (?)</td>
<td>&quot;; 55; 3,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Muḥammad Zamān</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Khurram Khan, 2,000</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Muḥammad Quli Toqbay, 1,000</td>
<td>No. 129; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Muḥājīd Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Sultān Ibrāhim Awbāḥī</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Shāh Ghāzī Khan Turkmān</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Sheroya, 1,000</td>
<td>No. 168; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Kākar ʿAli Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 92; 2,000.</td>
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<td>158</td>
<td>Naqīb Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 161; 1,000</td>
</tr>
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<td>159</td>
<td>Beg Nūrīn Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 212; 500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Qutlū Qadam Khan, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 123; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Jalāl Khan Qurchī, 1,000</td>
<td>&quot;; 213; 500.</td>
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<td>162</td>
<td>Shimāl Khan Qurchī, 1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Mirzāda ʿAli Khan</td>
<td>&quot;; 152; 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Sayyid ʿAbdulʿllāh Khan</td>
<td>&quot;; 189; 700.</td>
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<td>Mir Sharīf-i Āmulī, 1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Fārrukh Khan</td>
<td>&quot;; 232; 500.</td>
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<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Dost Khan</td>
<td>not in the Āʾin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Jaṣfār Khan Turkmān, 1,000</td>
<td>No. 114; 1,000</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 ʿAli Dost Khan Nārāngī, the other has Bārbegī, an unusual title for the Mughul period.

2. "Muḥammad Zamān is the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Khan (No. 35). He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and was killed in Gāḍhā." *Tabaqāt.*

3. According to the *Tabaqāt,* he was dead in 1000. *Vide Akbarnāma,* II, 98, 108, 200, 284, 287.

4. He is not to be confounded with Mirzā Khurram (No. 177).

5. Muḥājīd Khan was the son of Muṣāhib Khan, one of Humāyūn’s courtiers. He was killed at Konbhalmir. *Akbarnāma,* III, 146, 168.

6. He was the khāl, or maternal uncle, of the author of the *Tabaqāt,* and distinguished himself in leading a successful expedition into Kāmā'].on.

7. One MS, calls him ʿAbd al-Ḥādi, the other ʿAbd al-Ḥādi. "He belonged to the commanders of 1,000, and is now (a.h. 1001) dead."
### In the Ṭabaqāt.

<table>
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<td>Shaykh ṬAbdu ’r-Raḥīm of Lakhnau</td>
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<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Mīrzā Abū ’l-Muẓaffar</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>Rāy Patr Dās</td>
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<td>Jānish Bahādur</td>
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<td>175</td>
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<td>186</td>
<td>Tāsh Beg Kābulī</td>
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<td>187</td>
<td>Aḥmad Beg Kābulī, keeps 700 horse</td>
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<td>188</td>
<td>Sher Khwāja</td>
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<td>Muhammad Quli Turkmān</td>
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### In Abū ’l-Faẓl’s list.

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<td>233</td>
<td>500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>500.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. "He is the brother of ṬAlamshāh, a courageous man, skilful in the use of arms."
2. Or Sufra-chi? — P.
In the Ṭabaqāt.

199. Faridūn Barlās . . . No. 227; 500.

200. Bahādur Khān Qurdār, a Tarīn
Afghān . . . , 269; 400.

201. Shaykh Bāyazīd-i Chishtī . , 260; 400.

In this above list, a few grandees are mentioned whom Abū 'l-Faḍl classes among the commanders of 400. Nizām, 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 Manṣabs from 500 upwards. None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank."

The Historian Badā'īrī 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 Nizām 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 Manṣabdārs whose names Abū 'l-Faḍl has not given, because the Āʾīn 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 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz-jang.

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 Manṣabdārs, which may be compared with the lists in the Āʾīn and the Pādishāhnāma (II, 717). Leaving out the princes, whose manṣabs were above 5,000, we have :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders of</th>
<th>Under Akbar (Āʾīn)</th>
<th>Under Jahāngīr (De Laët)</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 of</td>
<td>Under Akbar (Ā’īn)</td>
<td>Under Jahāngīr (De Laët)</td>
<td>Under Shāhjahan (Pādishāhnāma)</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><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>249</strong></td>
<td><strong>439</strong></td>
<td><strong>563</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>not specified.</th>
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<tbody>
<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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td><strong>438</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>not specified.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>242</td>
<td></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><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,388</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,064</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Āḥadīs under Jahāngīr, De Laët fixes as follows:—

- Chahāraspas 741
- Sihaspas 1,322
- Duaspas 1,428
- Yakaspas 950

4,441 Āḥadīs.
Under Shâhjahân, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to manşabs above 5,000. There is no Hindû among them. De Laët has not mentioned how many of the Amîrs were Hindûs. But we may compare the lists of the Ā†în and the Pâdishâhnâma.

We find under Akbar:—

among 252 manşâbdârs from 5,000 to 500 . . . 32 Hindûs.
among 163 manşâbdârs from 400 to 200 . . . 25 ‚

Under Shâhjahân (20th year of his reign), we have:—
among 12 manşâbdârs above 5,000 . . . no Hindûs.
among 580 manşâbdârs 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.

Î†în 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 (nazîr) 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 Nâgor.¹

*Vide* under No. 253. The *Tabaqât* also mentions a Shaykh Mubarak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubarak of Gwâlyâr.

2. Shaykh Nizâm.

Abû 'l-Fâzî either means the renowned Nizâm 'd-Dîn of Amethi, near Lakhnau, of the Chishti sect, who died a. h. 979; or Nizâm 'd-Dîn of Nârnault, of the same sect, who died in 997.

3. Shaykh Adhan.

He also belonged to the Chishtis, and died at Jaunpûr in 970.


Died at Almadâbad in 998. The *Tabaqât* mentions a contemporary, Shaykh Wajih 'd-Dîn Gujrâti, who died in 995.

5. Shaykh Rukn 'd-Dîn.

He was the son of Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Quddûs of Gango. Badâ'oni saw him at Dihli at the time of Bayrâm's fall.


7. Shaykh Jalâl 'd-Dîn.

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (*khalîfa*) of 'Abdu 'l-Quddûs of Gango. Died 989.

8. Shaykh Ilâhdiya.

Ilâhdiya is Hindûstânî for the Persian Ilâhdâr, "given (diyâ) by God," "Theodore." He lived at Khayrabâd and died in 993.

9. Mawlânâ Husâm 'd-Dîn surkh of Lâhor. He differed from the learned of Lâhor, and studied theology and philosophy. He was very pious." *Tabaqât.*

10. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ghafûr.

He belongs to A'szampûr in Sambhal, and was the pupil of 'Abdu 'l-Quddûs. Died in 995.

11. Shaykh Panjû.

He was wrongly called Bechû on p. 110, note 3. He died in 969. Badâ'oni, II, 53.

12. Mawlânâ Ismâyîl.

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Husayn, who taught in Humâyûn's Madrasa at Dihlí. He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house.

¹ The notes are taken from the *Tabaqât,* the third volume of Badâ'oni, and the *Mir'ât 'l-Ćalam.*
Second Class.—Such as understand the mysteries of the heart.

22. Shaykh Rukn¯u 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd 1 Kamāngar (the bow maker).
23. Shaykh Amān¯u 'llāh.
24. Khwāja 'Abd¯u 'sh-Shahīd.

He is the son of Khwājagān 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 jāgīr in Pargana جماري, in the Bārī 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 Akbar's reign, and was buried at Lāhor. The elder brother of Shaykh Sālim-i Chishti also was called Shaykh Mūsā; vide under No. 82. Vide also below, No. 102.


28. Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun.

The Ṭabaqāt 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 Gwālīyar, a Ḥusaynī Sayyid, was at first a soldier, then turned a biḥishti, and supplied widows and the poor with water. He died in 979 from a fall from his gate.

32. Shaykh Dā+ūd.

He is called Jhannīwāl from Jhanni near Lāhor. His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sītpūr in Multān, where Dā+ūd was born. Badā+onī (III, p. 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography. He died in 982.

1 Badā+onī (III, p. 151) mentions a Zayn¯u 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.
33. Shaykh Salim-i Chishti.
He was a descendant of Shaykh Farid-i Shakarganj, and lived in Fathpur 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 Muhammad Ghaws of Gwalyar.
Vide No. 173.

35. Ram Bhadr.

36. Jadrup.

Third Class.—Such as know philosophy and theology.¹

37. Mir Fatruz'ilah of Shiraz.
Vide pp. 34, 110, 208, 284. His brother was a poet and wrote under the 'akhullus of Farih; vide Badon, III, 292. His two sons were Mir Taqi and Mir Sharif.

38. Mir Murtaza.
He is not to be confounded with Mir Murtaza, No. 162. Mir Murtaza Sharif of Shiraz 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 Hajjar in Makkah, and then came over the Dakhin to Agra. Vide Akbarnama, II, 278, 337.

He came in 968 from Mawara 'n-nahr to Agra. Bad, II, 49. He died in Kabil in 970; i.e., III, 152.

40. Haqiz of Tashkand.
He is also called Haqiz Kumaki. He came in 977 from Tashkand 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 Gujrat to Makkah, and from there to Constantinople, where he refused a vazirship. Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died. Vide Badon, II, 187.

41. Mawlana Shahu Muhammad.
Vide p. 112; Bad, II, 295, ll.

42. Mawlana Alacu 'd-Din.
He came from Laristan, and is hence called Lari. He was the son of Mawlana Kamal 'd-Din Husayn and studied under Mawlana Jalal Dawwani Shafi'i. He was for some time Akbar's teacher. Once at a darbar he placed himself before the Khan-i Aqzam, when the Mir Tozak

¹ Maqgul o manqul, pr. that which is based on reason (qaql) and traditional testimony (naqil).
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 sayrughal 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. Badaštūnī, 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. Ghāzī Khān. Vide No. 144.

47. Mawlānā Šādiq.

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, Akbar’s brother. He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001. The Tabaqat calls him Mullā Šādiq Ḥalwā‘ī. Badaštūnī (III, 255, where the Ed. Bibl. India has wrongly Ḥalwā‘nī) puts him among the poets.

48. Mawlānā Shāh Muḥammad. 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 (ṣaqli kalām).¹


He was a Ṣadr; vide pp. 282, 528 [and Akbarnāma, II, 143].

51. Mīrzā Muḥfiṣ.

He was an Uzbak, came from Māwara ’n-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmī 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 Shukr.

53. Mawlānā Muḥammad.

He lived at Ālahār and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old. Badaštūnī (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muftī.

¹ This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason, not on revelation. Abū l-Faṣāl 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. Mirṣūṭ. But Badā’oni 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 Ṭabaqāt also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the ‘aqli ‘ulūm.

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 Dihli, where he died.

The Ṭabaqāt says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the Ma’āṣir, he was born in Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar, and was a private friend of Humāyūn’s, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to ‘Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the takhallus of “Nūrī”. He is also called “Nūrī of Safidūn”, 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. Madhūbhāt.
58. Sṛībhāt.
59. Bishn Nāth.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Bāsūdev Misr.
63. Bāmanbhat.

64. Bidyāniwās.
65. Gorināth.
66. Gopināth.
68. Bhaṭṭāchārj.
69. Bhagirat Bhaṭṭāchārj.
70. Kāshī Nāth Bhaṭṭāchārj.

Physicians.

71. Ḥakīm Misrī. Vide No. 254.
72. Ḥakīmu ’l-Mulk.

His name is Shamsu ’d-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. 393. The Ma’āṣir 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 Ṭābīb of Hairāt, grandson of Mullā ʿAbduʾr-Ḥay Yazdi.

75. Ḥakīm Zanbil Beg. Vide No. 150, p. 490.
76. Ḥakīm ʿAlī of Gilān. Vide No. 192, p. 519.
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 Arīstū.
79. Ḥakīm Fathuʾllāh.

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 Pādishāhnāma (I, b., 350) says that

he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide. His

grandson, Fathuʾllāh, was a doctor at Shājahān’s court.

80. Ḥakīm Masihuʾl-Mulk.

He came from the Dakhin, where he had gone from Shīrāz. He was

a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sultān Murād. He died in

Mālwaḥ.

81. Ḥakīm Jalāluʾd-Dīn Muẓaffar. Vide No. 348, p. 582.
82. Ḥakīm Luṭfuʾllāh. Vide No. 354, p. 584.
83. Ḥakīm Sayfuʾl-Mulk Lang.

Badāʾonī and the Tabaqāt call him Sayfuʾl-Mulk. Because he killed

his patients, he got the nickname of Sayfuʾl-Ḥukamā, “the sword of the

doctors.” He came from Damāwand, and was in Āgra during Bayrām’s

regency. Later he went back to his country. He was also a poet and

wrote under the takhallus of “Shujāʾī”. He is not to be confounded

with No. 201, p. 528.

84. Ḥakīm Ḥumām. Vide No. 205, p. 529.
85. Ḥakīm ʿAinuʾl-Mulk. Vide No. 234, p. 480.
86. Ḥakīm Shīfāʾī.

The Miʿrāţ mentions a Ḥakīm Shīfāʾī, who in his poetical writings

calls himself Muẓaffar ibn-i Muḥammad Al-ḥusaynī As-shīfāʾī. He was

born at Iṣfahān, and was a friend of Shāh ʿAbbās-i Ṣafawī. He died in

1037. There is a copy of his Maṣnawī in the Library of the Asiatic Society

of Bengal (No. 795).
87. Ḥakīm Niṣʻmatu ʻllāh.
88. Ḥakīm Dawāʻī.
Dawāʻī was also the takhallus of No. 85.
89. Ḥakīm Talab ʻAlī.
90. Ḥakīm ʻAbdu ʻr-Raḥīm.
91. Ḥakīm Rūḥu ʻllāh.
92. Ḥakīm Fakhru ʻd-Dīn ʻAlī.
93. Ḥakīm Is-ḥāq.
94. Shaykh Ḥasan, and 95. Shaykh Bīnā.

Shaykh Hasan of Pānīpat, and his son Shaykh Bīnā were renowned surgeons. Instead of “Bīnā”, the MSS. have various readings. The Maʻāṣir 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 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 ājīr. He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharafu ʻd-Dīn of Pānīpat, and die dat 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 Maʻāṣir, have since been famous in Dīhlī.

Muqarrab’s son, Rizqu ʻllāh, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800. Awrangzeb made him a Khān. He died in the 10th year of Awrangzeb.

Muqarrab’s adopted son is Māshīh-i Kairānawī. His real name was Saṣadu ʻllāh. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sītā. Rāmchandra’s wife.

96. Mahādev. 98. Nārāyin.
97. Bhīm Nāth. 99. Siwaji.¹

¹ The Tabaqāt mentions a few other Hindī doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar’s reign, viz. Bhiraū, Durgā Mal, Chandr Sen (“an excellent surgeon”), and Illī (one MS. has Abī).
Fifth Class.—Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql).\(^1\)

100. Miyān Hātīm.
He lived at Sambhal. The historian Badā'oni, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960. Hātīm died in 969.

He was Muftī of Dīhī and died more than ninety years old in 984. He was a Kambū.

102. Mawlānā ʿAbduʾ l-Qādir.
He was the pupil of Shaykh Ḥamīd Qādirī (buried at Ḥamidpūr, near Multān), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Mūsā, regarding the right of succession. ʿAbduʾ l-Qādir used to say the nafl-prayers \(^2\) 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 ʿAbduʾ l-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 Miḥrābāt mentions a Mawlānā ʿAbduʾ l-Qādir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar’s age.

103. Shaykh Aḥmad.
The Ṭabaqāt mentions a Shaykh Ḥājī Aḥmad of Lāhor, and a Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥājī Pūlādī Majzūb of Sind.

This is the title of Mawlānā ʿAbduʾ ilāh of Sulṭānpūr, author of the ʿAṣmat-i Anbiyā, and a commentary to the Shamāʿīl ʿn-Nabī. Humāyūn gave him the titles of Makhdūm ʿl-Mulk and Shaykh ʿl-Īsām. He was a bigoted Sunnī, and looked upon Abū ʿl-Faḍl from the beginning as a dangerous man. He died in 990 in Gujrat after his return from Makkah.

105. Mawlānā ʿAbduʾ s-Salām.
The Ṭabaqāt says, he lived at Lāhor and was a learned man.
The Miḥrābāt mentions another Mawlānā ʿAbduʾ s-Salām of Lāhor, who was a great lawyer (faqīh) and wrote a commentary to Baiṣāwī. He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shāhjahān’s reign.

106. Qāẓī Ṣadrʾ d-Dīn.
Qāẓī Ṣadrʾ d-Dīn Qarayshī ʿAbbasī of Jālindhar was the pupil of Makhdūm ʿl-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, Ḥadīṣ, history, etc.
\(^{2}\) Voluntary prayers.
from court, he was sent as Qāẓī to Bharōch, where he died. His son, Shaykh Muḥammad, succeeded him. His family remained in Gujrat.

107. Mawlānā Saʿaduʿ ʿIlāh.

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.


He was the son of Shaykh Kākū, and lived at Lāhōr. Shaykh Saʿaduʿ ʿIlāh Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils. He died more than a hundred years old in 996.


110. Mīr Nūruʿ ʿIlāh.

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Ḥakīm Abū ʿl-Faṭḥ. He was a Shīʿah, but practised taqiya among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Ḥanīfa. When Shaykh Muṣīn Qāẓī of Lāhōr 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 ʿAbduʿ ʿl-Qādīr.

He was Akbar’s teacher (ākhūnd). Vide No. 242, p. 542.

112. Qāẓī ʿAbduʿ ʿl-Samī.

He was a Miyānkālī, and according to Badāʿīnī (II, 314) played chess for money and drank wine. Akbar made him in 990, Qāẓiyuʿ ʿl-Quṣūt, in place of Qāẓī Jalāluʿd-Dīn Mūltānī (No. 122). Vide Akbarnāma, III, 593.

113. Mawlānā Qāsim.

The Tabaqāt mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār.

114. Qāẓī Ḥasan. Vide No. 281, p. 559

115. Mullā Kamāl.

The Tabaqāt mentions a Shaykh Kamāl of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salīm.


He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled Fawātīh ʿl-Wilāyat. Bad., II, 337.


He was the son of Shaykh Ahmād, son of Shaykh ʿAbduʿ ʿl-Quddūs

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1 Miyānkāl 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 Brāhman, the details of which are related in Badāʿonī (III, 80) led to the Shaykh’s deposition.

Badāʿonī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the Mirṣāt in 992. ʿAbduʾn-Nabi’s family traced their descent from Abū Ḥanīfa.

119. Shaykh Bhīk.

The Tabaqāt has also “Bhīk”, while Badāʿonī (III, 24) has “Bhikan”. Shaykh Bhīk lived in Kākor near Lākhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaykh Abū ’l-Fath.

Shaykh Abū ’l-Fath of Gujrat 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 Bahāṣuʾd-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 Ziyāṣuʾd-Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyāṣuʾl-lāh were intended; vide No. 173.

124. Shaykh ʿAbduʾl-Wahhāb.

125. Shaykh ʿUmar.


127. Mawlānā Jamāl.

The Tabaqāt has a Mulla Jamāl, a learned man of Maltān. Badāʿonī (III, 108) mentions a Mawlānā Jamāl of ʿAll, which is said to be a Mahalla of Lāhor.

128. Shaykh Aḥmadī.

Shaykh Aḥmadī Fayyāz of Amethī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizāmuʾd-Dīn of Amethī (p. 607).

129. Shaykh Abduʾl-Ghānī.

He was born at Badāʿon and lived afterwards in Dhillī a retired life. The Khān Khānān visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh ʿAbduʾl-Wāḥīd.

1 Sayyid Ahmad’s edition of the Tuzuk (p. 91, 1. 11 from below) mentions that Jahāngīr when a child read the Ḥadīṣ under “Shaykh ʿAbduʾl-Ghānī, whose fate is related in the Akbarnāma.” This is a mistake for ʿAbduʾn-Nabi (No. 118).
He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhat* ʿl-Arwāḥ, and several treatises on the technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) of the Ṣūfis, one of which goes by the name of *Sanābil*.


The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Ismāʿīl Muftī of Lāhor, and a Mullā Ismāʿīl of Awadh.

133. Mullā Abdū ʿl-Qādir.

This is the historian Badāʿonī. Abū ʿl-Faẓl also calls him *Mullā* in the *Akbarnāma*.

134. Mawlānā Ṣadr 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 *Mashāriq* ʿl-anwār (Ḥadīṣ), the *Badīʿ* ʿl-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 Aḥmadābād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Aḥmadābādī Saint Shāh ʿĀlam. *Mīrāt*.

137. Qāzī Ibrāhīm.

*Vide* pp. 181, 183, 198. Badāʿonī and the *Tabaqāt* mention a Ḥāji Ibrāhīm of Āgra, a teacher of the Ḥadīṣ.


139. Bījai Sen Sūr.

140. Bhān Chand.

*.Ā*rīn 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. Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets. Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a diwān, or have written a masnavī. 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 Maliku 'sh-shuṣarā or king of the poets.³ 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 am now chastened by spiritual love, I am the “Fayyāzī” 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 (muṣṣijāzūt) Both in miracles, but the karāmat are less in degree than the muṣṣijāzūt. Whenever the emperor spoke, the courtiers used to lift up their hands, and cry “karāmat, karāmat”, “a miracle, a miracle, he has spoken!” De Laët.
³ (Ghazālī of Mashhad (vide below, the fifth poet) was the first that obtained this title. After his death, Fayzī got it. Under Jahāngir Ṭālib of Anul was malik-u 'sh-shuṣarā, and under Shāhjahan, Muhammad Jān Qudsi and, after him, Abū Ṭālib Kalim. Awrangzīb hated poetry as much as he hated history and music.
⁴ Fayzī 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 superabundantly. Fayyāzī, originally, is the abstract noun, “the act of giving superabundantly,” and then becomes a title.

The form of fayyāzī agrees with the form of ṢAllāmī Abū 'l-Fazī’s tabhullus, and some historians, as Badā’oni, have maintained that the mere form suggested the change of Fayzī to Fayyāzī.
eminently distinguished in several branches. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the Sawātī’u ‘l-‘ilhām 1 ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the Qurān in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots. The words of the Sūratu ‘l-ikhlāṣ 2 contain the date of its completion.

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty, 3 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 4 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. 5 But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

1 I have not seen a copy of this work. It is often confounded with the Mawāridu ‘l-kilām, because the latter also is written be nukat, without the use of dotted letters. The Mawārid was printed at Calcutta in A.H. 1241, by the professors of the Madrasa and Mawlawi Muhammad Ṣāliḥ of Rāmāpur. It contains sentences, often pithy, on the words ‘Islām, salām, Ṣalām, ‘l-kilām, ‘Abd, Muhammād, ‘llāh, ‘alā ‘llāh, etc., and possesses little interest. Fayżī displays in it his lexicographical abilities.
2 This is the 112th chapter of the Qurān, which commences with the words Quḥ wa ‘allāh-‘ahad. The letters added give 1002; Fayżī, therefore, wrote the book two years before his death. This clever tāriḵ was found out by Mīr Haydar Muṣṭambaṭi of Kāshān, poetically styled Raḥṣī. 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 Tūrāk, properly the crown of the head. Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the salām. Abū ‘l-Faṣl wishes to say that Fayżī was never mean enough to ask for favours or presents.
5 Abū ‘l-Faṣl kept his promise, and collected, two years after Fayżī’s death, the stray leaves of the Markazu ‘l-adwar (p. 549) regarding which the curious will find a notice by Abū ‘l-Faṣl in the 3rd book of his Maktubāt. The same book contains an elegy on Fayżī’s death.

MSS. of Fayżī’s Naḥ Daman are very numerous. His Diwan, exclusive of the Qasāṣid, was lithographed at Dihli, in A.H. 1261, but has been long out of print. It ends with a Rubāṣi (by Fayżī), which shows that the words Diwān-i Fayżī contain the tāriḵ, i.e., A.H. 971, much too early a date, as he was only born in 954. The Mīr-‘atu ‘l-Ṣālām says that Fayżī composed 101 books, Badā‘oni estimates his verses at 20,000, and Abū ‘l-Faṣl at 50,000. The Akbarnāma (40th year) contains numerous extracts from Fayżī’s works. Dāghistānī says in his Riyāḍu ṣh-shuṭūrā that Fayżī was a pupil of Khwāja Ḥusayn Sanā’ī of Mashhad, and it seems that Abū ‘l-Faṣl has for this reason placed Sanā’i immediately after Fayżī. The same writer remarks that Fayżī is in Persia often wrongly called Fayżī-γi Dakhinī.

Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS. of Fayżī’s works.
not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write down some of his verses.

Extracts from Fayzi'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 dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone.
8. Man's so-called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory.
9. Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love.
10. Whatever our tongue can say, and our pen can write, of Thy Being, is all empty sound and deceiving scribble.
11. Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee; but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers.
12. Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee; the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought.
13. How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts of saints?
14. O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain; for if not, my restlessness (qutrub) will end in madness.

1 Literally, strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints.
2 My text has fitrat, but several MSS. of Fayzi'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). ¹

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,² 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 (اكسير اكبري).

6. Learn to understand thy value; for the heaven buys (mushṭārī) 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.

¹ 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.

² Literally, Hippocrates.

³ This is a pun. Mushtārī 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 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 (farbīh) because thou art the centre of the body of the world. Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (miyān) 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 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 assumest³ 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.

23.⁴ There is no one that understands me; for were I understood,

¹ i.e., thou wouldst perform great deeds.
² Proud, in Persian farbīh, pr. fat. In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness. The Pun on farbīh and miyān cannot be translated.
³ As a hypocrite does.
⁴ The next verses are fakhṛiya (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 Balkiš, to erect in Alexandria a tower 360 yards high. A mirror was then placed on the top of it, 7 yards in diameter, and above 21 in circumference. The mirror reflected everything that happened in the world, even as far as Constantinople,
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 sijda in adoration of my knowledge.

Extracts from Fayżī’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 insufficiency 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 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.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 footprint is concealed; I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed.¹

Although life far from thee is an approach to death, yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness.

1. In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and yet they are intoxicated.

2. The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover; the birds on the meadow melt away in love and are yet silent.²

1. My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful; for caravans are attacked suddenly."

2. I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against robbers that attack a watchful heart?"

3. A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand.³

1. The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine; they made Khizir thirst for this fiery fountain.

2. What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet? Even Masih and Khizir are envious (of me) and struggle with each other to possess it.⁴

¹ A sigh indicates that a man is in love; hence if the sigh is a stranger [i.e., does not appear], the love will remain a secret. Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its purity and value, if it becomes known. The true lover bears the pangs of love, and is silent; the weak lover alone betrays his secret. Hence the nightingale is often found fault with; it pours forth its plaintive songs to the rose, it babbles the whole night, instead of silently fixing its eye on the beauty of the rose, and dying without a murmur.
² Salt is an antidote against drunkenness. "Wine" stands for beauty, "salt" for "wit". The nightingale is in love with the rose, but sings in order to lighten its heart; the birds of the meadows, however, which are in love with the nightingale, show a deeper love, as they remain silent and hide their love-grief.
³ Love is compared to robbers. The woeful of love ought to be endured as a visitation of providence.
⁴ Masih (the "Messiah") and Khizir (Elias) tasted the water of life (āb ī hayāt). 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 Khizir 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.

I, 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 (bāyāz) to the white dawn of morn.¹

O Fayżī, 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 (ḥaqīm) 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 Fayżī, 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 sawād, bāyāz, and musawwada.
² The street where the lovely boy lives. Can anyone walk in the street of love,
without losing his patience?
³ If the ka‘ba (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islām would be pulled
down; for Muhammadans 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 Khusrav says—
Kāfīr-i qishqam, marā musalmanī darbār nist, etc., “I am in love and have become an
infidel—what do I want with Islām?” So Fayżī 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 receivest no blessing from my eyes, and didst pass by.
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom,
Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by.

1. On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame: in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself.
2. O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own?

1. O 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 Potiphar, 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, "Ma kaw sa basaran," "He is no man (but an angel)!
² Fate leads you into danger (love); avoid it, you cannot expect help from your friends, they merely give you useless advice.
"You may hold (the jug) crooked, but do not spill (the contents)" is a proverb, and expressed that A allows B to do what he wishes to do, but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil. 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 howdases; unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love).

2. Walk on, Fayzi, 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 Layli² had had no desire to be with Majnun, 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]?²

3. Love has robbed Fayzi 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. Layli 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 Śīd, and tell him that I shall settle to-night the wrongs of the last thirty days.

2. Take Fayzi’s Diwan 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 Fayzi’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 ṣūf unān [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.

1. The Śīd ‘Īfār, or feast, after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramazān. Fayzi, like a bad Muhammadan, 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. Fayzi means the heart.

4. A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the Mīršt ‘Īfār to the poet Yahyā of Kašān, who, during the reign of Shāhjahān was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the Pādshāh-nāma.

If I call thee, o king of Islām "one without equal" it is but right.
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement.
Thou art the shadow of God, and like daylight;
It is clear that no one has two shadows.
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 Fayzī, 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 Fayzī, 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 apothecias, 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 Abū 'l-Fazl's Preface.
³ Muhrā, pl. of muhr, according to the Bahār-i Ḥājam, the metal ball which was dropped, at the end of every hour, into a large metal cup made of haft josh (a mixture of seven metals), to indicate the time. The metal cups are said to have been in use at the courts of the ancient kings of Persia.
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 Qurğān. They are different from the Čulamā fuxālā, the learned of the age.
⁶ Articles to be conveyed away are placed before the door immediately before the inmates travel away. Fayzī 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 Fayżi, 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.

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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 arbābī. Arbāb is the plural of rābī, and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of kalāntar, or rīsh-safīd, the head man of a place, Germ. Amtmann; hence arbābī, the office of a magistrate.
2. Khwāja Husayn Sanāʾi of Mashhad.  

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 Ruḥaʿ l-quds is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition].
3. It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world.
4. In short, words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them.
5. No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain.

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening, the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee.

1. In the manner of beauty and coquetry, many fine things are to be seen (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting.
2. If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol, his own figure does not appear to his eye, as something known to him.
3. If, for example, thou sittest behind a looking-glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards.
4. If, for example, an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser], no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill.

1. A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved, is for them the same as sweet medicine.

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1 The author of the Atashkada ye Azar says that Khwāja Husayn was the son of ǦInāyat Mirzā, and was in the service of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā Šafawi. But in his own Dīwān he is said to describe himself as the son of Ghiyāṣuʿ d-Dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad, and the reference of the Atashkada is a bad reading for نبات.

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 l-Faḍl’s extracts confirm. Neither does Badāʿi (III, 208) think much of his verses, though he does not deny him poetical genius. The ʿTabaqāt again praises his poems. The Mīr-āṭ- ʿl-Čālam says that “he was in the service of Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Shāh Tahmāsp. On the accession of Shāh ǦIsmāʿīl II, Sanāʾi 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. Sanāʾi fled to Hindūstān, and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000. His Dīwān Šikandānāma, and Sāqīnāma, are well known.” Sprenger (Catalogue, pp. 120, 578) says that he died in 996. The Māʿṣūr-i Ruhimi states that his bones were taken to Mashhad by his relation Mirzā Bāqir, son of Mīr ǦArabshāh. It was mentioned on p. 619, note 5, that Fazīl looked upon him as his teacher.

2 Ruḥaʿ 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 the 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 Sanāʾī’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. Ḥuznī 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. Zulaykhā 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 kurezm instead of girizm, 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—F.]
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 Tābeqāt calls him Mir Ḥuznī, 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 Alashkoda
(p. 101 of the Calcutta edition) says he was born in Jūnābud, and was a merchant. The
Haft Iqālīs says he was pupil of Qāsim-i 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 Ayāz 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 Ḥuznī, 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 “Ḥuznī, what is smoke like?”

I hear, Ḥuznī, 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 Ḥuznī was content with thy false promises, and had to go.

4. Qāsim-ī Kāhī.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 Ayāz was a slave of Maḥmūd of Ghāznī, and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness. There are several Maṣnawis entitled Maḥmūd o Ayāz.
² Kāhī, “grassy,” is his takhallus. Badāʾīs (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 Qurʾān, in astronomy, mysticism, and the sciences which go by the name of kalām; he wrote on music, and was clever in tārīḵhs and riddles. He had visited several Shāykhhs of renown, among them the great poet Jāmī (died A.H. 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 Fayṣī.”
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.

Kāhī wrote a Maṣnawi, entitled gul-ajābān, a reply or jawāb, to the Bostān, and completed a dīvān. An ode of his is mentioned in praise of Ḥumāyūn and the Astrolabe.

He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years.

The Atashkade-yi Āzar (Calcutta edition, p. 250) calls him “Mīrzā Abū ‘l-Qāsim of Kābul”, and says that he was born in Turkistan, 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 Turkistan. Kāhī was well received by Ḥumāyūn.

The same work calls him a Gulistāna Sayyid—a term not known to me. Hence, instead of “Mīrzā” we should read “Mir”.

The Haft Iqām has a lengthy note on Kāhī. Amīn of Ray (p. 512) says that Kāhī’s name is Sayyid Najm ‘d-Dīn Muhammad, his kunya being Abū ‘l-Qāsim. When fifteen years old, he visited Jāmī, and afterwards Hāshimi of Kirmān, who was called Shāh Jahāngīr. He went via Bhakkar to Hindūstān. Whatever he did, appeared awkward to others. Though well read, he was a pupilist, 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 Khvājas do, whose formula is “hoshr dar dam, nazār bar gudam, khalwat dar anjuman, safar dar wajān”, “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 fił, or elephant, was to occur (Abū ‘l-Fazl 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 Banāras, as he was fond of Bahādur Khān (No. 22). Subsequently, he lived at Agra, where he died. His grave was near the gate—my MS. calls it مدارج جای با (؟). He died on the 2nd Rabī‘ II, 988. Fāyżī’s tārikh (Rubā‘ī metre):—

\[
\text{مکتوبات وفات سال و ماهش جستنم}
\]

gives 2nd Rabī‘ II, 978, unless we read دوم for ریوض. Mawlānā Qāsim of Bukhārā, a pupil of Kāhī expressed the tārikh by the words:—

\[
\text{رونده آنام که}
\]

“Mulla Qāsim-i Kāhī died,” which gives 988. Vide also Iqbalnāma-yi Jahāngīrī, p. 5; and above, p. 219.

Abū ‘l-Fazl calls him Mi‘yān Kāhī, Miyānkāl (vide p. 615) is the name of the hills between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

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 Jalā’lū ’d-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.

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.

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.

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1 Badā’oni (III, 170) says that Ghazālī fled from Ḫurāsān to the Dakhin, because people wished to kill him for his heretical opinions. He was called by Khān Zamān (No. 13, p. 335) to Jaunpūr, 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 Ṣāliḥ-Shuṭār. He accompanied the emperor in the Gujrat war, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, 980. At Akbar’s orders, he was buried at Sarkach, near Ahmadābād. Fayzi’s clever tārikh of his death is معذة نص وحضان "the year 980." At his death he left a fortune of 20 lacs of rupees.

The Miḥrāb al-ʿĀlam mentions two books written by him, entitled Aṣār-i Maktūm and Rakhshat-i-Bayāt, to which the Haft Iqlim adds a third, the Miḥrāb al-Kāynat. Badā’oni and the Miḥrāb estimate his verses at 40 to 50,000; the Haft Iqlim at 70,000; the Tabagāt Akbari, at 100,000. The Aṭāshkada-yi ʿAzar (p. 122) says that he wrote sixteen books containing 4,000 verses, and that they were compounded in Persia during the reign of Ṭahmāsp-i Safawi. Vide Sprenger’s Catalogue, pp. 61, 141, where particulars will be found regarding Ghazālī’s works. Sprenger calls him Ghazzālī, an unusual form, even if the metre of some of his ghazals should prove the double z.

Badā’oni relates a story that Khān Zamān sent him one thousand rupees to the Dakhin with a couplet, for which vide Bad. III, 170, where the sar-i kahd refers to the q in Ghazālī’s name, because q stands for 1,000.

The Haft Iqlim mentions another Ghazālī.

* This is to be understood in a mystic sense. Badā’oni (III, 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazālī’s Diwān.
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 Sûfi 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 Kaâba, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Kaâba 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. "Urîf of Shiráz."

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 Maâşir-i Rahîmî (MS. As. Soc. Bengal, p. 537) says that "Urîf's name was Khwâja Sayyid Muhammad. The takhallus "Urîf has a reference to the occupation of his father, who as Darogha to the Magistrate of Shiráz had to look after Shari'a and "Urîf matters. He went by sea to the Dakhin, where, according to the Haft Iqlîm his talent was not recognized; he therefore went to Fatehpur Sikri, where Hakîm Abû 'l-Fath of Gîlân (No. 112) took an interest in him. When the Hakîm died, "Urîf became an attendant on Abû 'l-Rahîm Khân Khânân, and was also introduced at court. He died at Lâhor, in Shawwâl, A.H. 999, according to the Haft Iqlîm and several MSS. of the Tabaqât, of dysentery (is-hâl). He bequeathed his papers to his patron, in all about 14,000 verses, which at the Khân Khânân's order were arranged by Sirajû of Isfahân. He was at his death only thirty-six years old. The body was nearly thirty years later taken away by the poet Sâbir of Isfahân and buried in holy ground at Najaf (Sarkhush). His early death, in accordance with an idea still current in the East, was ascribed to the abuse he had heaped on the ancients; hence also the târîkh of his death—

"Urîf, thou didst die young." The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 Qâsidas, 270 Çhâzals, 700 Qitâs and Rûbâsâ; vide also Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 529.

The Ta zinc by Ali Quilî Khân-i Dâghistânî calls "Urîf Jamâli 9d-Dîn, and says that he was much liked by Prince Salim towards whom "Urîf's attachment was of a criminal nature, and that he had been poisoned by people that envied him.

"Urîf was a man of high talent; but he was disliked for his vanity. Badâtâni says (III, 285), "His poems sell in all bazaars, unlike those of Fa'zî, 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 ʿUrfit for the homeliness of his well-known poems.

his jāgīr in getting copies made of his verses; but yet no one had a copy of them, unless it was a present made by Fayžī. Hakīm Hājq (vide under 205) preferred ʿUrfit's ghazals to his odes. His Maṣnawi, Majmaʿ ʿl-ʿAfsār, is often wrongly called Majmaʿ ʿl-Afsār. One day ʿUrfit called on Fayžī, whom he found surrounded by his dogs, and asked him to tell him the names of "the well-bred children of his family." Fayžī replied, "Their names are ʿUrfit" (i.e., well known). Mubārak (God bless us), rejoined ʿUrfit, to the intense disgust of Fayžī, whose father's name was Mubārak.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 126) states on the authority of the Tażkira Hamesha-Bahār that ʿUrfit's name was Khwāja Saydī (سیدی), a mistake for Sayyidī. The Aṭaṣkada also gives the name only half correctly, Sayyid Muhammad. Taqī's note (loc. cit., p. 37) is wrong 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 ʿUrfi, 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.

ʿUrfi 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 Yūsuf.

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 ʿUrfi, 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?

His name was Mīrzā Quli.¹ 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."

¹ The Nafā is mentions 979 and Taqi 983, as the year in which Mayli came to India (Sprenger, Catalogue, pp. 43, 54). The Ātashkada says, he was brought up in Maashhad. According to Daghistānī, he belonged to the Jalāyr clan, lived under Tahmāsp, and was in the service of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, after whose death he went to India. The Tabaqat-i Akbarī says that he was in the service of Nawrang Khān (pp. 334, 528); and ḅadāoni adds that his patron for some suspicion ordered him to be poisoned. He was in Mālwā when he was killed.

He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the Ātashkada 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 Crœsus 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 boldly, Happiness? Wait a moment, that I may announce my love-grief.

¹ His biography was given above, No. 98. Vide also Iqbalnama-yi Jahangiri, p. 5; Dabistan, p. 387. His takhallus was Ja'far, as may be seen from Abū 'l-Fażl's extracts. The Masnawi by Ja'far mentioned by Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 444) may belong to Mirza Zayns 'l-Ḥāfidh, regarding whom vide above, p. 453, and Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 120, where for 1212 read a.H. 1021.
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. Khwāja Husayn of Marw.²

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the Court of Humayûn, 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. Hayātī of Gilān.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 Khwāja Husayn was a pupil of Mawlānā Ğisām ‘îd Dīn Ibrāhîm and the renowned Ibn Hajar of Makkah (Haft Iqlîm). Abû ‘l-Fâqî’s remark that he sold his encomiums at a high price seems to refer to Husayn’s Odes on the birth of Jahângîr and Prince Murâd, given in full by Badā’înî (II, pp. 120, 132) for which the Khwâja got two lacs of tankas. The odes are peculiar, as each hemistic is a chronogram.
³ The Ma‘āzîr-i Rahîmi says that Mullâ Hayâtî was born at Rasht in Gilân and belonged to the ‘âdmîzâdâgân, i.e., common people of the place. To better his circumstances, he went to India, was introduced by Haḵîm Abû ‘l-Fâth-i Gilâni (No. 112) at Court, got a jâģir, and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khân Khânân in the Daḥkin wars, and remained in his service, living chiefly at Burhânpûr where he built a villa and a mosque, which, according to the Mîr-i ʿÂlam was called Masjîd-i Mullâ Hayâtî. He was still alive in 1024, when the Ma‘āzîr-i Rahîmi was composed. The Tabâqât and Badâ’înî praise his poems, and say that he belonged to the aḥl-i yârân-i dardmandân, 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.

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

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. Shikebî of Ispahan.

He possesses taste and writes well. He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.²

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciously 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 causeth his delight to vanish as the moth vanishes in its delight, viz., the fire, where the word Khamod seems to have been purposely chosen to allude to the love of the moth. The passage in Sa’di’s preface to the Gulistan:—

² The Muṣṣīr-i Rahimī says that Mullā Shikebi was the son of Zahīru’d-Dīn ǂAbdū’l-Lāh Imāmī of Iṣfahān. He studied under Amīr Taqīyu’d-Dīn Muhammad of Shīrāz, but left his native town for Hīrāt when young, and became acquainted with the poets Sanā’ī, Maylī, and Wālī Dasht Bayāzī. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, after which he went to India, and became the constant attendant of the Khān Khānān.

The Mir’at-i ǂAlam says that later he fell out with his patron, and went from the Dakhīn to Agra, where Mahābāt Khān introduced him at court. He asked for permission to return to Iran; but Jahāngīr would not let him go, and appointed him Șadr of Dīhil. He died there at the age of sixty-seven, in 1023, the tūrial of his death being Mīr Dāhī Rāmī Shāhī Rāmī gives only 1022. For his Sāqīnāma, ǂAbdu’r-Raḥim gave him 18,000, or, according to the Huft Iltimi, 10,000 rupees as a present. He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron. The Muṣṣīr-i ǂUmarā mentions a Masnawi on the conquest of Thatha (A.H. 999–1000), for which Jānī Beg and ǂAbdu’r-Raḥim gave him one thousand Ashrafis. I do not know whether this Masnawi is the same as the Masnawi written by Shikebi in the Khusraw Shirin metre. [The As. Soc. of Bengal has a MS. of the Kullīyat-i ǂSānā’, i in Shikebi’s handwriting.—B.]
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 Sipand. People even nowadays put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates. The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits. Vide p. 146, note 1.
12. Anšš Shāmlū.¹

His real name is Yol Quli. He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners; he is brave and sincere.

In seeking after thee, a condition is put upon us miserable lovers, 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 Maššāš-Šār-i Rahimi says that Yol Quli Beg belonged to the distinguished clan of the Shāmlū Turkmen. He was a good soldier, and served as librarian to ʿAlī Quli Khān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Hirât, where he made the acquaintance of Shikebl and Mahwi. He wrote at first under the takhallus of Jāhī; but the Persian prince Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā gave him the name of Anšš, under which he is known in literature. When Hirât was conquered by ʿAbd al-Ilāh Khān, king of Turkistan and Māwarā 'n-nahr, Anšš was captured by an Uzbek soldier and carried off to Māwarā 'n-nahr. He then went to India, and entered the service of Mirzā ʿAbd al-'Rahim Khān Khānān, who made him his Mir Ārz, and later his Mir Bakhshe. He distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the war with Suhayl-i Habshi (p. 356). His military duties allowed him little leisure for poetry. He died at Burhānpūr in 1014. There exists a Ma-nawi by him in the Khusrav-Shirin metre, also a Diwan, and several Qasidas in praise of the Khān Khānān.

² The Calcutta edition of the Atashkade-yi Āzar (p. 19) calls him wrongly ʿAlī Quli Beg, and his Hirât patron ʿAlī Naqi Khān, after whose death he is said to have gone to India. ² i.e., our garments are always tucked up (Arab. tashmīr), 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.

Anisī 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. Nażirī of Nishāpūr.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 Nazirī of Nishāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he engaged in poetical contests (mashā’ara) with several poets, as Fahmī, Hātim, etc. He then went to India, where he found a patron in Mirza Ḥaṭim’s ‘r-Rahmīn Khān Khānānī. 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 Ahmadabād in Gujrat, where he died in 1022. The Tuzuk (p. 91) says:—“I Jahāngīr had called Nażīrī of Nishāpūr 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 encomium in imitation of a Qāṣīda by Anwārī. I gave him one thousand rupees, a horse, and a dress of honour.”
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, Nazirî, 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.

Maṣṣāṣir-i Raḥīmī says that Nazirî was a skilful goldsmith; and that he died, after having seen his patron in Agra in 1022, at Ahmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the Mir'at al-Ṣâlim, 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 Ṣāyīb, quoted by Dāghistānī:

O Ṣāyīb, what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Nazirî?

Urfs even does not approach Nazirî in genius.

The Tārîkh of Nazirî's death lies in the hemisticch "Az dunyâ raft Hassanu 'l-Ṣâlim, āh!" "The Hassan of Persia has gone from this world, alas!"—in allusion to the famous Arabian poet Ḥassân. This gives a.H. 1022; the other tārîkh, given by Dāghistānī, markiz-i dā'ir-yi bāzm kujā ast, "where is the centre of the circle of conviviality," only gives 1021, unless we count the hamzah in Ḥassān as one, which is occasionally done in tārîkh. Dāghistānī also mentions a poet Sawādī of Gujrat, a pious man, who was in Nazirî'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 Kašba 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. Darwīsh Bahram.¹

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayāṭ tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier.

1. I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it; I have been sitting in the 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 [Sarfi] of Kashmir.²

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 ṢArab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints. He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, and received from him permission to guide others.

¹ Bahram’s takhallus is Saggū, i.e., water-carrier. This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias). Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabic or to his functions as spring deity).

² The Bayāṭ tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbāyjān, Erivan, ʿĪrān, Fārs, and Nahāpūr.

Bahram is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him, vide my “Arabic and Persian Inscriptions,” Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871, pt. i, pp. 251 to 255.

Shaykh Ḥusayn of Khwārazm, Yaṣqūb’s teacher, was a pupil of Muḥammad Aṣām Ḥājī, and died in Syria in 956 or 958.

Shaykh Yaṣqūb also studied in Makkah for a long time under the renowned Ibn Ḥajar, the great teacher of the Ḥadīs, 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. Sabūhī, the Chaghtaï.

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.

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents.

1. I have no need to explain him my condition; for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind.

2. Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow. Who shall now inform him of my wretched state?

as a learned man and a poet. He was liked by Humāyūn and by Akbar, and was an intimate friend of the historian Badā’oni. His death took place on the 12th Zi Qa‘da, 1003, and Badā’oni found as tārikh the words Shaykh-i umam būd, “he was the Shaykh of nations.” A complete Khamsa, a treatise on the Musammār, or riddle, and numerous Sūfistic Rubā’is 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. 191, and under the poets.

His takhallus is variously given as sayrafi and sarfī. The latter seems the correct form, to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badā’oni (III, 148). Both words occur as takhallus; thus there was a Qāzī Sayrafi, encomiast of Firūz Shah. Vide also poet No. 21.

1 Sabūhī 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. Badā’oni says that he lived an easy, unrestrained life; and the Mīrū’u ʿl-ʿAlam calls him a rind (profligate). He died at Agra in 973, and Fayzī found as tārikh the words سرحي “I am unclean,” “Sabūhī, the wine-bibber.” Dāghistānī says, he was from Samarqand, and the Ātashkada calls him “Badakhshānī”, but says that he is known as Hurwānī, or from Hirāt.

2 The verse, notwithstanding the vision, is stolen; vide Badā’oni, III, 180, under Ātašī.

2 If this verse, too, was uttered at the time he had the vision, he stole thought and words from Āsafi, Jāmī’s pupil, who has a verse:—

دول که پیر را پیر می گرزند را
پایه که تین ندانسته بانه مضمون را
17. Mushfīq of Bukhārā.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!

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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 țakauchiya.²

18. Şālihi.³

His name is Muḥammad Mirak. He traces his descent from Nizām ʿl-Mulk of Țūs.

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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.

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There are many reasons why I should be dead, and yet I am alive. O grief! thy forbearance has made me quite ashamed of myself.

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¹ Badāʾoni (III, 328) says that he was originally from Marw, and came twice to India. For his Qaṣīdas, some called him “the Salmān of the age”; and Dāghistānī says that under ʿAbd al-ʾĪlāh Khān he was Malik ʿsh-shuhrū. According to the Haft Iqlim, he was born and died at Bukhārā. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 508) says, he was born in 945, and his second Diwān was collected in 983. From the Akbarnāma (Lucknow edition, III, p. 203) we see that Mushfīq was presented to Akbar at Pāk Patān in the end of 985. He died in 994 (Vāmēry’s Bokhara, p. 301).

² This verse is a parody on the well-known Gḥazal, which Ḥāfīṣ sent from Shīrāz to Sūltān Ghiyāṣ of Bengal (Metre Muzāri).

³ Badāʾoni calls him “Hirawi” (from Hirat), 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 Āṭashkada says that he was a descendant of Khwāja ʿAbd al-ʾĪlāh Marwarīd Kirmānī, and that his family had always been employed by kings.

Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 50) calls him wrongly Muḥammad Mīr Bey. The Āṭashkada and the MSS. have Muḥammad Mirak; and thus also his name occurs in the Maṣāʾir-i Ḥāfīzī.
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, Šāliḥ, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand.

19. Mażhari of Kashmir.¹

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ʿIrāq. 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 ʿIrāq he was in company with Muḥtashim and Wahshī. After his return to India, Mażhari was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahri of Kashmir, which employment he held in 1004 (Raddāʾonī). He had turned Shiʿah, and as his father was a Sunnī, both used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mażhari died in 1018. All Taḵkirās 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 sumbals—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. Ṣaḥāb of Hamadan. ¹

His name is Mughis. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom.

1. Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart.

2. Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so.

1. You said that my condition was low from love-grief. A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant.

2. Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

1. O Maḥwi, 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 Maḥwi, 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 Mughis, according to the Ṣaḥāb-i Bahāʾ, was born in Asadābād (Hamadan), and went, when twelve years old, to Ardabīl, where he studied for four years at the "Aštāna-yi Šafawīya". From youth, he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places, chiefly at Najaf, Mashhad, Karbalā, and Hirât, Mawlāna Shīkebī and Anṣā′ī (pp. 646, 648) looked upon him as their teacher and guide. He held poetical contests (musākātara) with Mawlānā Šahābī (�풍). He embarked at Bandar Jarūn for India, and was patronized by the Khān Khānān. After receiving from him much money, he went back to Ṣīrāq, where the author of the Ṣaḥāb saw him at Kāshān. He visited Najaf and Karbalā, and returned to Hamadan, where he died in 1016. He lies buried in the Maqbara of the Sayyids at Asadābād. The author of the Ṣaḥāb edited Maḥwi's Rubāʿīs during his lifetime, and wrote a preface to the collection. Maḥwi is best known as a Rubāʿī writer: Abū 'l-Fazl's extracts also are all Rubāʿīs.

The Ṣaḥāb mentions a Maḥwi whose name was Mir Mahmūd, and says that he was for twenty-five years Akbar's Munshī.
21. Sarfī of Sāwah.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 Kaṣba, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias.2

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself.

That which I desire 3 is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22. Qarārī of Gilān.4

His name is Nūrī 'd-Dīn. 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 Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.

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1 The MSS. of the Āʾīn call him "Sayrāfī", but the metre of several verses given in the Maqāṣīr-i Raḥīmī shows that his taḥjlallūs is "Sarfī".

According to the ĀṬashkada, his name is Salahī 'd-Dīn, and he was a relation of Salmān of Sāwah. He was a pupil of Muḥtashim of Kāshān. The author of Heft Iliüm says that he was a most amiable man, and marvellously quick in composing tārkhs. He lived in the Dakhin, and went to Lāhor, to present Akbar with a Qaṣida; but finding no suitable opportunity, he returned to the Dakhin, and went to Makkah, where he died. The Maqāṣīr-i Raḥīmī states that he lived chiefly at Ahmadābād, made Fayzī's acquaintance in the Dakhin, and went with the Khān-i Aṣ̄̄am (p. 543) to Makkah. According to Badāʾonī, he came with the Historian Niğāms 'd-Dīn Ahmad from Gujrat to Lāhor, and accompanied Fayzī to the Dakhin, where he died. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 382) gives his name Čalāhuddīn; but the ĀṬashkada (the only work in which I have found his full name) has Salāḥī 'd-Dīn.

2 The road of love (the ideal Kaṣba) is as difficult as the road to the Kaṣba 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 Nūrī 'd-Dīn Muhammad came in 983 with his brothers Abū 'l-Fath (p. 468) and Humām (p. 529) to India. Akbar appointed him to a command in the army; but Nūrī 'd-Dīn was awkward, and had no idea how to handle a sword. Once, at a muster, he came without arms, and when some young fellows quizzed him about it, he said that military duties did not suit people of his class (literary men); it had been Timur's custom to place camels, cattle, and the baggage between the ranks, and the women behind the army, and when Timur had been asked where the learned were to go, he had said, "In the rear of the women." (This resembles the 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 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

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 Whilst the fire of love deprives me of patience.
² 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.¹

23. ʕɪtābī of Najaf.²

He possesses harmony of thought; but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life.

I am the nightingale of thy flower-bed. I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is.

1. May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!

2. I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of 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 Kaṣba 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.³

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 slovenly (bebak u nāhāmuqr). When asked whether he had in the Dakhin made satires on Shāh Fathu ’llāh, he said, "In the Dakhin, I would not have looked at a fellow like him." Akbar, who made much of Fathu ’llāh, was annoyed, imprisoned ʕɪtābī, and had his papers searched, to see whether he wrote satires on other people. A few compromising verses were found, and ʕɪtābī was sent for ten years (or according to the Ṭabaqāt, for two years) to Fort Gwālyār. 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 Qulī Khān (p. 380) to send him from Sūrat to Hijāz; but ʕɪtābī escaped, went to the Dakhin, and lived there as before. His Arabic and Persian poems are excellent; he also was a clever kūtib and letter-writer. Bādāʾoni, III, 275.
³ The Ātashkāda says that he came from Gulpāigān (or جربین). Ďāghistānī calls him "Mir ʕɪtābī". ʕɪtābī means "worthy of reproach"; compare rasūd-ī. The Ṭabaqāt ascribes this verse to a poet called Rukn u’d-Dīn, whose tākhallus 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.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. Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī of Māzandarān.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.

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 Mirṣ-āt ʿl-ʿĀlam, Mullā Muḥammad was called “Ṣūfī” from his gentle and mild character. Even at the present day, simple people are often addressed “Ṣūfī sāhib”, so much so that the word is often used as the equivalent of “a simpleton”. Mullā Muḥammad early left his home, and lived chiefly at Ṣāhadābād, where he was the friend and teacher of Sayyid Jalāl-ʾi Ḵubārī. The Mirṣ-āt and the Haft Iqlīm, praise his verses, and the former quotes from a Sāqīnāma of his.

The Ātashkada wrongly puts him under Isḥāḥān, and mentions that some call him the maternal uncle of Mullā Ḥāmī—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."

25. Judāʾī.1

His name is Sayyid ʿAlī, and he is the son of Mīr Maṣūr. He was born and educated in Tabrīz, 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. Wūqṣī of Nishāpūr.3

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-ʾī-Mulk", and had already served under Humāyūn. He left a Diwān; but he has also been accused of having stolen Āshīr’s Diwān (vide below, the 37th poet).

2 The Ātashkhāda and Taqī’s Tażkira mention another Judāʾī of Sāwah.

3 Muhammad Sharif Wūqṣī belonged, according to the Maʿānī-i Rāḥīmī, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nishāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amīr Shāhmar, who had been for a long time assayer master under Shāh Tahmāsp. He died in 1602.

Baddāʾonī (III, p. 378) says that Sharif was a relation of Shihāb Khān (p. 352). "His name was Muhammad Sharif. Alas, that so impure a man should have so excellent a name! His heretical opinions are worse than the heresies of those who, in this age, bear the same name [Sharif-ʾī Āmūlī, pp. 176, 452; and the poet Sharif-ʾī Sarmad, mentioned below, No. 53—two archheretics in the eyes of Baddāʾonī]. Though he belongs neither exclusively to the Basakhwāns (p. 502, note 2) nor to the Ṣabāḥīs, he holds an intermediate place between these accused and damned sects; for strenuously fights the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (tanwāṣūḵ). One day, he came to me at Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier, asking me whether he could accompany me to Kashmir. Seeing large blocks of
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. **Khusrawī of Qā'im.**

He is a relation of [the poet] Mirzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābīd, 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'ī.**

He traces his descent from Zaynu 'd-Din Khāfī. He pretended to be a Sūfī.

rocks of several thousand mans lying about near my house, he exclaimed with a sigh, “All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form.” Notwithstanding his wicked belief, he composed poems in praise of the Imāms; but he may have done so, when he was young. He was an excellent khitb and letter-writer, and was well acquainted with history. He died in A.H. 1002.

1 Health is the equivalent of “indifference to love”.

2 Qā'im lies between Yazd and Hirāt, Dāghistānī calls him Sayyid Amīr Khusrawī, and says that he excelled in music. According to Badā'ī, his mother was Mirzā Qāsim’s sister, and he came to India after having visited Makkah. He was in the service of Prince Salīm (Jahāngir).

3 His name is Mawlānā Sa'du 'd-Din, of Khāf, or Khwāf (p. 493). The Ātashkāda quotes the same verse as Abū 'l-Fazl. Badā'ī says, he left a well-known diwān. In Dāghistānī, two Rahā'īs are mentioned, one Mawlānā Rahā'ī, “known in literary circles”; and another Rahā'ī from Ardīstān. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 58) calls him Rāhū'ī; and says that, according to the Nafā'īs, he died in 980.

Zaynu 'd-Din Khāfī, from whom Rahā'ī traced his descent, is a famous saint, who died in the beginning of Shahīwāl, A.H. 838. He was first buried at Mālin (or Bālin), then at Darwīshābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmi’s Nafshātū 'l-Uas, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zaynu 'd-Din Tā'ībādī, 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 Iṣfahān.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 Badā‘onī says (III, p. 385) that Wafā‘i was for some time in Kashmir, went to Lāhor, and entered the service of Zayn Khán (p. 367). According to the Atashkada, he belonged to the Čimādiya Kurds, and was brought up at Iṣfahān; his Rubā‘is are good. Dāghistāni calls him a Turk, and states that Wafā‘i at first was an ʿuttākāsh (a man who irons clothes). From a fault in his eye, he was called Wafā‘i-yi ḵor, “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 Badā‘onī also calls him Jazā‘irī, i.e. from the islands. His father, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was a distinguished lawyer and was looked upon by the Shi‘ahs as a Mujtahid. He lived in Mashhad, where Sāqī was born. Sāqī received some education, and is an agreeable poet. He came from the Dakhin to Hindūstān, and is at present [in 1004] in Bengal.
1. I became a cloak to ruin, Šaqī, and like the Kaṣba, 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. Rafiṣī of Kāshān.¹

His name is Ḥaydar. He is well acquainted with the ars poetica and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and tāriḵhs.

My heart is sensitive, you cruel one; what remedy is there for me? Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do?

1. A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant; I am plunged into crime [love] and think that thou art forgiving.

2. He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving; choose whatever name pleases thee most.

32. Ghayratī of Shīrāz.²

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.³

¹ His full name, according to Taqī-yī Awhādī, is Amir Rafiṣu ‘d-Dīn Ḥaydar. He was a Tabātibā Sayyid of Kāshān. The Maʿṣūr-i Ruhimī states that he left Persia in 999, on account of some wrong which he had suffered at the hand of the king of Persia, went from Gujrāt in company with Khwāja Ḥabīb-illāh to Lāhūr, and was well received by Akbar. For the tāriḵh, mentioned above on p. 619, note 2, Fayzī gave him 10,000 rupees. After a stay of a few years in India, he returned to his country, but suffered shipwreck near the Mārkūn coast, in which he not only lost property to the amount of two lākhs of rupees, but also (as Badāʾonī spitefully remarks) the copies of Fayzī’s poetical works which he was to have distributed in Persia. Sprenger (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 Amirīs. From the ʿAmīr Khān Kāshān 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 Makkā 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 Ātāshkāda he died in A.H. 1032, the tāriḵh of his death being the Arabic words, “wa kān zallikī fi sanah.” His son Mir Ḥāshim-i Sanjar, is mentioned on the next page; and Tāhir-i Nasrābādī mentions in his Taḵkira another son of the name of Mir Masʿūm, a friend of Mullā Awjī. MSS. often give his name wrongly ʿ Raṭfī,.

² The Ātāshkāda says that Ghayratī travelled about in ʿIrāq, 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 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. Hālatī of Tūrān.³

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 Badāʾonī says that his father was a poet, and wrote under the name of Wālihī. Yādgār traced his descent from Sultan Sanjar; but the Tabaqāt calls him a Chaghātāʾī. He served in Akbar’s army.

"His son Jalāl Khān had the takhallus of Baqī‘ī, though from his unprofitableness he styled himself Rusūmī, ‘the blackguard.’ He gave his father poison from his mother on account of a fault,” and Akbar ordered him from Kashmir to Lahore, where he was executed by the Kotwāl.

The Akbarnāma (Lucknow Edition, III. p. 486) says that Yādgār served in 993 in Kābul. He is not to be confounded with Mir Hālatī of Gilān.
34. Sanjar 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 Guebres, 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. Jaḏbī.⁴

His name is Pādishāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shāh Qulī Khān Nārānjī of Kūrdistān, 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 Sanjar came in A.H. 1000 from Persia to India, and met his father (p. 662 (1)). For some crime, “to mention which is not proper,” Akbar imprisoned him. When again set free, he went to Ahmādābād; but not thinking it wise to remain there, he went to Ḥabīb Shāh of Bījāpūr. Some time after, he received, through the influence of his father, a call from Shāh Ṣabbās of Persia to return. But before he could leave, he died at Bījāpūr, in A.H. 1021. Regarding the value of his poems people hold opposite opinions. Maṭbūr-ī Rahīmī.

² The Khizānā-yi Ṣāmīrī and Mr. T. W. Beale of Agrā, the learned author of the Miftāḥ ’l-Tawārikh, give the following verse as āṭārād of Sanjar’s death (metre Muẓārīc):

³ The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella, of which the words pādishāh-i sūhān give 1023; but as the pādishāh throws away the umbrella, we have to subtract a ٢, or 2; for the figure of the Arabic ٢ if inverted, looks like an umbrella.

⁴ i.e. love has made the poet forget his faith, and he has become a heathen or a Christian. The Christians in many eastern countries used gongs because they were not allowed bells.

² The Tagkiras give no details regarding Jaḏbī. His father has been mentioned above on p. 537; and from the Akbarnama (III, p. 512) we know that Pādishāh Qulī served in Kashmir under Qāsim Khān (p. 413). “Jaḏbī” means “attractive”; a similar takhallus is “Majzūb”, “one who is attracted by God’s love.”

⁴ The poet only is a true lover. He alone resembled Majnūn. The Bādāʾ-omi (III, 215) ascribes the last verses given by Abū ’l-Faṣl to Pādishāh 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. Tashbihi of Kāshān.¹

His mind, from his youth, was unsettled. He belongs to the sect of the Maḥmūdis; 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 Šaškada calls him “Mīr Ǧalāl Akbar Tashbihī. Though a decent man, he was singular in his manners, and was not widely known. Whilst in Hindūstān he tried to improve the morals of the people, dressed as a Ḡaṣṣir, and did not visit kings.” Dāghistāni says that he was a heretic, and lived for forty years in Hindūstān a retired life. He generally lived in graveyards. Raduʿonī (III, 204) has the following notice of him. “He came twice or three times to Hindūstān, and returned home. Just now (1. h. 1004) he has come back again, and calls the people to heresies, advising them to follow the fate of the Basākhwāns (vide above, p. 502). He told Shaykh Abū ‘l-Fazl that he was a Muḥtahīd, 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 ‘l-Fazl according to the manner of the Nuqaṭīi and their manner of writing the letters [singly, not joined, as it appears from the following], all which is hypocrisy, dissimulation (fazriq) and agreement of the numerical value of the letters. Hākīm ǦAynī’s-Mulik (vide above, p. 537) discovered that “Tashbihī” has the same numerical value (727) as “Tazriqī”, “the hypocrite.” Tashbihī has composed a Dīwān. When I wrote my history, he once gave me, in Abū ‘l-Fazl’s presence, a pamphlet on Maḥmūd of Basākhwān, and I looked at it. The preface was as follows:—“O God! who art praiseworthy (Maḫmūd) 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. Dirt upon his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The grand point of all this lying is, of course, “the four nuqtas.” At the end of the pamphlet, I saw the following:—“This has several times been written on the part of the Persian Muḥtahīd M., i, r, ǦA, 1, i, A, k, b, a, r, T, a, sh, b, i, h, i, the Amīnī, the last, the representative.” And the rest was like this—may God preserve us from such unbelief!”

“Tashbihī” is therefore 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.  

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihî a breakfast, and he asks thee for an evening meal.

1. I am that Tashbihî 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.

37. Ashki of Qum.

He is a Tabâṭibâ 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 Tashbihî 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 Tashbihî,” i.e., he has chosen truth, he is the elect.

4 We know from the Haft Iqlîm that Mir Ashki was the son of Mir Sayyid Ṣâliḥ Muḥtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashki’s elder brother Mir Ḥuẓûrî also is known as a poet. Ghazâlî’s fame and success (vide p. 631) attracted Ashki to India, but he did not meet Ghazâlî. The number of his verses exceeded ten thousand; but when on his deathbed, he gave his several Diwâns to Mir Judâ’î (vide p. 660) to arrange. Mir Judâ’î, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. Ṭarîqî of Sâwah alludes to this in the following epigram:—

 Thou hast killed poor Ashkî,  
 And I wonder at thy crime being hidden.  
 With thee four Diwâns of his remained,  
 And what remains of thy poems, is his.

Dâghistânî says that Ashkî died in Mir Judâ’î’s house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazâlî; but as he only quotes a hemistich, the statement of the contemporary Haft Iqlîm is preferable.

Boddâ’oni says that Ashkî’s poems are full of thought, and that he imitated (tattabbus) the poet, Aṣâfî. 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.

Ashki, I think my tears have turned watchers; for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face.¹

38. Asīrī of Ray.²

His name is Amīr Qāzī. 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. Fahmī of Ray [Tīhrān].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 Asīrī was, according to Badā'oni, an educated man, and the best pupil of Ḥakīm 'l-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 Badā'oni gives three poets of the name of Fahmī:—1. Fahmī of Tīhrān, who travelled much, and was for some time in India; 2. Fahmī of Samarqand, son of Nādirī, an able riddle-writer, who was also for some time in India; 3. Fahmī of Astrābād, who died at Dīhilī. The Maʿāṣir-i Rāhīmī mentions a Fahmī of Hurmuz (Ormuz) well known in Lār and Hurmuz, who came to India, presented an ode to the Khān Khānān, got a present, and returned. Dāḡistānī mentions a fifth Fahmī from Kāshān, and a sixth, of whom he gives no particulars.

As the Tābūqāt and Dāḡistānī ascribe the same verse to Fahmī-yi Tīhrānī, which Abū 'l-Faṣl gives to Fahmī of Ray, the identity of both is apparent. In fact, it looks as if Abū 'l-Faṣl had made a mistake in calling him "of Ray", because no Tuzkīra 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 Shiraz.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 bat 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 Dagh o Mahalli-Law, on which Akbar had set his heart (vide p. 252) and fell into disgrace. He wandered about for some time as Faqir in the Byana District, and returned to Pathpur Sikri, suffering from piles. A quack, whom he consulted, cut open the veins of the anus, and Qaydi died. He was an excellent poet. Daghistani.

Daghistani says that he was a friend of Gurfi, and died in A.H. 992.
41. Payrawî of Sâwah.¹

His name is Amîr 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. Kâmi, of Sabzwâr.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. Payâmi.⁴

His name is ĆAnûd 's-Salâm. He is of Arabian extraction, and has acquired some knowledge; but he is not clear to himself.

¹ Payrawî imitated the poet Āsâfî. He wrote a poem on "Form and Ideal", of which Abû 'l- Faţl has given the first verse, and completed a Dîwân of (jazala.
² This verse, the beginning of Payrawî's "Form and Ideal", contains the rhetorical figure, isthîlâl, because it gives the title of the poem.
³ Kâmi's father, Khwâja Yahyâ, was a grocer (baqqîl) and lived in the Maydân Mahallah of Sabzwâr, in Khurasân. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzwâr, Mir Yahyâ went to India, and left Kâmi, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzwâr. At the request of his father, Kâmi came to India, and was frequently with the Khân Khânân. He went afterwards back to Khurasân and the author of the Maâsrî-i Kâhîmî saw him, in 1014, in Hirât. In travelling from Hirât to his house, he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khân Khânân's service.
⁴ The Haft Iqlîm says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

Boddûnî also mentions him; but he wrongly calls Qumî "from the town of Qum". He says, Kâmi is a young man and has just come to India (1004); his thoughts are bold.
⁴ Payâmi, according to Dâghjistânî, was a pupil of the renowned ĆAllâmî Dawwânî. He was for a long time Vâzîr to Shâh ĆAla'î-Mulk ibn-i Nûrî 'd-Dahr of Lâr. His services were afterwards dispensed with, and a Jew of the name of Yaâqûb was appointed instead. But this change was not wise; for soon after, Shâh ĆAbbâs sent an army under Ilâh Virdî Khân to Lâr, 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 Yusuf 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 Muḥammad [Fikri].²

He is a cloth-weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes Rubāʿis.

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 Yusuf means here “life”; pit, “non-existence”; bazaar, “existence.”
² Sayyid Muḥammad’s poetical name is Fikri, the “pensive.” He came, according to the Haft Iqlīm, in 969 to India; and his excellent rubāʿis induced people to call him the “Khayyām of the age,” or “Mīr Rubāʿī”. He died on his way to Jaunpūr, in 973, the tārīḫ of his death being Mīr Rubāʿī 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 Karabala, Mir Husayn.\(^2\)

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. Haydari of Tabriz.\(^3\)

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 (metre Rajaz):

\[
\text{روح تامست هی کم به دست کرد نامه}
\text{من نیز حاضر هی شوم نبردیان ما بر مغل).
\]

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.

\(^2\) Daghistani says that Mir Husayn’s father left Karbalâ for Sabzwar. Qudsi was a great friend of Muhammad Khan, governor of Hirat. Badaoni (III, 376) says that Mir Muhammad Sharif Nawai, Qudsi’s brother, also came to India, and “died a short time ago”, i.e., before a.H. 1004.

\(^3\) Haydari was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muhammad Qasim Khan of Nishapur (vide above, p. 353). His company, says the Haft Iqlim, was more agreeable than his poems. The Maanawi which he wrote in imitation of Sa’adi’s Bastan, is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India, he said:

\[
\text{دم کشته هند شادی و غم معلوم}
\text{اگر دل شاد و جان خرم معلوم}
\text{جاکه کی بیک روبیه فو آدم خبرد}
\text{آدم معلوم و قدیر آدم معلوم}
\]

On his second return to India he found a patron in the Khan-i Akgam (p. 343), who gave him one thousand rupees for an ode. Muhammad Khan 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 Khan Khânân, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujrat (p. 254), and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkick. He returned to Kâshân, the governor of which town, Ächä Khizir Nahawandi (brother of the author of the Ma‘aṣir-i Rahimi) befriended him. As Tabriz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rûm, he settled in Ìraq, at a place called in the MSS. بیتر; 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. Farebī 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.

\(^1\) no equal in ʿIrāq or Khurāsān. About that time Shāh Ābbās came to the place to hunt pheasants (kabg). [Kabg is the Chukor 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 house, refused to open the door. “The foaming ocean of the king’s wrath rose in high waves,” and he ordered a general massacre of the people of the place, which was happily prevented through Ḥaydari’s influence. The same falcon was killed on the same day by an eagle on a steep hill, about a farsang from ūr; 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. Ḥaydari died there, beloved by all, in A.H. 1002.

He had also written a book entitled Lisān wa ʿl-ghayb, in praise of his teacher, the poet Lisānī, who had been attacked in a pamphlet entitled Sahw wa ʿl-Lisān, "The Slip of the Tongue," which was written by his base pupil Mīr Shārif-i Tabrīzī. The Maḥārīr-i Rahīmī gives a few passages from the book.

Dāghistānī says that the poet Darwīsh Ḥaydar of Yazd, mentioned in Tazkiras, is very likely the same as Mawlānā Ḥaydari of Tabrīz, who is sometimes called “Yazdī” from his friendship with Waḥshī of Yazd.

Sāmri, Ḥaydari’s son, came to India after his father’s death, and was made by the Kāhn Khánum Mīr Sāmīn of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the Dakhin wars, when with Shahnawāz Khánum, the son of his patron.

The second verse shows that the taḥkallāṣ of the poet is Shāpūr. Farebī is scarcely known. With the exception of Dāghistānī’s work, which merely mentions that Farebī lived during the reign of Akbar, I have not found his name in the Tazkiras. Sprenger (Catalogue, p. 63) mentions a Farebī of Bukhārā; but as he is said to have died in A.H. 944, he must be another poet. The name of his birthplace is doubtful; the MSS. of the Jāmī have Ray, Rahī, and Dāhī, or leave out the word, as Dāghistānī has done. Rāzī 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. Fusūnî 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 Fusūnî was from Shīrāz; Badā'onsī and Taqī call him Yazdi; and Dāghistānī and the Ātashkadeh says that he came from Tabrīz. Badā'onsī says that Fusūnî came over Tattah and entered the service of the emperor, and Dāghistānī adds that he also served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as Mustawī. The Mīr 'l-ʿAlām mentions a Fusūnī, who was an Amir under Jahāngīr and had the title of Afzal Khān.
² The original contains a pun on khāk gird and gard, which I cannot imitate.
50. Nādirī of Turshīzī.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. Nawṣī 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 Iqlīs says that Nādirī went two years before the completion of the Haft Iqlīs, i.e., in 1000, to India; but he does not know what became of him.

Dāghistānī 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 Syāilkūt, Turshīz, or Turshīsh, lies near Nishāpur.

2 Mulā Muḥammad Rizā comes from Khabūshān near Mashhad. On his arrival in India, says the Ma'āṣir-i Rabīmī, he found a patron in Mīrza Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad (p. 369); but soon after, he entered the service of the Khān Khānān (p. 334) and stayed with him and Prince Dānyal at Burhānpūr. For his Ṣaqīnāma, 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 šutur o guřa, i.e., you find chaff and grains together; but most people praise his poems. The Khizāna-yī Ğāmira says that his Maṣnawi entitled Sūs o Gudāz 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 Sūttee. Nawṣī had not yet arranged his Qaṣīdas and Ghazals in form of a diwān, when he died in 1019, at Burhānpūr.

Badāwī says that he claims descent from Haṣrat Shaykh Ḥāji Muḥammad of Khabūshān; but his doings belie his claim. He is very bold, and is now (in 1004) with the youngest prince.

3 Mansur attained a high degree of pantheistic love; he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed, Anā al-ḥaqq 'I am God'—for which he was killed. The poet here accuses Mansūr 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, Nawfî, with a ray of the sun; cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote.

52. Bâbâ Ţâlib of Iṣfahân.

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.

---

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 Iqlîm, Bâbâ Ţâlib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmir, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province, he came to Hindûstân, where he was much liked. The Muṣṣīr-i Rûhîmî says that he was often in the company of Ḥakîm Abû 'l-Fath (p. 468), Zayn Khân Kokah (367), Abû 'l-Fazîl, and Shaykh Fayzî; at present, i.e. in 1025, he is Sâdîr of Gujrât. Bâdâ'înî 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 Ṣâfî Rây, ruler of Little Tîbbat. On his return he gave Abû 'l-Fazîl a treatise on the wonders of that land, which was inserted into the Akbarnâma. His poems are good, and breathe fine feeling. The Iqûlâmâna (Bibli. Indica Edition, p. 133) confirms these remarks, and adds that Bâbâ Ţâlib died in the end of Jahângîr's reign, more than a hundred years old.

4 Vide p. 560, note 1.

5 This Rubâ'î pleased Jahângîr so much, that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album. Iqûlûmâna, loc. cit.
53. Sarmādī of Iṣfahān.¹

His name is Sharīf. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic.

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. Dakhīlī of Iṣfahān.²

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character. Though he says but little, he is a man of worth.

¹ Muḥammad Sharīf was mentioned above on p. 581, No. 344, as a commander of Two Hundred. Baddāsonī says that he was at first Chauki-nawis, and is at present (i.e., 1004) with Sharīf-i Āmulī (p. 502) in Bengal. He used at first to write under the takhallus of “Fayzī”; but in order to avoid opposition to Fayzī, Abū 'l-Fażl's brother, he chose that of Sarmādī. Baddāsonī looked upon him as a heretic, and often abuses him (Bad, II, 335). From the Aḵbarnāma, we see that Sharīf served in the 31st year in Kashmir, and in the end of the 32nd in Gujrat. In 1000 he was sent to Bengal with Sharīf-i Āmulī, and in the beginning of 1001 we find him fighting in Orīṣā against Rām Chandr, Rāja of Khurda. Dāghistānī says he died in the Dakhin.
² The Maṭāfaṣir-i Raḥimi 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 ʿl-Mulāk Maqtūd ʿAlī, proprietor of Werkopāz-i, twelve farsakhs from Isfahān. (The MS. belonging to the Society had originally Dorkopāz; 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 (aegāf) 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 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'āsir has partly preserved, the village is called Kuhpāya. In his retirement he used to write under the nom de plume of Amri, and employed Dakhil to arrange his poems. This occupation gave Dakhil a taste for poetry, and he received from Abū 'l-Qāsim the takhallus 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 Dakhin, and found a patron in the Khan Khānān, in whose service he was in 1025, when the Ma'āsir-i Rahimi was written. He also was a good soldier.

¹ Arslān is Qāsim's nom de plume. He chose this name, because his father claimed descent from Arslān Jāzib, an Amir of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. The family came from Tūs, and Qāsim was brought up in Transoxania. He was a good poet, and excelled in tārikhs. Badā'uni quotes an ode written by Arslān on the Mountain of Ajmīr. He died in 995, probably in Lāhor. Dāghistānī says he died at Ahmadābad. Vide p. 109.
56. Ghayūrī of Hisār.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?

58. Sherī.⁴

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 Akbarnāma Mullā Ghayūrī, and Dāghistānī calls him Ghayūrī of Kābul. This shows that he came from Hisār in Kābul and not from Hisār Firūza. The Haft Iqlīm tells us that Ghayūrī was at first in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, Akbar’s brother and king of Kābul. On the death of his patron, he entered Akbar’s service, and was a Yūbhāshī, or Commander of One Hundred. He was killed, in 994, with Bir Bar, 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 Dāghistānī mentions a Qāsim of Māzandarān. Qāsimī seems to be an unknown poet.
⁴ Mullā Sherī has been mentioned above, pp. 112, 207, 212, 214. He was born in Kōkūwāl in the Panjāb (Bāri Duāb). His father’s name was Mawlānā Yahyā. He belonged to a tribe called in Badā’oni “Mājī”. Sherī was killed with Bir Bar, in 994, in the Khaybar Pass.
The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of
coequetry, 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. Rahī of Nishāpūr.

His name is Khwāja Jān. He is a good man.

1. O Rahī, no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious
belief]; give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory.
2. Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of
the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?

The above (59) poets were presented at Court. There are, however,
many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places
to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qāsim
of Gūnābād; Zamīr of Iṣfahān; Waḥshī of Bāfa; Muḥtashim of Kāshān;
Malik of Qum; Zuhūrī of Shīrāz; Valī Dasht Bayāzī; Nekī; Ṣabrī;
Figārī; Ḥuẓūrī; Qāzī Nūrī of Iṣfahān; Šāfī of Bam; ʿAwfī of Tabrīz;
and Rashkī 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 goyanda, singers, from khwānandas, chanters, and sūzandas,
players. The principal singers and musicians come from Gwālīyār, Mashhad, Ṭabrīz,
and Kashmir. A few come from Transoxania. The schools in Kashmir had been founded
by Irānī and Tūrānī musicians patronized by Zaynāb ʿAbīdīn, king of Kashmir. The
fame of Gwālīyār for its schools of music dates from the time of Rāja Mān Tunwar,
During his reign lived the famous Nāʾīk Bahshāh, whose melodies are only second to
those of Tānsen. Bahshāh also lived at the court of Rāja Bikramājit, Mān’s son; but
when his patron lost his throne, he went to Rāja Kīrat of Kālinjār. Not long afterwards
he accepted a call to Gujrāt, where he remained at the court of Sultan Bahādur (A.D. 1526
to 1536). Ismāʿīl Shāh also was a patron of music. His two great singers were Rām Dās
and Mahāpāter. Both entered subsequently Akbar’s service. Mahāpāter was once sent
as ambassador to Mukund Deo of Oṣāī.
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, Hindūs, Irānīs, Tūrānīs, Kashmīrīs, 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. Miyān Tānsen, of Gwālyār. A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. Bābā Rāmānā, of Gwālyār, a singer.
3. Subḥān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
4. Srigyān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer.
5. Miyān Chand, of Gwālyār, a singer.
6. Bichitr Khān, brother of Subḥān Khān, a singer.
7. Muḥammad Khān, Ḍhārī, sings.
8. Bīr Mandal Khān, of Gwālyār, plays on the sarmandal.
10. Shihāb Khān, of Gwālyār, performs on the bīn.
11. Daʿūd Ḍhārī, sings.
12. Sarod Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
14. Tāntarang Khān, son of Miyān Tānsen, sings.
15. Mullā Isḥāq Ḍhārī, sings.
16. Ustā Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (nay).

1 Regarding Tānsen, or Tānsain, or Tānsín, vide p. 445. Rām Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tānkas as at present. Ibrāhīm Sūr in vain persuaded Tānsen to come to Agra. Abū ʿl-Faṣl mentions below his son Tāntarang Khān; and the Pādīshāh-nāma (II, 5—'an interesting passage) mentions another son of the name of Bīlās.
2 Badāʾīnī (II, 42) says, Rām Dās came from Lahore. He appears to have been with Bayrām Khān during his rebellion. And he received once from him one lakh of tānkas, empty as Bayram's treasure chest was. He was first at the court of Islam Shāh, and he is looked upon as second only to Tānsen. His son Sūr Dās is mentioned below.
3 Ḍhārī means "a singer" "a musician".
4 Jahāngīr says in the Turuk that Lāl Kalāwānt (or Kalāwānt, i.e., the singer) died in the 3rd year of his reign. "sixty or rather seventy years old. He had been from his youth in my father's service. One of his concubines, on his death, poisoned herself with opium. I have rarely seen such an attachment among Muḥammadan women."
17. Nānak Jarjū, of Gwālyār, a singer.
18. Purbin Khān, his son, plays on the ḍūn.
19. Sūr Dās, son of Bābū Rām Dās, a singer.
20. Chānd Khān, of Gwālyār, sings.
21. Rangsen, of Āgra, sings.
22. Shaykh Dāwan Dhāri,1 performs on the karnā.
23. Raḥmatu ʿllāh, brother of Mullā Is-hāq (No. 15), a singer.
24. Mīr Savyid ʿAli, of Mashhad, plays on the ghichak.
25. Ustā Yūsuf, of Hirāt, plays on the tambūra.
26. Qāsim, surnamed Koh-bār,2 He has invented an instrument intermediate between the qūbūz and the rubāb.
27. Tāsh Beg, of Qipchāq, plays on the qūbūz.
28. Sultān Hāfiz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants.
29. Bahārām Qulī, of Hirāt, plays on the ghichak.
30. Sultān Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the tambūra.
31. Ustā Shāh Muhāmmed, plays on the surna.
32. Ustā Muhāmmed Amin plays on the tambūra.
33. Hāfiz Khwāja ʿAli, of Mashhad, chants.
34. Mīr ʿAbdul ʿllāh, brother of Mīr ʿAbd al-Hay, plays the Qānūn.
35. Pirzāda,3 nephew of Mīr Dawām, of Khūrāsān, sings and chants.
36. Ustā Muhāmmed Husayn, plays the tambūra.4

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1 Dhāri means "a singer", "a musician".
2 Koh-bar, as we know from the Pādīshāhnāma (I, b., p. 335) is the name of a Chaghtāi tribe. The Nefā-i-ʿlā Maʿāsir mentions a poet of the name of Muhammad Qāsim Kohbar, whose nom-de-plume was Šabrī. Vide Sprenger’s Catalogue, p. 50 (where we have to read Koh-bar for Gūh-paz).
3 Pirzāda, according to Badārāni (III, 318) was from Sabzvār. He wrote poems under the takhalla of Liwā-ī. He was killed in 995 at Lāhor, by a wall falling on him.
4 The Maʿāsir-i Raḥimi mentions the following musicians in the service of the Khān Khānān—Aqā Muhammad Nāʾī, son of Hājī Ismāʿīl, of Tabriz; Mawlānā Aṣwāṭī, of Tabriz; Ustād Pirzāda ʿAlī Fāṭhāgī Mawlānā Sharaf of Nīshāpūr, a brother of the poet Nāṣīrī (p. 549), Muhammad Mūmīn, alias Ḥāfizak, a tambūra-player; and Ḥāfiz Nazr, from Transoxiana, a good singer.

The Tuzuk and the Iqbalnāma mention the following singers of Jahāngīr’s reign—Jahāngirdād; Chaṭr Khān; Pārvizdād; Khurramdād; Mākhū; Hamza. During Shahjahān’s reign we find Jagnāth, who received from Shahjahān the title of Kabrāī; Dirang Khān; and Lāl Khān, who got the title of Gunsamudar (ocean of excellence). Lāl Khān was son-in-law to Bīlās, son of Tānsen. Jagnāth and Dirang Khān were both weighed in silver, and received each 4,600 rupees.

Awrangzib abolished the singers and musicians, just as he abolished the court-historians. Music is against the Muḥammadan law. Khāfi 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 wailed 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 Jharokha also was abolished.

END OF VOLUME I.
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 31, note 1.

ŤODAR MAL. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, vide p. 376.

Page 35, note 2.

QULİJ KHĀN. The correct year of his death is given on p. 381.

Page 36, line 20.

BĀBĀḠŪRĪ. 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 Bābāḡūrī". Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, in his Taṣkīrah, under Jalāl, has the following. "When the case came on," he said to Mīrzā Taqī, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Bābāḡūrī threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen."

Page 46, middle.

SALARIES OF THE BEGAMS. Under Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries. Thus Mumtāz Mahāl had 10 lāňks per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lāňks, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzīb gave the "Begam Sāhīb" 12 lāňks per annum.

Regarding Nur Jahān’s pension, vide p. 574, note 3.

Page 49, note 7.

GULBAĐAN BEGAM. From Badāonī, II, 14, we see that she was Akbar’s paternal aunt, i.e. she was Humāyūn’s sister. She was married to Khizr Khwāja; vide pp. 207, 394.

Page 58, line 4, from top.

SORŪN. Sorō is the correct name of a town and Pargana is Sirkār Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (Aligarh), near the Ganges.

Page 58, line 14, from below.

PANHĀN. This I believe to be a mistake for "Paṭhān" or "Paṭhāṅkoṭ". The MSS. have سپتھن or پٹھان, but as the initial ى in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with ى and reversely. The spelling پٹھان, for Paṭhān, is common in Muhammadan historians. My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.
Page 69, note 2.

Kilās. Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S., informs me that gilās is to the present day the Kashmirī term for cherries.

Page 75, line 7.

Mahuwā. This partly confirms Elliot’s note under Gulā (Beames’ Edition, Races of the N.W. Provinces, II, p. 335) and corrects Shakespeare’s Dictionary.

Page 77, line 7, from below.

Pān Leaves. In the 3rd Book of the Āfīn (Text, p. 416, l. 20) Abū ‘l-Faḍl mentions another kind of pān, called Makki or Mukhi, grown in Bihār.

Page 84, line 7.

Qayṣūrī. Col. Yule tells me that the correct name is Fānsūrī. According to Marco Polo, Fānsūr was a state in Sumātra, probably the modern Barūs.

Page 87, note.

Zīrbād. This should be Zerbād, for zer-i bād, i.e. “under the wind”, leeward, the Persian translation, as Col. Yule informs me, of the Malay Bāwah angin, “below the wind,” by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumātra.

Khāfi Khan (I, p. 11) couples Zerbād with Khatā, over both of which Tūlū Khan, son of Chingiz Khan, ruled.

Page 93, note 6.

I have since seen the spelling کرکراق which brings us a step nearer to etymology. Yarāq means “supellex”; and kūrk means “fur”.

Page 93, line 2, from below.

Ahmadābād. The comma after Ahmadābād may be wrong. Ahmadābād is often called Ahmadābād-i Gujrāt.

Page 94, line 17.

Ghiyās-i Naṣṣīband. We know from the Taṣkiro of Tāhir Naṣṣābādī that Ghiyās 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 mushajjar brocade, on which there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Shāh ‘Abbās (1585–1629), when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear. Ghiyās said on the spur of the moment.

خواجه در خرس پیش میبنند هرکی نقص خوش میبند

“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,

خرس در کوه اپوسنا

“A bear on the hill is an Avicenna,” i.e. a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher. Naṣṣābādī quotes some of Ghiyās’s verses.
COTTON CLOTHS. Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abū 'l-Fażl.
Chautār was woven in Haweli Sahāranpūr.
Sirī Şāf and Bhīrāu, in Dharangāon, Khāndesh.
Gangājāl, in Sirkār Ghorāghāt, Bengal.
Mīhrkūl, in Allāhābād,
and Pāchtoliya was mentioned on p. 574, in connexion with Nur Jāhān.

Page 105, note 2.
ĀDĀM-I HAFT-HAZĀRI. I find that this expression is much older than Abū 'l-Fażl's time.
Thus Zīā' u 'd-Dīn Barānī in his preface to the Tarīkh-i Firūzshāhī (p. 5, l. 6), states that the Khalīfa 'Umar lived seven thousand years after Ādām.

Page 107, note 8.
ASHRAF KHĀN. A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p. 423.
He died in 983, not 973.

Page 108, note 3.
KHANĀN. The collection of Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the Tuzkira' u 'l-Audīyā, written by Khānān in 920 a.h., and yet the Mir'at u 'l-Ālām gives 915 as the year of his death.

Page 110, note 3, line 4.
BECHŪ. Though Bechū is a common Hindīstānī name, there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchū, or Panjū, vide p. 607. Badāonī (II, 54) gives as tārīkh of his death the words شيخ بنجو and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب), i.e. 971 - 2 = 969. Vide also my Essay on “Badāonī and his Works”, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 118.

Page 123, line 18.
SANGRAM. Akbar's favourite gun. We know from the Tuzuk (p. 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmall, the champion of Chūtor.

Page 129, lines 27 to p. 130, line 2.
The reader is requested to substitute the following: —
Elephants are found in the following places. In the Shubāh of Ægrāh, in the jungles of Bayāwān and Narwar, as far as Barār; in the Shubāh of Ilāhābād, in the confines of Pannah, (Bhath) Ghorā, Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sirguja, and Bastar; in the Shubāh of Mālwhā, in Handis, Uchhod, Chander, Santwis, Bījāgarh, Rāisīn, Hoshangābād, Garha, and Hāriāgarh; in the Shubāh of Bīhār, about Rohtās and in Jhārkhand; and in the Shubāh of Bengal, in Orisā and in Sārgān. The elephants from Pannah 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. Badāonī, II, 132. Vide below.
Page 203, 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 Bādāoni’s text are:

كابلان ۰ خوشگاه انسان است

"the cunabula which is their time of mirth."

By "cunabula" the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ, in wax, etc., which they used to exhibit in Āgrah and Lāhor.

Page 281, line 8.

The Ṣadr read the *khutbah* in the name of the new king, and thus the *julūs* became a fact. *Khāfī Khān*, I, p. 52, l. 2, from below.

Page 282, middle.


Page 321.

Akbar’s Wives. For *Raqiyyah* the diminutive form *Ruqayyyah* is to be substituted. Regarding Jodh Bāi vide next note.

*Sultān Salāma Begum.* She is the daughter of Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Bābār. Mirzā Nur ʿd-Dīn Muḥammad, Gulrukh’s husband, was a Naqshbandi Khwāja.

Gulrukh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrukh Begum, who was the daughter of Mirzā Kāmrān and wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā (*vide* p. 516).

Of other women in Akbar’s-harem, I may mention (1) the daughter of Qāṣī ʿĪsā (p. 498); (2) an Armenian woman, *Tuzuk*, p. 324. *Vide* also Keane’s *Agra Guide*, p. 38. (3) Qismiyah Bānū, married by Akbar in the 19th year (*Akbarn.*, III, 94); (4) a daughter of Shamsū ʿd-Dīn Chak (*Akbarn.*, III, 659).

*Sultān Murād.* He was married to a daughter of Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka (p. 343). Their child, Sultān Rustam, did not live long (*Akbarn.*, III, 539, 552).

*Sultān Dānyāl.* The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumāda I, 979, not the 10th; but the MSS. continually confounded and ۰دوم ۰دهم ۰دو. His first wife was a daughter of Sultān Khwāja (p. 466), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Saʿādat Bānū Begum, who was born in ۰۱۰۰ (*Akbarn.*, III, 643).

Page 323.

Jahānīn’s Wives. An additional list was given on p. 533, note 1. Besides them, I may mention, (1) a daughter of Mubārak Chak of Kashmir; (2) a daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmir (*Akbarn.*, III, 659); (3) another Kashmirī lady, mentioned in *Akbarn.*, III, 639.

Page 329, middle.

Death of Mirzā Rustam. Thus the date is given in the *Muʿāṣir ʿl-Umarā*; but from the *Pādišāhkhānaa* (II, 302) we see that Mirzā Rustam died on, or a few days before, the 1st Rabīʾ I, 1052. The author adds a remark that “the manners (aceptū) of the Mirzā 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.

Qara Qe’ilū Türk. The correct name is Qaraqūnlu. The Calcutta Chaghtsāi Dictionary gives Qaraqūnūl. Vambéry (History of Bokhārā, p. 265, note) mentions
the Ustajlǔ, Shāmlǔ, Nikallǔ, Bahārlǔ, Zū 'l-Qadr, Kājār, and Afshār, as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucasia, on the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurāsān. Qarāqoīnī means "the black sheep tribe."

Page 332, note 1.

The correct name of the place where Bāyrām was defeated is Gūnāchūr, كورچ، which lies S.E. of Jalindhar. The word Kūnor ينور، which the Bibl. Indica Edition of Badā, onī gives, contains "Phillaur", which lies S.W. of Gūnāchūr.

Page 342, note.

I do not think that Pir Muḥammad came from the Sharwān mentioned in this note. It is more likely that he was a Shirwānī Afghān.

Page 343, note.

This note has been corrected on p. 445, line 14, and p. 458, note.

Page 348, line 6, from below.

Zū'l-Qadr is the name of a Turkmān tribe; vide above.

Page 361, last line.

GOANDA. Regarding the correct date of the battle, vide p. 460, note 2.

Page 376.

Tōdar Mal. The Ma'āṣiru 'l-Umarā says that Tōdar Mal was born at Lāhor. But it is now certain that Tōdar Mal was born at Lāharpūr, in Audh; vide Proceedings Asiatic Society Bengal, September, 1871, p. 178.

Page 402, note 2.

Mīyān Kāl. The note is to be cancelled. Mīyān Kāl has been explained on p. 615, note

Page 404, line 4.

Yūsuf Khān. Regarding his death, vide Tuzuk, p. 328. His son Izzat Khān is wrongly called in the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Pādishāhnāma (I, b, p. 302) غیرت خان. His name was 'Azīz 'llah; hence his title Izzat.

Page 412, line 1.

Qāsim Khān. I dare say the phrase "Chamanārāī Khurāsān" merely means that he was Governor of Kābul.

Page 413, line 24.

Bāqī Khān. He is often called "Khān Bāqī Khān".

Page 423, line 15.

Mīr Bārūs. 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 435, line 9.

Dastam Khān. Vambéry spells "Dostum".
SHAYKH FARID-I BUKHARI. That the name of Farid's father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukhari, may be seen from the short inscription on the "Bukhari Mosque" in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaykh Lād, at the cost of Farid-i Bukhari, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Farid's Jami Masjid in Faridabad:

بهود شاه نور الدين جهانگیر
اساس ابن باي خبر بهداد
خلف ابن الخلف تآ شاه مردان
رقم خبر الفقاه از خانه سرزم

1. In the reign of Shah Nursi 'l-Din, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,
2. Murtazā Khān, the unique one (farīd) 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 ['Alī].
4. As Tāriqī of this lasting structure, the words Khayr 'l-Biqā issued from the pen. This gives 1014 A.H.

Page 468, middle.

KHWAJA TAHIR MUHAMMAD. He is mentioned as a Sijistāni on p. 528, among the Bakshīs.

Page 476, note 1.

MAṢŪM KHĀN-I KĀBULI. 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 Rājendralal Mitra, from Rāja Pramatha Nāth, Rāja of Dighaputi, Rājshāhī. It was found in a ruined mosque at a village called Chatmohor, not very far from Dighaputi.

ابن مسجد رفیع در زمین سلطان الاعظم عمدة السادات ابو الفتح محمد معصوم خان خند الله ملكه ابدا يا و يا باقي بناؤکرد خان رفیع مکان عالیشان خان محمد بن نوی محمد خان فائتال

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sulṭān, the chief of Sayyids, 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 Tāj Muhammad Khān Qāqshāl, in the year 989.

This was, therefore, nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zī Hajjah, 987); vide p. 486.

Page 485, line 7.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD. Regarding the correct date of his death, vide p. 548.

Page 499, line 27.

SUHRAW. There is every probability that Sorath, and not Sūrat, is intended.
THE GAKKHARS. Vide pp. 544, 545.

The places Pharwâla and Dângali (دنگلی), not Dangâli) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakkarh District, are noticed in E. Terry's Voyage to East India (London, 1655, p. 88). "Kukares, the principal Cities are called Dekalee and Pûrhol; it is a large Province, but exceeding mountainous; divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus; it is the extremest part North under the Mogol's subjection."

De Laët also gives the same passage.

YARÂQ KHÂN. The correct name is, I believe, Borâq Khân. Vide Vambéry's Bokhara, p. 153.

Kûch Hâjû. Regarding Kûch Hâjû and Kûch Bihâr and Mukarram Khân, vide my article on these countries in Journal Asiatic Society Bengal for 1872, p. 54.

GHÂZNÎN KHÂN, of Jâlîr.

"The Pahlumpûr family is of Afghân 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 Dîhlî; and from Akbar Shâh, in A.D. 1597, Ghâznîn Khân, the chief, obtained the title of Dîwân, for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghân 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 Jâlîr, Sânchôr, Pahlumpûr, and Dîsah from Awrangzîb. Fath Khân died in 1688, leaving an only son, Pir Khân, who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamâl 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 [Jâlîr], 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. 15.

ÇALÎ QULÎ BEG ISTAJLÛ. Vambéry spells Ustajlû, which is the name of a Turkish tribe; vide p. 687.
ERRATA TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE 
Ä‘IN-I AKBARĪ.

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### A Genealogical Table of the House of Timur

**With Special Reference to the Muslim Emperors of India**

**Qušīd-Dīn Amīr Tīmūr Gurgūn (Sind)-Pālān Deś (Amūdaran)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1. Ghilīr Dīn Jahangīr</td>
<td>2. Čimār Shāhī Mūrad</td>
<td>Iran (Persia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Muhammad Sulṭān</td>
<td>2. Pir Muhammad</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Jāsābhā</td>
<td>2. Ṣajmāw</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Pir Muhammad</td>
<td>2. Rustam</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Pūsh</td>
<td>2. Ṣukhānā</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Čimār Shāhī Mūrad</td>
<td>2. Muhammad Sulṭān</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
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<td>1. Gūlsād Ṣulṭān</td>
<td>2. Jāsābhā</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Šulṭān</td>
<td>2. Ṣukhānā</td>
<td>Tīmūr Deś (Amūdaran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **Qušīd-Dīn Amīr Tīmūr Gurgūn (Sind)-Pālān Deś (Amūdaran)**: Originated from the Timurid dynasty, which ruled over the Amuristan region in Central Asia.
- **father-son** relationships indicate direct lineage.
- **Country** denotes the geographical area where each individual lived or held power.
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